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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVII

NUMBER 1. OCTOBER, 1921

ARTICLES

EDWARD R. TURNER — English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 1

CARL BECKER — A Letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette 24

FISKE KIMBALL — Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic 47

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

J. F. JAMESON — The Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History . 58

VERNER W. CRANE — The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia . . . 63

DOCUMENT—Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II. 70

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 90

HISTORICAL NEWS 164

NUMBER 2. JANUARY, 1922

ARTICLES

DEXTER PERKINS — Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine . . . 207

H. NELSON GAY — Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat 219

HERBERT D. FOSTER — Webster's Seventh of March Speech and the Secession Movement, 1850 . . . 245

DOCUMENT—Washington in 1834: Letter of Robert C. Caldwell, contributed by George M. Whicher 271

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 282

HISTORICAL NEWS 369

NUMBER 3. APRIL, 1922

ARTICLES

The Meeting of the American Historical Association at St. Louis 405

J. J. JUSSERAND — The School for Ambassadors . 426

SAMUEL F. BEMIS — Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap . . . 465

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

JAMES T. ADAMS — On the Term "British Empire" 485

JOHN C. FITZPATRICK — A Rough Secret Journal of the Continental Congress . . 489

EDGAR DAWSON — National Council for the Social Studies 491

DOCUMENTS—Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631, I. 493
REVIEWS OF BOOKS 539
COMMUNICATION 626
HISTORICAL NEWS 627

NUMBER 4. JULY, 1922

ARTICLES
CHARLES H. HASKINS — Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II. . . 669
N. S. B. GRAS — The Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America 695
LOUIS M. SEARS — Slidell and Buchanan . . 709
NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS
D. C. MUNRO — Did the Emperor Alexius I. ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095? . . 731
WILLIAM H. ALLISON — The First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent 733
DOCUMENTS—Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631, II. 738
REVIEWS OF BOOKS 766
HISTORICAL NEWS 838
INDEX 874

INDEX

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXVII

☛ *The names of contributors are printed in small capitals.* (R) *indicates that the contribution is a review.*

ABBOTT, F. F., (R) Petersson's "Cicero", 97.

ABBOTT, W. C., (R) Rawlinson's "British Beginnings in Western India", 144; (R) Foster's "Early Travels in India, 1583–1619", 296; (R) Foster's "English Factories in India, 1655–1660", 296; (R) Postgate's "Revolution from 1789 to 1906", 554.

Adams, G: B., "Constitutional History of England", reviewed, 106.

Adams, Herbert Baxter, prize, awarded, 421.

ADAMS, J. T., "Founding of New England", reviewed, 129; *On the Term "British Empire"*, 485–489; (R) Gabriel's "Evolution of Long Island", 614.

"Age of Invention", by Holland Thompson, reviewed, 623.

Agricultural history, papers on, 417.

"Air Force, Our", by William Mitchell, reviewed, 599.

Aiton, A. S., paper by, 411.

Aiyangar, S. K., "South India and her Muhammadan Invaders", reviewed, 825.

Alexander I., Russia, 214, 216, 218.

Alexius I., and the Council of Piacenza, 731–733.

Alington, Cyril, "Twenty Years: the Party System, 1815–1835", reviewed, 350.

"Allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration", by J. A. Salter, reviewed, 565.

Allison, J. M. S., paper by, 414.

ALLISON, W: H., *The First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent*, 733–737.

Alvord, C. W., paper by, 415; (ed.) "Governor Edward Coles", reviewed, 615.

Ambassadors, School for, by J. J. JUSSERAND, 426–464.

America, Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and, by N. S. B. GRAS, 695–708.

"American Church History, Source Book for", by P. G. Mode, reviewed, 582.

American Geographical Society, "Research Series", no. 3, reviewed, 563.

American Historical Association, "Annual Report", 1918, I., reviewed, 602; II., "Autobiography of Martin Van Buren", ed. J: C. Fitzpatrick, reviewed, 133.

American Historical Association, Meeting at St. Louis, 405–425; diversity of programme, 405; meetings of other historical societies, 406; entertainments, 406–407; conference on teaching of history in schools, 408; of archivists, 408; of historical societies, 409; luncheon conferences, 409–411; papers on history of civilization, 411–412; on economic history, 412; on ancient history, 412; on medieval history, 413; on history of France, 413; on Europe after Congress of Vienna, 414; on military history, 414; on American history, 415–419; business meeting, 419; treasurer's report, 420, 422–

dian Magazine, April); Sir John Willison, *The Correspondence of Sir John A. Macdonald* (Dalhousie Review, April); T. T. Waterman, *The Geographic Names used by the Indians of the Pacific Coast* (Geographic Review, April); H. de Hoon, *La Doctrine de Monroë* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, December, 1921–January, 1922); C. E. Chapman, *A Monroe Doctrine Divided* (Political Science Quarterly, March); H. T. Collings, *The Economic Basis of Federation in Central America* (American Economic Review, March, Supplement); F. G. de Valle, *Páginas para la Historia de Cuba: Documentos para la Biografía de José de la Luz y Caballero* (Cuba Contemporánea, April, May); L. M. Pérez, *Las Relaciones Económicas entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos* (*ibid.*, April); Júlio Tello, *Prehistoric Peru* (Inter-America, April); C. A. Vivanco, *The Ecuadorian Campaign, 1821–1822*, II. (*ibid.*, June); A. de Galvão Bueno, *The Bandeirantes: their Deeds and Descendants* (Bulletin of the Pan-American Union, May).

423; constitutional amendment, 420, 421; reports of committees, 420; officers and committees, 423–425.
"American History, Study of", by Viscount Bryce, reviewed, 826.
"American Philosophy of Government", by A. H. Snow, reviewed, 826.
"American Portrait Painters in Miniature, Early", by Theodore Bolton, reviewed, 615.
"American Railroad Problem: a Study in War and Reconstruction", by I. L. Sharfman, reviewed, 597.
"American Revolution, Artemas Ward, the First Commander-in-Chief of the", by Charles Martyn, reviewed, 362.
American School of Classical Studies at Athens, publication reviewed, 810.
American Society of Church History, "Papers", 2d ser. VI., reviewed, 157.
"American Spirit in Education", by E. E. Slosson, reviewed, 622.
"American Treaties, Leading", by C: E. Hill, reviewed, 827.
Ancient history, Bouchier's "Short History of Antioch", reviewed, 96; papers on, 412.
Anderson, D. R., (R) Farrand's Fathers of the Constitution", 585; (R) Johnson's "Jefferson and his Colleagues", 585.
Anderson, F. M., (R) Moon's "Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France", 310; (R) Simond's "Histoire de la Troisième République", I.–III., 353; (R) Seignobos's "L'Évolution de la Troisième République" (Lavisse, VIII.), 560.
Anderson, William, "History of the Constitution of Minnesota", reviewed, 367.
Andrássy, Julius, count, "Diplomacy and War", reviewed, 795.
Andrews, C: M., investigations by, 415; (ed.) "Journal of a Lady of Quality", reviewed, 801.
Andrews, Evangeline W., (ed.) "Journal of a Lady of Quality", reviewed, 801.
Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History, 58–63.
Anne of Beaujeu, Bridge's "History of France from the Death of Louis XI.", I., reviewed, 816.
Anthropology, Murray's "Witch-Cult in Western Europe", reviewed, 780.
"Antioch, Short History of", by E. S. Bouchier, reviewed, 96.
"Arabian Medicine", by E: G. Browne, reviewed, 338.
"Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821–1921", by J: H. Lamott, reviewed, 159.
Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic, by Fiske Kimball, 47–57; art a significant aspect of American development, 47; misconceptions of colonial architecture, 48–50; comparison with humbler contemporary English homes, 50–53; churches, materials, 53–55; classicism of early republic, our real national contribution, 56–57.
Archivists, conference of, 408.
Armament, Conference on the Limitation of, Willoughby's "China at the Conference", reviewed, 798.
Army, British, Atkinson's "Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army", reviewed, 790.
"Art of War in Italy, 1494–1529", by F. L. Taylor, reviewed, 144.
Askenazy, Simon, "Prince Joseph Poniatowski", reviewed, 821.
Atkinson, C. T., "Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army", reviewed, 790.
"Atlas of Modern Europe, Macmillan's Historical", ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, reviewed, 143.
"Ausland im Weltkrieg: seine innere Entwicklung seit 1914", I., reviewed, 153.
Austria, attitude toward Spanish-American states, 208, 212–214; Windischgraetz's "My Memoirs", reviewed, 318; Count Andrássy's "Diplomacy and War", reviewed, 795; Kanner's "Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik", reviewed, 824.
Aviation, Mitchell's "Our Air Force", reviewed, 599.

Babcock, K. C., (R) Wood's "Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812", I., 588; (R) Folwell's "History of Minnesota", I., 807.

Baldwin, J. F., (R) Pollard's "Evolution of Parliament", 108; (R) "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History", VI., 548; (R) Reid's "King's Council in the North", 550.

Baluze, Étienne, "Vitae Paparum Avenionensium", I., III., reviewed, 605.

Barbour, Violet, (R) Higham's "Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration", 162.

Barnes, H. E., paper by, 412; "Social History of the Western World", reviewed, 603.

Barrington, Daines, (trans.) Mourelle's "Voyage of the Sonora", reviewed, 360.

"Bataille devant Souville", by Henri Bordeaux, reviewed, 155.

Bates, A. C., (ed.) "Pitkin Papers", reviewed, 833.

Bates, F. G., (R) Buffalo Historical Society, "Publications", XXIV., 158.

"Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts", by D. W. Johnson, reviewed, 563.

Batz, Baron, plot, 32, 39.

Baxter, J. P., deceased, 165.

Beardsley, F. G., "Builders of a Nation: the Pilgrim Fathers", reviewed, 360.

Becker, Carl, *A Letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette*, 24–46; investigations by, 415.

Bédier, Joseph, "Histoire de la Nation Française", XII., reviewed, 547.

Beer, George Louis, prize, 421.

Belgian History, Royal Commission of, Grob's "Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny", I., reviewed, 777.

Belgium, Pirenne's "Histoire de Belgique", V., reviewed, 294; Van der Essen's "L'Université de Louvain", reviewed, 341.

Bell, J. C., "Opening a Highway to the Pacific", reviewed, 331.

Belmont, August, 714.

Bemis, S: F., *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484.

Benns, F. L., awarded Justin Winsor Prize, 421.

Benton, Thomas Hart, 709, 725.

Berdahl, C. A., "War Powers of the Executive in the United States", reviewed, 330.

Berr, Henri, (ed.) "L'Évolution de l'Humanité", reviewed, 539.

Bethmann Hollweg, Th. von, "Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege", pt. II., reviewed, 610.

"Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege", pt. II., by Th. von Bethmann Hollweg, reviewed, 610.

"Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference", by Robert Lansing, reviewed, 612.

Bigelow, John, (R) Vignaud's "Le Vrai Christophe Colomb", 577.

Bismarck, Otto von, prince, 462, 463.

"Bismarck, Der Missverstandene", by Otto Hammann, reviewed, 152.

"Bismarck, Kaiser *vs.*", introd. C: D. Hazen, reviewed, 118.

Bixio, Col. Nino, 231.

Blegen, C. W., "Korakou", reviewed, 810.

Blegen, T. C., paper by, 417.

Bliss, F: J., (R) Bouchier's "Short History of Antioch", 96.

Boak, A. E. R., paper by, 412.

Bogart, E. L., "Modern Commonwealth", reviewed, 806.

Boissy d'Anglas, F. A. de, "Memoirs", 33.

Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Borderlands", reviewed, 580.

Bolton, Theodore, "Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature", reviewed, 615.

"Bolts, William, a Dutch Adventurer", by N. L. Hallward, reviewed, 348.

Bonatti, Guido, 682–683.

Bond, B. W., jr., paper by, 411.

"Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875, Organization of the", by Blanche E. Hazard, reviewed, 601.

Booth, Cecily, "Cosimo I., Duke of Florence", reviewed, 343.
Bordeaux, Henri, "Bataille devant Souville", reviewed, 155.
Bouchier, E. S., "Short History of Antioch", reviewed, 96.
Boundaries, Bemis's *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484.
Bourne, H: E., (R) Calman's "Ledru-Rollin après 1848", 151; (R) Lavisse's "Histoire de France Contemporaine", I., II., 301.
Bowman, Isaiah, "New World: Problems in Political Geography", reviewed, 568.
Boyd, W: K., (R) "Journal of a Lady of Quality", 801.
Braun, Conrad, 435, 440.
Bray, Rev. Thomas, 63–69.
Brazil, Wätjen's "Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien", reviewed, 836.
Breasted, J. H., address by, 410; paper by, 411.
Breck, Edward, (R) Hurd's "Merchant Navy", I., 122; (R) Corbett's "Naval Operations", II., 562.
Breckinridge, J: C., 724.
Bridge, J: S. C., "History of France from the Death of Louis XI.", I., reviewed, 816.
"British Archives, Repertory of", pt. I., comp. Hubert Hall, reviewed, 813.
"British Beginnings in Western India, 1579–1657", by H. G. Rawlinson, reviewed, 144.
"*British Empire*", *On the Term*, by J. T. Adams, 485–489.
"British Policy and Opinion during the Franco-Prussian War", by Dora N. Raymond, reviewed, 352.
Britsch, Amédée, "Maréchal Lyautey", reviewed, 356.
Broadus, E. K., "Laureateship", reviewed, 814.
Browne, E: G., "Arabian Medicine", reviewed, 338.
Broxap, Ernest, (ed.) "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340.
Bruce, P. A., "University of Virginia", III., IV., reviewed, 132; (R) Riley's "General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox", 830.
Brunet, René, "La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919", reviewed, 357.
Bryce, James, viscount, deceased, 628; "Modern Democracies", reviewed, 91; "International Relations", reviewed, 766; "Study of American History", reviewed, 826.
Buchanan, Slidell and, by L. M. Sears, 709–730.
"Buddhism, Hinduism and", by Sir Charles Eliot, reviewed, 572.
Buffalo Historical Society, "Publications", XXIV., XXV., ed. F. H. Severance, reviewed, 158, 834.
"Builders of a Nation: the Pilgrim Fathers", by F. G. Beardsley, reviewed, 360.
Burnett, E. C., (ed.) "Letters of Members of the Continental Congress", I., reviewed, 328.
"Burnham, Daniel H., Architect, Planner of Cities", by Charles Moore, reviewed, 596.
Burr, G: L., 24, 31, 46; (R) Pastor's "Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters", 112; (R) Murray's "Witch-Cult in Western Europe", 780.
Butler, Sir Geoffrey, "Studies in Statecraft, mainly on the Sixteenth Century", reviewed, 111.

Caldwell, R. C., Washington in 1834; Letter of, 271–281.
"Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1680–1681", reviewed, 787.
Calhoun, J: C., 247, 709, 710.
"California, History of: the Spanish Period", by C: E. Chapman, reviewed, 804.
Calman, A. R., "Ledru-Rollin après 1848", reviewed, 151.
Cam, Helen M., "Studies in the Hundred Rolls: some Aspects of Thirteenth-Century Administration", reviewed, 548.
Canada, Bemis's *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484; "Select British Documents of the

Canadian War of 1812", I., ed. William Wood, reviewed, 588; "Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald", reviewed, 799; "Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec", reviewed, 835.
Canning, George, 209, 212, 215, 217.
"Captains of the Civil War", by William Wood, reviewed, 592.
Carlson, K. E., "Relations of the United States with Sweden", reviewed, 828.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, publication reviewed, 565.
Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Historical Research, publication reviewed, 328.
Carnoy, Albert, "Les Indo-Européens", reviewed, 540.
Carson, W: W., paper by, 417.
Cartellieri, Alexander, "Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen, vom Englischen Puritanismus bis zur Pariser Kommune", reviewed, 117.
Cass, Lewis, official correspondence, GAY'S *Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat*, 219–244; references to, in Slidell-Buchanan letters, 711, 713, 715, 716, 718, 723, 725, 728.
Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, viscount, 209.
"Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673–1871", by G. J. Garraghan, reviewed, 834.
Cauchie, Alfred, deceased, 629.
Cavour, Camillo Benso, count, 221, 222, 225, 226, 230, 231, 239.
"Cazenove Journal, 1794", ed. R. W. Kelsey, reviewed, 829.
"Ceylon and the Portuguese", by P. E. Pieris, reviewed, 287.
Chamoy, Louis Rousseau de, 437, 445, 446, 450, 451, 458.
Champlain Society, "Publications", XIII., reviewed, 588.
Chandler, Joseph R., 239, 241–243.
Channing, Edward, "History of the United States", V., reviewed, 589.
CHAPMAN, C: E., (R) Klein's "Mesta", 285; (R) Mourelle's "Voyage of the Sonora", 360; "History of California", reviewed, 804.
"Charlemagne, Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de", by Louis Halphen, reviewed, 102.
Charles VIII., France, Bridge's "History of France from the Death of Louis XI.", I., reviewed, 816.
Charles and Jane, ship, capture of, 238–243.
Charléty, Sebastien, "Restauration" and "Monarchie de Juillet" (Lavisse, IV., V.), reviewed, 306.
Chateaubriand, François R. A., viscount, 208–212, 214–218.
"Chautauqua, Story of", by J. L. Hurlbut, reviewed, 161.
Cheng, Sih-Gung, "Modern China", reviewed, 125.
Chester, S. B., "Life of Venizelos", reviewed, 320.
"Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340.
"Chicago, The Catholic Church in", by G. J. Garraghan, reviewed, 834.
China, Cordier's "Histoire Générale de la Chine", reviewed, 575.
"China, Modern", by Sih-Gung Cheng, reviewed, 125.
"China at the Conference", by W. W. Willoughby, reviewed, 798.
CHITWOOD, O. P., (R) Smith's "History of Lewis County, West Virginia", 365.
Choiseul, duchesse de, 37.
"Christian Theophagy, Short History of", by Preserved Smith, reviewed, 811.
Christianity, Meyer's "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums", I., reviewed, 99.
"Christianity, Introduction to the History of", by F. J. F. Jackson, reviewed, 774.
CHRISTIE, F. A., (R) Meyer's "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums", I., 99; (R) Eekhof's "Theologische Faculteit te Leiden in de 17de Eeuw", 345; paper by, 416; (R) Mode's "Source Book for American Church History", 582.
CHRISTOPHELSMEIER, CARL, (R) Ma-

thiez's "Robespierre, Terroriste", 148.
"Chronicles of America", XIII., XV., XXIII., XXIV., XXXI., XXXIII., XXXVII., reviewed, 580, 585, 592, 618, 622, 623.
CHURCH, F. C., (R) Rodocanachi's "La Réforme en Italie", 288.
Church history, Delehaye's "Passions des Martyrs", reviewed, 100.
"Church History, American, Source Book for", by P. G. Mode, reviewed, 582.
"Cicero: a Biography", by Torsten Petersson, reviewed, 97.
"Cincinnati, Archdiocese of, 1821–1921", by J: H. Lamott, reviewed, 159.
"Civil War, Captains of the", by William Wood, reviewed, 592.
"Civil War, Since the", by C: R. Lingley, reviewed, 620.
Civilization, history of, Richet's "Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte", reviewed, 90; papers on, 411–412.
"Civilization, Origins of", paper by J. H. Breasted, 411.
Clapham, J. H., "Economic Development of France and Germany", reviewed, 556.
Clark, C: U., "Greater Roumania", reviewed, 823.
CLARK, V. S., (R) Kuiper's "Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw", 156; (R) Pasvolsky's "Economics of Communism", 356; (R) Lippincott's "Economic Development of the United States", 583; (R) Hazard's "Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875", 601.
"Classical Associations of Places in Italy", by Frances E. Sabin, reviewed, 605.
Clemensha, H. W., (ed.) "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340.
Coal Industry, English, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by RAYMOND TURNER, 1–23.
COLBY, ELBRIDGE, (R) Atkinson's "Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army", 790.
"Colchester, Court Rolls of the Borough of", trans. I. H. Jeayes, reviewed, 606.
Cole, A. C., paper by, 416.
"Coleman Deeds", comp. Francis Green, reviewed, 340.
"Coles, Governor Edward", ed. C. W. Alvord, reviewed, 615.
"Collected Papers, Historical, Literary, Travel, and Miscellaneous", I., II., by Sir A. W: Ward, reviewed, 355.
COLLIER, THEODORE, (R) Pirenne's "Histoire de Belgique", V., 294.
Colonies, Dutch, Torchiana's "Tropical Holland", reviewed, 347; Wätjen's "Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien", reviewed, 836.
Colonies, English, Rawlinson's "British Beginnings in Western India", reviewed, 144; Higham's "Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration", reviewed, 162; Foster's "English Factories in India", *id.* "Early Travels in India", reviewed, 296; Hallward's "William Bolts", reviewed, 348.
Colonies, English-American, KIMBALL'S *Architecture in the Colonies and the Republic*, 47–57; CRANE'S *Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia*, 63–69; *Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765* (doc.), II., 70–89; J. T. Adams's "Founding of New England", reviewed, 129; Mayo's "John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire", reviewed, 326; *Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631* (doc.), I., II., 493–538, 738–765; "Journal of a Lady of Quality: Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, 1774–1776", reviewed, 801.
Colonization, Schäfer's "Kolonialgeschichte", reviewed, 809.
Colonization, Spanish, Bolton's "Spanish Borderlands", reviewed, 580.
Columbus, Christopher, Vignaud's "Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende", reviewed, 577.

Commines, Philippe de, 448.
Committee of Public Safety, 40, 45, 46.
"Commons Debates for 1629", ed. Wallace Notestein and Frances H. Relf, reviewed, 292.
"Communism, Economics of", by Leo Pasvolsky, reviewed, 356.
Conference on the Limitation of Armament, Willoughby's "China at the Conference", reviewed, 798.
Connecticut, "Pitkin Papers, 1766–1769", reviewed, 833.
Connecticut Historical Society, "Collections", XIX., reviewed, 833.
"Conservative Character of Martin Luther", by G: M. Stephenson, reviewed, 608.
"Constitution, Influence of George III. on the Development of the", by A. M. Davies, reviewed, 822.
"Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919", by René Brunet, reviewed, 357.
"Constitution of Minnesota", by William Anderson, reviewed, 367.
Constitutional history, Berdahl's "War Powers of the Executive in the United States", reviewed, 330; Farrand's "Fathers of the Constitution", reviewed, 585.
"Constitutional History of England", by G: B. Adams, reviewed, 106.
Constitutional law, Scott's "United States of America: a Study in International Organization", reviewed, 128.
"Consulat et l'Empire" (Lavisse, III.), by G. Pariset, reviewed, 304.
Continental Congress, A Rough Secret Journal of the, by J: C. Fitzpatrick, 489–491.
"Continental Congress, Letters of Members of the", I., ed. E. C. Burnett, reviewed, 328.
Conybeare, F: C., "Russian Dissenters", reviewed, 313.
Corbett, J. S., "Naval Operations", II., reviewed, 562.
Cordier, Henri, "Histoire Générale de la Chine", reviewed, 575.
"Corinth, Korakou: a Prehistoric Settlement near", by C. W. Blegen, reviewed, 810.
"Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald", ed. Sir Joseph Pope, reviewed, 799.
Cortissoz, Royal, "Life of Whitelaw Reid", reviewed, 135.
Corwin, E: S., (R) Dodd's "Woodrow Wilson and his Work", 334.
"Cosimo I., Duke of Florence", by Cecily Booth, reviewed, 343.
"Cotton Mills in the South, Rise of", by Broadus Mitchell, reviewed, 366.
"Courrier de M. Thiers", ed. Daniel Halévy, reviewed, 558.
"Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester", trans. I. H. Jeayes, reviewed, 606.
Courtois, E. B., 28–31, 36–39, 42, 43.
Courtois, Henri, 36, 37.
Couthon, Georges, 35, 42.
Crane, V. W., *Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia*, 63–69.
Crawford, C. C., paper by, 410.
Crittenden, J: J., and secession sentiment in 1850, 253.
Cross, A. L., (R) Notestein and Relf's "Commons Debates for 1629", 292; address by, 410.
Crowell, Benedict, "How America Went to War", I.–III., reviewed, 136.
Cruikshank, E. A., (R) Taylor's "Wars of Marlborough", 298.
"Crusade, First", ed. A. C. Krey, reviewed, 339.
Cuba, agitation for annexation in United States, 712, 720–722.
Cunningham, W: J., (R) Sharfman's "American Railroad Problem", 597.
Curtler, W. H. R., "Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land", reviewed, 109.

Daenell, Ernst, deceased, 629.
Dale, E: E., paper by, 418.
"Danelaw, Social and Economic History of the", ed. F. M. Stenton, reviewed, 104.
Danès, Pierre, bishop, 437, 445, 449, 450, 452.
Daniel, J: M., reports concerning Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign, 219–244.

Daniell, F. H. B., (ed.) "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic", 1680–1681, reviewed, 787.

Danton, A Letter from, to Marie Antoinette, by CARL BECKER, 24–46.

DAVID, C: W., (R) Halphen's "Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne", 102; (R) Poupardin's "Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence", 141.

Davidson, G. C., deceased, 838.

Davies, A. M., "Influence of George III. on the Development of the Constitution", reviewed, 822.

Davis, Elmer, "History of the New York *Times*", reviewed, 619.

DAY, CLIVE, (R) Sartorius von Waltershausen's "Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte", 308; (R) Clapham's "Economic Development of France and Germany", 556.

"Déclin de l'Empire et l'Établissement de la 3e République" (Lavisse, VII.), by Charles Seignobos, reviewed, 306.

"*Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua", by Ephraim Emerton, reviewed, 607.

Delehaye, Hippolyte, "Passions des Martyrs", reviewed, 100.

"Democracies, Modern", by Viscount Bryce, reviewed, 91.

De Morgan, Jacques, "L'Humanité Préhistorique", reviewed, 539.

DENNETT, TYLER, (R) Willoughby's "China at the Conference", 798.

"Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny", I., comp. Jacques Grob, reviewed, 777.

De Rohan, William, 234–238.

"Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815–1914", by A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, reviewed, 308.

Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America, by N. S. B. GRAS, 695–708; national economy as an organization in economic administration, 695–697; metropolitan economy as a substitute for national economy in production, 698–700; development of London from town economy to metropolitan economy, 701–704; growth of other metropolitan centres, 705–706; significance of metropolitan economy, 706–708.

"Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration", by C. S. S. Higham, reviewed, 162.

Did the Emperor Alexius I. ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?, by D. C. MUNRO, 731–733.

"Diplomacy and War", by Count Julius Andrássy, reviewed, 795.

Diplomatic history, PERKINS'S *Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine*, 207–218; Stuart's "French Foreign Policy from Fashoda to Serajevo", reviewed, 317; Raymond's "British Policy and Opinion during the Franco-Prussian War", reviewed, 352; J. J. JUSSERAND'S *School for Ambassadors*, 426–464; BEMIS'S *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484; Marchand's "Un Livre Noir", I., 1910–1912, reviewed, 796.

"Discoverers of America, Norse", trans. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, reviewed, 325.

"Doctrine Scholastique du Droit de Guerre", by Alfred Vanderpol, reviewed, 138.

"Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw", ed. F. M. Stenton, reviewed, 104.

DODD, W. F., (R) Anderson and Lobb's "Constitution of Minnesota", 367; (R) "Journal, Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875", 367.

Dodd, W: E., "Woodrow Wilson and his Work", reviewed, 334.

DODGE, R. E. N., (R) Broadus's "Laureateship", 814.

Dolet, Étienne, 433, 437, 448.

Douglas, Stephen A., 715, 716, 723–726, 728, 729.

Dow, C: M., "Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls", reviewed, 361.

Dow, E. W., paper by, 413.

Driault, Édouard, "Renaissance de l'Hellénisme", reviewed, 123.

Duchesne, Louis, deceased, 838.

"D'Ulm à Iéna", by M.-H. Weil, reviewed, 349.

"Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature", by Theodore Bolton, reviewed, 615.
"Early Life and Education of John Evelyn", ed. H. M. Smith, reviewed, 146.
"Early Travels in India, 1583–1619", ed. William Foster, reviewed, 296.
"Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914", by J. H. Clapham, reviewed, 556.
"Economic Development of the United States", by Isaac Lippincott, reviewed, 583.
Economic history, TURNER'S *English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1–23; "Social and Economic History of England and Wales", V., reviewed, 104; Curtler's "Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land", reviewed, 109; Klein's "Mesta", reviewed, 285; Sartorius von Waltershausen's "Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte", reviewed, 308; Mitchell's "Rise of Cotton Mills in the South", reviewed, 366; papers on, 412; Salter's "Allied Shipping Control", reviewed, 565; Sharfman's "American Railroad Problem", reviewed, 597; Hazard's "Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875", reviewed, 601; GRAS'S *Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America*, 695–708; Levy's "Die Englische Wirtschaft", reviewed, 820.
"Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine", by George O'Brien, reviewed, 555.
"Economic Reconstruction and Protection of Minorities ["History of the Peace Conference", IV., V., ed. H. W. V. Temperley], reviewed, 566.
"Economics of Communism: Russia's Experiment", by Leo Pasvolsky, reviewed, 356.
EDGERTON, FRANKLIN, (R) Carnoy's "Indo-Européens", 540; (R) Vendryes's "Le Langage", 772.
Edmundson, George, "History of Holland", reviewed, 815.
Education, Bruce's "University of Virginia", III., IV., reviewed, 132; Shaw's "University of Michigan", reviewed, 160; Hurlbut's "Story of Chautauqua", reviewed, 161; conference on teaching of history in schools, 408.
"Education, American Spirit in", by E. E. Slosson, reviewed, 622.
EDWARDS, MARTHA L., (R) Lamott's "Archdiocese of Cincinnati", 159.
Eekhof, A., "Theologische Faculteit te Leiden in de 17de Eeuw", reviewed, 345.
Ehrlich, Ludwik, "Proceedings against the Crown, 1216–1377", reviewed, 548.
Eliot, Sir Charles, "Hinduism and Buddhism", reviewed, 572.
Elizabeth, Madame, 26, 30, 37.
Emerton, Ephraim, "*Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua", reviewed, 607.
"Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land", by W. H. R. Curtler, reviewed, 109.
England, Notestein and Relf's "Commons Debates for 1629", reviewed, 292; Taylor's "Wars of Marlborough", reviewed, 298; Raymond's "Portraits of the Nineties", reviewed, 315; "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340; Alington's "Twenty Years", reviewed, 350; Strachey's "Queen Victoria", reviewed, 351; Cam's "Studies in the Hundred Rolls: some Aspects of Thirteenth-Century Administration", reviewed, 548; Ehrlich's "Proceedings against the Crown, 1216–1377", reviewed, 548; Reid's "King's Council in the North", reviewed, 550; "Nicholas Papers", IV. (1657–1660), reviewed, 551; Legg's "Matthew Prior", reviewed, 552; "Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester", reviewed, 606; Forbes's "Towns of New Eng-

land and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland", reviewed, 613; "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1680–1681", reviewed, 787; "Repertory of British Archives", pt. I., reviewed, 813; Broadus's "Laureateship", reviewed, 814; "Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon", I., 1553–1566, reviewed, 819; Levy's "Die Englische Wirtschaft", reviewed, 820; Davies's "Influence of George III. on the Development of the Constitution", reviewed, 822.

"England, Acts of the Privy Council of, 1613–1614", reviewed, 785.

"England, Constitutional History of", by G: B. Adams, reviewed, 106.

"England, Influence of Oversea Expansion on, to 1700", by J. E. Gillespie, reviewed, 609.

"England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century", by J: A. Kelly, reviewed, 147.

"Englische Wirtschaft", by Hermann Levy, reviewed, 820.

English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, by RAYMOND TURNER, 1–23; early references to use of coal, 1–6; monopolies at source: hostmen and keelmen, 7–13; strikes and customs duties, 14–17; transportation monopolies, 18–22; regulations never effective against combinations, 23.

"English Factories in India, 1655–1660", by William Foster, reviewed, 296.

English history, conference on, 410.

English literature, Broadus's "Laureateship", reviewed, 814.

"English Parliamentary Privilege", by Carl Wittke, reviewed, 290.

"Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Technique", by A. Vierendeel, reviewed, 809.

"Essays on the Latin Orient", by William Miller, reviewed, 570.

"Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne", by Louis Halphen, reviewed, 102.

"Europe, Modern, Macmillan's Historical Atlas of", ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, reviewed, 143.

"Europe, Modern, Political History of", by Ferdinand Schevill, reviewed, 342.

Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine, by DEXTER PERKINS, 207–218; French policy as to Spanish-American states (1822–1823), 208–211; French attitude toward United States, 211–212; policies of other European powers, 212–214; influence of Monroe's message upon European policies slight, 214–218.

Europe and America, Development of Metropolitan Economy in, by N. S. B. GRAS, 695–708.

"Europe since 1870", by E. R. Turner, reviewed, 311.

"Evelyn, John, Early Life and Education of", ed. H. M. Smith, reviewed, 146.

Everett, Edward, 261, 266.

"Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845–1849", by H. C. M. Wendel, reviewed, 609.

"Evolution of Long Island: a Story of Land and Sea", by R. H. Gabriel, reviewed, 614.

"Evolution of Parliament", by A. F. Pollard, reviewed, 108.

"Evolution of World-Peace", ed. F. S. Marvin, reviewed, 282.

"Évolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515", by Henri Strohl, reviewed, 818.

Exploration, Mourelle's "Voyage of the Sonora in the Second Bucareli Expedition", reviewed, 360.

Fagnan, E., (ed.) Abou Yousof Ya'koub's "Livre de l'Impôt Foncier (Kitâb El-Khâradj)", reviewed, 817.

Falconry, in reign of Emperor Frederick II., 681, 687.

Far East, Cheng's "Modern China", reviewed, 125; Kuiper's "Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw", reviewed, 156; conference on history of, 411; Cordier's "Histoire Générale de la Chine", re-

viewed, 575; Willoughby's "China at the Conference", reviewed, 798.
Farrand, Max, "Fathers of the Constitution", reviewed, 585; (ed.) "United States", III., reviewed, 620.
"Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani", ed. Ettore Pais, reviewed, 284.
"Fathers of the Constitution", by Max Farrand, reviewed, 585.
Faÿ, Bernard, paper by, 413.
Fay, S. B., (R) "Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky", 120; (R) Windischgraetz's "My Memoirs", 318; (R) Bethmann Hollweg's "Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege", pt. II., 610; (R) Waddington's "Histoire de Prusse", II., 788; (R) Ford's "Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia", 794.
Fenlon, J: F., (R) Delehaye's "Les Passions des Martyrs", 100.
Ferguson, W. S., (R) Hazzidakis's "Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne", 604.
Fife, R. H., (R) "Kaiser *vs.* Bismarck", 118.
"First Crusade", ed. A. C. Krey, reviewed, 339.
First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent, by W: H. Allison, 733–737.
Fiske, Rear-Adm. B. A., "Invention, the Master-Key to Progress", reviewed, 541.
Fitzpatrick, J: C., (ed.) "Autobiography of Martin Van Buren", reviewed, 133; *Rough Secret Journal of the Continental Congress*, 489–491.
Fling, F. M., (R) Lavisse's "Histoire de France Contemporaine", IV.–VII., 306; paper by, 414.
"Florence, Cosimo I., Duke of", by Cecily Booth, reviewed, 343.
Florida, Bolton's "Spanish Borderlands", reviewed, 580.
Folwell, W: W., "History of Minnesota", I., reviewed, 807.
Foote, H: S., 255, 263, 268.
Forbes, Allan, "Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland", reviewed, 613.
Ford, G. S., (R) Koser's "Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte", 300; (R) Weil's "D'Ulm à Iéna", 349; "Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia", reviewed, 794.
Fortescue, J. W., (introd.) Taylor's "Wars of Marlborough", reviewed, 298.
Foster, H. D., *Webster's Seventh of March Speech and the Secession Movement, 1850*, 245–270; (R) Mayo's "John Wentworth", 326.
Foster, William, "English Factories in India, 1655–1660", reviewed, 296; (ed.) "Early Travels in India, 1583–1619", reviewed, 296.
"Founding of New England", by J. T. Adams, reviewed, 129.
Fouquier-Tinville, A. Q., 26–29, 45, 46.
Fox, D. R., (R) Channing's "History of the United States", V., 589.
Fox, J. J., (R) Hayden's "Short History of the Irish People", 783.
France, Halphen's "Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne", reviewed, 102; Poupardin's "Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence", reviewed, 141; Calman's "Ledru-Rollin après 1848", reviewed, 151; policy toward Spanish-American states (1822–1824), 208–212, 214, 216–218; Simond's "Troisième République", I.–III., reviewed, 353; papers on history of, 413; Hanotaux's "Nation Française", XII., reviewed, 547; Clapham's "Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914", reviewed, 556; Seignobos's "L'Évolution de la Troisième République, 1875–1914 (Lavisse, VIII.), reviewed, 560; La Gorce's "Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française", III., IV., reviewed, 791; Marchand's "Un Livre Noir", I., 1910–1912, reviewed, 796; Askenazy's "Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Maréchal de France, 1763–1813", reviewed, 821.
"France, History of, from the Death of Louis XI.", I., by J: S. C. Bridge, reviewed, 816.
"France, Labor Problem and the So-

cial Catholic Movement in ", by P. T: Moon, reviewed, 310.
" France Contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la Paix de 1919 ", ed. Ernest Lavisse, I.–VIII., 301, 304, 306, 560.
Francis II., king of Two Sicilies, 225.
" Franco-Prussian War, British Policy and Opinion during the ", by Dora N. Raymond, reviewed, 352.
Franklin, ship, sent to aid Garibaldi, 233–237.
FRAYER, W: A., (R) Hearnshaw's " Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe ", 143; paper by, 414.
Frederick II., Science at the Court of, by C: H. HASKINS, 669–694.
" Free Negro in Maryland ", by J. M. Wright, reviewed, 365.
" French Foreign Policy from Fashoda to Serajevo ", by G. H. Stuart, reviewed, 317.
French Revolution, BECKER'S *Letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette,* 24–46; Mathiez's " Robespierre, Terroriste ", reviewed, 148; Sagnac's " La Révolution, 1789–1792 " and Pariset's " La Révolution, 1792–1799 " (Lavisse I., II.), reviewed, 301; La Gorce's " Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française ", III., IV., reviewed, 791.
Fripp, E. I., (introd.) " Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1553–1620 ", reviewed, 819.
FRYER, C. E., (R) Strachey's " Queen Victoria ", 351; (R) O'Brien's " Economic History of Ireland ", 555; (R) Levy's " Die Englische Wirtschaft ", 820.
Fur trade, Canadian, 466–468, 477–478.

Gabriel, R. H., " Evolution of Long Island ", reviewed, 614.
Gallatin, Albert, 211.
GARDINER, H. N., (R) Robinson's " The Mind in the Making ", 767.
Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat, by H. N. GAY, 219–244; John Moncure Daniel, 219–220; events leading up to expedition, 221–226; preparations and departure of Garibaldi, 227–230; diplomatic protests, 231; Americans aiding Garibaldi, 232; voyage of *Washington, Franklin,* and *Oregon,* 233–237; capture and release of *Charles and Jane,* 238–243; progress of campaign, 243–244.
Garraghan, G. J., " Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673–1871 ", reviewed, 834.
Gathorne-Hardy, G. M., (trans.) " Norse Discoverers of America ", reviewed, 325.
GAY, H. N., *Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat,* 219–244.
" General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox ", ed. F. L. Riley, reviewed, 830.
Gentili, Alberico, 434, 440.
Geography, Bowman's " New World ", reviewed, 568.
" George III., Influence of, on the Development of the Constitution ", by A. M. Davies, reviewed, 822.
Georgia, Philanthropists and the Genesis of, by V. W. Crane, 63–69.
" German Literature of the Eighteenth Century, England and the Englishman in ", by J: A. Kelly, reviewed, 147.
Germany, " Kaiser *vs.* Bismarck ", reviewed, 118; Koser's " Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte ", reviewed, 300; Sartorius von Waltershausen's " Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte ", reviewed, 308; Brunet's " La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919 ", reviewed, 357; Clapham's " Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914 ", reviewed, 556; Wendel's " Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845–1849 ", reviewed, 609; Bethmann Hollweg's " Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege ", pt. II., reviewed, 610; Lange's " Der Kronprinz und sein wahres Gesicht ", reviewed, 611; Stengel's " Nova Alamanniae ", I., reviewed, 778; Ford's " Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia ", re-

viewed, 794; Kanner's "Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik", reviewed, 824.
Germonius, Anastasius, 433, 438, 443.
"Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen, vom Englischen Puritanismus bis zur Pariser Kommune", by Alexander Cartellieri, reviewed, 117.
"Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters", VII., VIII., by Ludwig von Pastor, reviewed, 112.
"Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika", by Friedrich Luckwaldt, reviewed, 127.
GILLESPIE, J. E., "Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700", reviewed, 609; (R) Schäfer's "Kolonialgeschichte", 809.
Gipson, L. H., paper by, 411.
"Globes, Terrestrial and Celestial", by E: L. Stevenson, reviewed, 543.
Godard, G: S., address by, 408.
Goodwin, Cardinal, paper by, 419.
"Government, American Philosophy of", by A. H. Snow, reviewed, 826.
GRAS, N. S. B., referred to, 412; *Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America*, 695–708.
Great Britain, Spanish-American policy (1822–1824), 209, 215, 217; BEMIS'S *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484; Atkinson's "Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army", reviewed, 790.
Great War, Hurd's "Merchant Navy", I., reviewed, 122; Crowell and Wilson's "How America Went to War", I.–III., reviewed, 136; "Das Ausland im Weltkrieg", reviewed, 153; Marcovitch's "Serbia and Europe", reviewed, 154; Bordeaux's "La Bataille devant Souville", reviewed, 155; Seymour's "Woodrow Wilson", reviewed, 333; Dodd's "Woodrow Wilson and his Work", reviewed, 334; Britsch's "Maréchal Lyautey", reviewed, 356; conference on history of, 410; Corbett's "Naval Operations", II., reviewed, 562; Johnson's "Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts", reviewed, 563; Salter's "Allied Shipping Control", reviewed, 565; Mitchell's "Our Air Force", reviewed, 599; Bethmann Hollweg's "Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege", pt. II., reviewed, 610; Howe's "Harvard Dead in the War against Germany", reviewed, 624; Count Andrássy's "Diplomacy and War", reviewed, 795; Kanner's "Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik", reviewed, 824.
"Greater Roumania", by C: U. Clark, reviewed, 823.
Greece, Driault's "Renaissance de l'Hellénisme", reviewed, 123; Chester's "Life of Venizelos", reviewed, 320; Blegen's "Korakou", reviewed, 810.
Greeley, Horace, 258.
Green, Francis, (comp.) "Calendar of Deeds and Documents in the National Library of Wales", I., reviewed, 340.
Green, Rena M., (ed.) "Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick", reviewed, 617.
Grenville, W: W., baron, negotiations with Jay, 474–477.
Grob, Jacques, (comp.) "Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny", I., reviewed, 777.
Guérard, A. F., paper by, 413.
"Guia Histórica y Descriptiva del Archivo General de Simancas", by Juan Montero, reviewed, 359.
GUILDAY, PETER, (R) Van der Essen's "L'Université de Louvain", 341.

HAAS, G: C. O., (R) Aiyangar's "South India and her Muhammadan Invaders", 825.
Hackett, C: W., paper by, 411.
Hagedorn, Hermann, "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands", reviewed, 621.
Halévy, Daniel, (ed.) "Le Courrier de M. Thiers", reviewed, 558.
Hall, F: A., address by, 406.
Hall, Hubert, "Repertory of British Archives", pt. I., reviewed, 813.
HALL, W. P., (R) Curtler's "Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land", 109.
Hallward, N. L., "William Bolts", reviewed, 348.

Halphen, Louis, "Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne", reviewed, 102.
Hamilton, Alexander, and the northwest boundary, 472–474; advocate of Jay's Treaty, 478.
"Hamilton, Alexander, the Greatest American", by A. H. Vandenberg, reviewed, 363.
Hamilton, J. G. de R., (ed.) "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", IV., reviewed, 803.
HAMLIN, A. D. F., (R) Moore's "Daniel H. Burnham", 596.
Hammann, Otto, "Der Missverstandene Bismarck", reviewed, 152.
Hammond, George, and the northwest boundary, 468–474.
Hanotaux, Gabriel, (ed.) "Histoire de la Nation Française", XII., reviewed, 547.
"Harvard Dead in the War against Germany", II., by M. A. DeW. Howe, reviewed, 624.
HASKINS, C: H., address by, 410; *Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II.*, 669–694.
Haworth, P. L., "Trailmakers of the Northwest", reviewed, 364; discussion by, 415.
HAY, T: R., (R) Wood's "Captains of the Civil War", 592.
Hayden, Mary, "Short History of the Irish People", reviewed, 783.
Hazard, Blanche E., "Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875", reviewed, 601.
HAZEN, C: D., (introd.) "Kaiser *vs.* Bismarck", reviewed, 118; paper by, 414; (R) Halévy's "Courrier de M. Thiers", 558.
Hazzidakis, Joseph, "Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne", reviewed, 604.
Hearnshaw, F. J. C., ed. "Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe", reviewed, 143.
HEWES, Amy, (R) Kelso's "History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts", 832.
Heywood, William, "History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", reviewed, 775.
Higginson, Mary T., (ed.) "Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson", reviewed, 624.
"Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, Letters and Journals of", ed. Mary T. Higginson, 624.
Higham, C. S. S., "Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration", reviewed, 162.
Hill, C: E., "Leading American Treaties", reviewed, 827.
Hill, Isaac, 266.
"Hinduism and Buddhism: an Historical Sketch", by Sir Charles Eliot, reviewed, 572.
Hispanic-American history, conference on, 411.
"Histoire de Belgique", V., by H: Pirenne, reviewed, 294.
"Histoire de France Contemporaine", ed. Ernest Lavisse, I.–VIII., reviewed, 301, 304, 306, 560.
"Histoire de la Nation Française", XII., by Gabriel Hanotaux, reviewed, 547.
"Histoire de la Troisième République", I.–III., by Émile Simond, reviewed, 353.
"Histoire de Prusse", II., by Albert Waddington, reviewed, 788.
"Histoire Générale de la Chine, et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers", by Henri Cordier, reviewed, 575.
"Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française", III., IV., by Pierre de La Gorce, reviewed, 791.
"Historic Houses of South Carolina", by Harriette K. Leiding, reviewed, 620.
"Historical Source Book", by Hutton Webster, reviewed, 358.
History, Anglo-American Conference of Professors of, 58–63.
"History of California: the Spanish Period", by C: E. Chapman, reviewed, 804.
"History of France from the Death of Louis XI.", I., by J: S. C. Bridge, reviewed, 816.
"History of Holland", by George Edmundson, reviewed, 815.

"History of Minnesota", I., by W: W. Folwell, reviewed, 807.
"History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", by William Heywood, reviewed, 775.
"History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620–1920", by R. W. Kelso, reviewed, 832.
"History of the New York *Times*, 1851–1921", by Elmer Davis, reviewed, 619.
"History of the Peace Conference", IV., V., ed. H. W. V. Temperley, reviewed, 566.
"History of the United States", by Edward Channing, V., reviewed, 589.
Hoffmann, P. T., "Der Mittelalterliche Mensch", reviewed, 812.
"Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien: ein Kapitel aus der Kolonialgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts", by Hermann Wätjen, reviewed, 836.
Holland, Sir T: E., "Letters to *The Times* upon War and Neutrality", reviewed, 822.
"Holland, History of", by George Edmundson, reviewed, 815.
"Holland, Tropical", by H. A. van C. Torchiana, reviewed, 347.
Holt, W. S., (R) Mitchell's "Our Air Force", 599.
Holy Alliance, (1823), 213, 216, 218.
Hopkins, E. W., (R) Pieris's "Ceylon and the Portuguese", 287; (R) Eliot's "Hinduism and Buddhism", 572.
Hotman de Villiers, François, 430, 434–436, 438, 441, 442, 445, 448, 450–453.
House, R. T., (R) Lange's "Kronprinz und sein wahres Gesicht", 611.
"How America Went to War", I.–III., by Benedict Crowell and R. F. Wilson, reviewed, 136.
Howe, M. A. DeW., "Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany", II., reviewed, 624.
Howland, A. C., (R) Baluze's "Vitae Paparum Avenionensium", ed. Mollat, I., III., 605.
Howland, Col. C: R., paper by, 414.
Howland, Harold, "Theodore Roosevelt and his Times", reviewed, 333.
Hudson's Bay Company, 477, 479–480.
Huebner, G. G., (R) Salter's "Allied Shipping Control", 565.
Hulbert, A. B., papers by, 410, 417.
"*Humanité Préhistorique: Esquisse de Préhistoire Générale*", by Jacques de Morgan, reviewed, 539.
Hurd, Archibald, "Merchant Navy", I., reviewed, 122.
Hurlbut, J. L., "Story of Chautauqua", reviewed, 161.
Hyde, C: C., "International Law", reviewed, 769.

Illinois, Bogart and Mathews's "Modern Commonwealth", reviewed, 806.
"Illinois, Centennial History of", V., reviewed, 806.
Illinois State Historical Library, "Collections", XV., reviewed, 615.
"Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning", by R. L. Poole, reviewed, 142.
"India, British Beginnings in Western", by H. G. Rawlinson, reviewed, 144.
"India, Early Travels in, 1583–1619", ed. William Foster, reviewed, 296.
"India, English Factories in, 1655–1660", by William Foster, reviewed, 296.
"India, South, and her Muhammadan Invaders", by S. K. Aiyangar, reviewed, 825.
"Indo-Européens: Préhistoire des Langues, des Moeurs, et des Croyances de l'Europe", by Albert Carnoy, reviewed, 540.
"Influence of George III. on the Development of the Constitution", by A. M. Davies, reviewed, 822.
"Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700", by J. E. Gillespie, reviewed, 609.
Institute of International Affairs, publication reviewed, 566.
International law, Vanderpol's "Doctrine Scholastique du Droit de Guerre", reviewed, 138; Holland's "Letters to *The Times* upon War and Neutrality", reviewed, 822.

"International Law", by C: C. Hyde, reviewed, 769.
International relations, PERKINS's *Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine*, 207–218.
"International Relations", by James Bryce, Viscount Bryce, reviewed, 766.
"Introduction to the History of Christianity, 590–1314", by F. J. F. Jackson, reviewed, 774.
"Invention, Age of", by Holland Thompson, reviewed, 623.
"Invention, the Master-Key to Progress", by Rear-Adm. B. A. Fiske, reviewed, 541.
"Iranische Erlösungsmysterium", by R. Reitzenstein, reviewed, 139.
"Ireland, Economic History of, from the Union to the Famine", by George O'Brien, reviewed, 555.
"Ireland, Puritans in, 1647–1661", by St. J: D. Seymour, reviewed, 146.
"Irish People, Short History of", by Mary Hayden and G: A. Moonan, reviewed, 783.
"Islam, New World of", by Lothrop Stoddard, reviewed, 322.
"Iswolsky, Alexander, Memoirs of", trans. C: L. Seeger, reviewed, 120.
Italy, GAY's *Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat*, 219–244; Rodocanachi's "La Réforme en Italie", reviewed, 288; Mieli's "Gli Scienziati Italiani", reviewed, 337; Booth's "Cosimo I., Duke of Florence", reviewed, 343.
"Italy, Art of War in", by F. L. Taylor, reviewed, 144.
"Italy, Classical Associations of Places in", by Frances E. Sabin, reviewed, 605.
"Ivernois, Sir Francis d'", by Otto Karmin, reviewed, 149.

JACKSON, A. V. W., (R) Reitzenstein's "Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium", 139.
Jackson, F. J. F., "Introduction to the History of Christianity, 590–1314", reviewed, 774.
Jacobin Club, 34.
JACOBS, H: E., (R) Stephenson's "Conservative Character of Martin Luther", 608.
"Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw", by J. F. Kuiper, reviewed, 156.
Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap, by S: F. BEMIS, 465–484; northern boundary line set in 1782, 465; Canadian dissatisfaction with boundary, 466–468; British minister's proposals for rectification, 468–474; Jay-Grenville negotiations, 474–477; trading privileges under Jay's Treaty, 477–478; limits of Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Boundary, 479–480; David Thompson's survey for North West Company, 480–483; importance of territory involved in Jay-Grenville negotiations, 483–484.
Jeanroy, Alfred, "Histoire de la Nation Française", XII., reviewed, 547.
Jeayes, I. H., (trans.) "Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester", reviewed, 606.
Jefferson, Thomas, and the northwest boundary, 471.
"Jefferson and his Colleagues", by Allen Johnson, reviewed, 585.
JEWETT, J. R., (R) Ya'koub's "Livre de l'Impôt Foncier (Kitâb El-Khâradj)", 817.
John of Palermo, 674, 675.
Johnson, Allen, "Jefferson and his Colleagues", reviewed, 585.
Johnson, D. W., "Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts", reviewed, 563.
JONES, T. F., (R) Booth's "Cosimo I., Duke of Florence", 343.
Joranson, Einar, awarded Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, 421.
Jordan, J: W., deceased, 165.
"Journal, Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875", by Isidor Loeb, reviewed, 367.
Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765 (doc.), II., 70–89.
"Journal of a Lady of Quality, 1774 to 1776", ed. Evangeline W. and C: M. Andrews, reviewed, 801.

Journalism, Davis's "History of the New York *Times*", reviewed, 619.
JUSSERAND, J. J., presidential address by, 407; *School for Ambassadors*, 426–464.

"Kaiser *vs.* Bismarck", introd. C: D. Hazen, reviewed, 118.
"Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik", by Heinrich Kanner, reviewed, 824.
Kanner, Heinrich, "Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik", reviewed, 824.
Karmin, Otto, "Sir Francis d'Ivernois", reviewed, 149.
KELLAR, H. A., (R) Thompson's "Age of Invention", 623.
KELLY, H. A., (R) Schachner's "Ephraim McDowell", 616.
Kelly, J: A., "England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century", reviewed, 147.
Kelsey, R. W., (ed.) "Cazenove Journal, 1794", reviewed, 829.
Kelso, R. W., "History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts", reviewed, 832.
KENDRICK, B. B., (R) Paxson's "Recent History of the United States", 594.
KERNER, R. J. (R) Marcovitch's "Serbia and Europe", 154; paper by, 414.
KIMBALL, FISKE, *Architecture in the History of the Colonies and of the Republic*, 47–57; (R) Leiding's "Historic Houses of South Carolina", 620.
KING, H. L., (R) von Srbik's "Wallenstein's Ende", 115.
"King's Council in the North", by R. R. Reid, reviewed, 550.
Klein, Julius, "Mesta", reviewed, 285.
KNAPLUND, Paul, (R) Raymond's "British Policy and Opinion during the Franco-Prussian War", 352.
Kohlmeier, A. L., paper by, 419.
"Kolonialgeschichte", by Dietrich Schäfer, reviewed, 809.
"Korakou: Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth", by C. W. Blegen, reviewed, 810.
KORFF, S. A., baron, (R) Count Andrássy's "Diplomacy and War", 795; (R) Marchand's "Un Livre Noir", I., 1910–1912, 796.
Koser, Reinhold, "Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte", reviewed, 300.
Krey, A. C., "First Crusade", reviewed, 339; paper by, 413.
"Kronprinz und sein wahres Gesicht", by Carl Lange, reviewed, 611.
Kuiper, J. F., "Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw", reviewed, 156.
"Kulturgeschichte, Allgemeine: von den Aeltesten Tagen bis zur Gegenwart", by Charles Richet, reviewed, 90.

"Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France", by P. T: Moon, reviewed, 310.
La Gorce, Pierre de, "Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française", III., IV., reviewed, 791.
Lamott, J: H., "Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821–1921", reviewed, 159.
"Langage: Introduction Linguistique à l'Histoire", by J. Vendryes, reviewed, 772.
Lange, Carl, "Der Kronprinz und sein wahres Gesicht", reviewed, 611.
Lansing, Robert, "Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference", reviewed, 612.
Lanza, Col. C. H., paper by, 414.
"Latin Orient, Essays on the", by William Miller, reviewed, 570.
LATOURETTE, K. S., (R) Cordier's "Histoire Générale de la Chine", 575.
"Laureateship: a Study of the Office", by E. K. Broadus, reviewed, 814.
Lavisse, Ernest, (ed.) "Histoire de France Contemporaine", I.–VIII., reviewed, 301, 304, 306, 560.
Law, Wittke's "English Parliamentary Privilege", reviewed, 290.
"Leading American Treaties", by C: E. Hill, reviewed, 827.
League of Nations, 462.
Learned, H. B., paper by, 418.
"Ledru-Rollin après 1848 et les Pro-

scrits Français en Angleterre", by A. R. Calman, reviewed, 151.
"Lee, General Robert E., after Appomattox", ed. F. L. Riley, reviewed, 830.
"Legal History, Oxford Studies in Social and", VI., ed. Sir Paul Vinogradoff, reviewed, 548.
Legg, L. G. W., "Matthew Prior", reviewed, 552.
Lehmann, F: W., paper by, 418.
Leiding, Harriette K., "Historic Houses of South Carolina", reviewed, 620.
LELAND, W. G., (R) Forbes's "Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland", 613.
Leonard of Pisa, 675, 684.
Letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette, by CARL BECKER, 24–46; the letter and its apparent history, 24–31; Danton's "royalism" and current plots, 31–40; tension in early August, 1793, 40–42; patriotic reasons for saving queen, 43–45; hypotheses, 46.
"Letters of Members of the Continental Congress", I., ed. E. C. Burnett, reviewed, 328.
"Letters to *The Times* upon War and Neutrality, 1881–1920", by Sir T: E. Holland, reviewed, 822.
LEVERMORE, C: H., (R) Marvin's "Evolution of World-Peace", 282.
Levy, Hermann, "Die Englische Wirtschaft", reviewed, 820.
"Lewis County, West Virginia, History of", by E: C. Smith, reviewed, 365.
"Life of Artemas Ward, the First Commander-in-Chief of the American Revolution", by Charles Martyn, reviewed, 362.
"Life of Whitelaw Reid", by Royal Cortissoz, reviewed, 135.
LINCOLN, C: H., (R) Martyn's "Life of Artemas Ward", 362.
LINGELBACH, W: E., (R) Lavisse's "Histoire de France Contemporaine", III., 304.
Lingley, C: R., "Since the Civil War" ("United States", III.), reviewed, 620.
Lippincott, Isaac, "Economic Development of the United States", reviewed, 583.
Literature, Bédier, Jeanroy, and Picavet's "Histoire des Lettres", I. (Hanotaux's "Nation Française", XII.), reviewed, 547.
"Livre de l'Impôt Foncier (Kitâb El-Khâradj)", by Abou Yousof Ya'koub, reviewed, 817.
"Livre Noir", I., 1910–1912, reviewed, 796.
Lobb, A. J., "History of the Constitution of Minnesota", reviewed, 367.
Loeb, Isidor, (introd.) "Journal, Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875", reviewed, 367.
London, development from town economy to metropolitan economy, 701–704.
London *Times*, Holland's "Letters to *The Times* upon War and Neutrality, 1881–1920", reviewed, 822.
"Long Island, Evolution of", by R. H. Gabriel, reviewed, 614.
Lonn, Ella, paper by, 417.
Loofs, Friedrich, (pref.) Sippell's "Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums", reviewed, 344.
LORD, R. H., (R) Bowman's "New World", 568; (R) Askenazy's "Prince Joseph Poniatowski", 821.
Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631 (doc.), 493–538, 738–765.
"Louvain, L'Université de", by Léon Van der Essen, reviewed, 341.
Luckwaldt, Friedrich, "Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika", reviewed, 127.
LUNT, W. E., (R) "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., 340; (R) "Calendar of Deeds and Documents in the National Library of Wales", I., 340; (R) Alington's "Twenty Years: the Party System, 1815–1835", 350.
"Luther, Évolution Religieuse de", by Henri Strohl, reviewed, 818.
"Luther, Martin, Conservative Character of", by G: M. Stephenson, reviewed, 608.
LUTZ, R. H., (R) Wendel's "Evolution

of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845–1849", 609.
Luxemburg, "Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny", I., reviewed, 777.
"Lyautey, Maréchal", by Amédée Britsch, reviewed, 356.
LYBYER, A. H., (R) Driault's "Renaissance de l'Hellénisme", 123; (R) Stoddard's "New World of Islam", 322.
Lynch, W: O., paper by, 418.

"Macdonald, Sir John, Correspondence of", ed. Sir Joseph Pope, reviewed, 799.
"McDowell, Ephraim", by August Schachner, reviewed, 616.
MCELROY, R. M., (R) Cheng's "Modern China", 125.
MCFAYDEN, DONALD, (R) Sedgwick's "Marcus Aurelius", 141.
Mackenzie, Alexander, "Voyages", quoted, 482–483.
Mackinnon, James, "Social and Industrial History of Scotland", reviewed, 346.
"Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe", ed. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, reviewed, 143.
MAGOFFIN, R. VAN D., (R) Païs's "Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani", 284.
Manfred, king, 692–694.
Marat, Jean Paul, assassination of, 40.
Marchand, René, (pref.) "Un Livre Noir", I., 1910–1912, reviewed, 796.
Marcovitch, Lazar, (ed.) "Serbia and Europe", reviewed, 154.
"Marcus Aurelius", by H: D. Sedgwick, reviewed, 141.
Marcy, W: L., 713. 714–716, 719, 721, 722.
"Maréchal Lyautey", by Amédée Britsch, reviewed, 356.
Marie Antoinette, Letter from Danton to, by CARL BECKER, 24–46.
"Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860", by S. E. Morison, reviewed, 600.
"Marlborough, Wars of", by Frank Taylor, reviewed, 298.
"Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army", by C. T. Atkinson, reviewed, 790.
Marsh, F. B., paper by, 413.
"Marsiglio of Padua, *Defensor Pacis* of", by Ephraim Emerton, reviewed, 607.
MARTIN, P. A., (R) Wätjen's "Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien", 836.
Martyn, Charles, "Life of Artemas Ward", reviewed, 362.
Marvin, F. S., (ed.) "Evolution of World-Peace", reviewed, 282.
"Maryland, Free Negro in", by J. M. Wright, reviewed, 365.
"Massachusetts, History of Public Poor Relief in", by R. W. Kelso, reviewed, 832.
"Massachusetts, Maritime History of", by S. E. Morison, reviewed, 600.
"Massachusetts, Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in, before 1875", by Blanche E. Hazard, reviewed, 601.
Massachusetts Historical Society, "Proceedings", LIV., reviewed, 832.
Mathews, J. M., "Modern Commonwealth", reviewed, 806.
Mathiez, Albert, 27, 31; "Robespierre, Terroriste", reviewed, 148.
"Maverick, Mary A., Memoirs of", ed. Rena M. Green, reviewed, 617.
Mayo, L. S., "John Wentworth", reviewed, 326.
Medical history, Schachner's "Ephraim McDowell", reviewed, 616.
Medici, Col. Giacomo, 233, 237.
"Medicine, Arabian", by E: G. Browne, reviewed, 338.
Medieval history, papers on, 413; Munro's "Middle Ages, 395–1272", reviewed, 545; Miller's "Essays on the Latin Orient", reviewed, 570; Baluze's "Vitae Paparum Avenionensium", ed. Mollat, reviewed, 605; Emerton's "*Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio", reviewed, 607; HASKINS'S *Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II.*, 669–694; Jackson's "Introduction to the History of Christianity", reviewed, 774; Stengel's "Nova Alamanniae", I., re-

viewed, 778; Hoffmann's "Der Mittelalterliche Mensch", reviewed, 812.
"Medieval Thought and Learning, Illustrations of the History of", by R. L. Poole, reviewed, 142.
"Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick", ed. R. M. Green, reviewed, 617.
"Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany", II., by M. A. DeW. Howe, reviewed, 624.
"Merchant Navy", I., by Archibald Hurd, reviewed, 122.
Mereness, N. D., paper by, 409.
MERRIAM, C. E., (R) Snow's "American Philosophy of Government", 826.
"Mesta: a Study in Spanish Economic History", by Julius Klein, reviewed, 285.
Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America, Development of, by N. S. B. GRAS, 695–708.
Metternich, Fürst von, policy toward Spanish-American states, 212–217.
"Mexican War, Texas and the", by N. W. Stephenson, reviewed, 618.
Meyer, Eduard, "Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums", I., reviewed, 99.
"Michigan, University of", by Wilfred Shaw, reviewed, 160.
"Middle Ages, 395–1272", by D. C. Munro, reviewed, 545.
Mieli, Aldo, (ed.) "Gli Scienziati Italiani", reviewed, 337.
Military geography, Johnson's "Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts", reviewed, 563.
Military history, F. L. Taylor's "Art of War in Italy", reviewed, 144; Frank Taylor's "Wars of Marlborough", reviewed, 298; Martyn's "Life of Artemas Ward", reviewed, 362; papers on, 414; Johnson's "Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts", reviewed, 563; Wood's "Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812", I., reviewed, 588; Wood's "Captains of the Civil War", reviewed, 592; Atkinson's "Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army", reviewed, 790.
Miller, William, "Essays on the Latin Orient", reviewed, 570.
"Mind in the Making: the Relation of Intelligence to Social Reform", by J. H. Robinson, reviewed, 767.
"Minnesota, Constitution of", by William Anderson, reviewed, 367.
"Minnesota, History of", I., by W: W. Folwell, reviewed, 807.
Minnesota, University of, "Research Publications, Studies in the Social Sciences", nos. 10 and 15, reviewed, 292, 367.
Minnesota Historical Society, publication reviewed, 807.
"Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1553–1620", reviewed, 819.
Mississippi River, BEMIS's *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484.
Missouri, papers on history of, 418.
"Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, Journal", by Isidor Loeb, reviewed, 367.
"Missverstandene Bismarck", by Otto Hammann, reviewed, 152.
Mitchell, Broadus, "Rise of Cotton Mills in the South", reviewed, 366.
Mitchell, William, "Our Air Force", reviewed, 599.
Mitchell's Map of 1755, 465.
"Mittelalterliche Mensch", by P. T. Hoffmann, reviewed, 812.
Mode, P. G., "Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History", reviewed, 582.
"Modern China", by Sih-Gung Cheng, reviewed, 125.
"Modern Commonwealth, 1893–1918", by E. L. Bogart and J: M. Mathews, reviewed, 806.
"Modern Democracies", by Viscount Bryce, reviewed, 91.
Mohammedan law, Abou Yousof Ya'koub's "Livre de l'Impôt Foncier", reviewed, 817.
Mohammedanism, Stoddard's "New World of Islam", reviewed, 322.
Mollat, Guillaume, (ed.) Baluze's

"Vitae Paparum Avenionensium", I., III., reviewed, 605.
"Monarchie de Juillet" (Lavisse, V.), by Sebastien Charléty, reviewed, 306.
Monroe Doctrine, Europe, Spanish America, and the, by DEXTER PERKINS, 207–218.
Montelius, Oscar, deceased, 369.
Montero, Juan, "Guia Histórica y Descriptiva del Archivo General de Simancas", reviewed, 359.
Montmorency, Matthieu de, vicomte, 208, 210.
Moon, P. T:, "Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France", reviewed, 310; paper by, 414.
Moonan, G: A., "Short History of the Irish People", reviewed, 783.
Moore, Charles, "Daniel H. Burnham", reviewed, 596.
MOORE, G: F., (R) Smith's "Short History of Christian Theophagy", 811.
MORGAN, W: T:, (R) Legg's "Matthew Prior", reviewed, 552.
MORISON, S: E., (R) J. T. Adams's "Founding of New England", 129; "Maritime History of Massachusetts", reviewed, 600.
Morris, Gouverneur, 33, 35.
Mourelle, F. A., "Voyage of the Sonora", reviewed, 360.
Mumford, A. A., (ed.) "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340.
MUNRO, D. C., "Middle Ages, 395–1272", reviewed, 545; (R) Miller's "Essays on the Latin Orient", 570; *Did the Emperor Alexius I. ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?*, 731–733.
Murray, Margaret A., "Witch-Cult in Western Europe", reviewed, 780.
"My Memoirs", by Prince Ludwig Windischgraetz, reviewed, 318.

Naples, diplomatic relations, 224–229, 240–243.
Napoleonic era and wars, Weil's "D'Ulm à Iéna", reviewed, 349.
Nashville Convention, 252–256.
National Council for the Social Studies, note respecting, 491–492.
"Naval Operations", II., by Sir J. S. Corbett, reviewed, 562.
Navy, British, Corbett's "Naval Operations", II. [History of the Great War], reviewed, 562; Hurd's "Merchant Navy", I., reviewed, 122.
Near East, Bouchier's "Short History of Antioch", reviewed, 96.
"Negro, Free, in Maryland", by J. M. Wright, reviewed, 365.
NEILSON, NELLIE, (R) Stenton's "Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw", 104.
Nesselrode, Karl R., count, 216, 217.
Netherlands, Eekhof's "Theologische Faculteitte Leiden in de 17de Eeuw", reviewed, 345.
"Neutrality, Letters to *The Times* upon War and", by Sir T: E. Holland, reviewed, 822.
Nevins, J. W., 235.
New England, Forbes's "Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland", reviewed, 613.
"New England, Founding of", by J. T. Adams, reviewed, 129.
New Hampshire, Mayo's "John Wentworth", reviewed, 326.
New Jersey, "Cazenove Journal, 1794", reviewed, 829.
"New Stone Age in Northern Europe", by J: M. Tyler, reviewed, 94.
"New World of Islam", by Lothrop Stoddard, reviewed, 322.
"New World: Problems in Political Geography", by Isaiah Bowman, reviewed, 568.
"New York *Times,* History of the", by Elmer Davis, reviewed, 619.
NEWHALL, R: A., (R) Krey's "First Crusade", 339; (R) Bridge's "History of France from the Death of Louis XI.", I., 816.
"Niagara Falls, Anthology and Bibliography of", by C: M. Dow, reviewed, 361.
Nice, cession to France, 221–224.
"Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of

State", IV., ed. G: F. Warner, reviewed, 551.
Nigra, Costantino, count, letter to Cavour, 232.
"Norse Discoverers of America", trans. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, reviewed, 325.
North Carolina, "Journal of a Lady of Quality, 1774–1776", reviewed, 801; "Papers of Thomas Ruffin", IV., reviewed, 803.
North Carolina Historical Commission, "Publications", reviewed, 803.
"Northwest, Trailmakers of the", by P. L. Haworth, reviewed, 364.
Northwest Boundary Gap, Jay's Treaty and the, by S: F. Bemis, 465–484.
North West Company, 467, 480–483.
Notestein, Wallace, (ed.) "Commons Debates for 1629", reviewed, 292.
Notker Teutonicus, Hoffmann's "Der Mittelalterliche Mensch, gesehen aus Welt und Umwelt Notkers des Deutschen", reviewed, 812.
"Nova Alamanniae", I., by Edmund Stengel, reviewed, 778.

O'Brien, George, "Economic History of Ireland", reviewed, 555.
Ogg, F: A., (R) Bryce's "Modern Democracies", 91; (R) Brunet's "La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919", 357.
Oldfather, C: H., paper by, 413.
Oldfather, W. A., (R) Chester's "Life of Venizelos", 320.
Olson, J. E., (R) Gathorne-Hardy's "Norse Discoverers of America", 325.
"Opening a Highway to the Pacific", by J. C. Bell, reviewed, 331.
Oregon, ship, sent to aid Garibaldi, 233–237.
"Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875", by Blanche E. Hazard, reviewed, 601.
"Our Air Force: the Keystone of National Defense", by William Mitchell, reviewed, 599.
"Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History", VI., ed. Sir Paul Vinogradoff, reviewed, 548.
Oxford University, *First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent*, by W: H. Allison, 733–737.
"Pacific, Opening a Highway to the", by J. C. Bell, reviewed, 331.
Packard, L. B., (R) Stuart's "French Foreign Policy from Fashoda to Serajevo", 317.
Paetow, L. J., paper by, 413; (R) Hoffmann's "Der Mittelalterliche Mensch", 812.
Païs, Ettore, (ed.) "Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani", reviewed, 284.
Palmer, Capt. J. S., 237, 238, 241.
Paltsits, V. H., paper by, 408; (R) Stevenson's "Terrestrial and Celestial Globes", 543.
"Papers of Thomas Ruffin", IV., ed. J. G. de R. Hamilton, reviewed, 803.
Paris, N. J., 27, 45.
Pariset, Georges, "La Révolution, 1792–1799" (Lavisse, II.), reviewed, 301; "Le Consulat et l'Empire" (Lavisse, III.), reviewed, 304.
"Parliament, Evolution of", by A. F. Pollard, reviewed, 108.
"Parliamentary Privilege, English", by Carl Wittke, reviewed, 290.
"Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires", by Hippolyte Delehaye, reviewed, 100.
Pastor, Ludwig von, "Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters", VII., VIII., reviewed, 112.
Pasvolsky, Leo, "Economics of Communism", reviewed, 356.
Patterson, W. L., letters of, 234–235, 238, 240.
Paxson, F: L., (R) Cortissoz's "Life of Whitelaw Reid", 135; (R) Howland's "Theodore Roosevelt and his Times", 333; (R) Seymour's "Woodrow Wilson and the World War", 333; "Recent History of the United States", reviewed, 594; (R) Hagedorn's "Roosevelt in the Bad Lands", 621; (R) Rainwater's "Play Movement in the United States", 831.

"Peace, World-, Evolution of", ed. F. S. Marvin, reviewed, 282.
"Peace Conference, History of the", ed. H. W. V. Temperley, reviewed, 566.
"Peace Conference, The Big Four and Others of the", by Robert Lansing, reviewed, 612.
Pease, T. C., paper by, 409.
Pecquet, Antoine, 428, 446, 453n, 454–460.
Pennsylvania, "Cazenove Journal, 1794", reviewed, 829.
PERIGORD, PAUL, (R) Bordeaux's "La Bataille devant Souville", 155.
Perkins, Clarence, paper by, 411.
PERKINS, DEXTER, *Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine*, 207–218.
Petersson, Torsten, "Cicero", reviewed, 97.
Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia, by V. W. Crane, 63–69.
PHILLIPS, U. B., (R) Wright's "Free Negro in Maryland", 365; (R) Lingley's "Since the Civil War", 620.
Piacenza, Council of, 731–733.
Picavet, F. J., "Histoire de la Nation Française", XII., reviewed, 547.
Pierce, Franklin, 718, 719, 721–725.
Pieris, P. E., "Ceylon and the Portuguese", reviewed, 287.
"Pilgrim Fathers: Builders of a Nation", by F. G. Beardsley, reviewed, 360.
Pirenne, Henri, "Histoire de Belgique", V., reviewed, 294.
"Pisa, History of, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", by William Heywood, reviewed, 775.
"Pitkin Papers, 1766–1769", reviewed, 833.
"Play Movement in the United States", by C. E. Rainwater, reviewed, 831.
Poland, Askenazy's "Prince Joseph Poniatowski", reviewed, 821.
Polignac, Jules, prince de, 209, 211, 214, 215.
Political geography, Bowman's "The New World", reviewed, 568.
"Political History of Modern Europe", by Ferdinand Schevill, reviewed, 342.
Pollard, A. F., "Evolution of Parliament", reviewed, 108.
Pond, Peter, 481.
"Poniatowski, Le Prince Joseph, Maréchal de France", by Simon Askenazy, reviewed, 821.
Poole, R. L., "Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning", reviewed, 142.
"Poor Relief in Massachusetts, History of Public", by R. W. Kelso, reviewed, 832.
Pope, Sir Joseph, (ed.) "Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald", reviewed, 799.
Porritt, Edward, deceased, 369.
"Portraits of the Nineties", by E. T. Raymond, reviewed, 315.
"Portuguese, Ceylon and the", by P. E. Pieris, reviewed, 287.
Postgate, R. W., (ed.) "Revolution from 1789 to 1906", reviewed, 554.
Poupardin, René, "Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence", reviewed, 141.
Prehistory, Tyler's "New Stone Age in Northern Europe", reviewed, 94; De Morgan's "L'Humanité Préhistorique", reviewed, 539; Carnoy's "Les Indo-Européens", reviewed, 540; Hazzidakis's "Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne", reviewed, 604; Blegen's "Korakou", reviewed, 810.
"Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Maréchal de France, 1763–1813", by Simon Askenazy, reviewed, 821.
"Prior, Matthew: a Study of his Public Career and Correspondence", by L. G. W. Legg, reviewed, 552.
Professorship of History, The First Endowed, and its First Incumbent, by W: H. ALLISON, 733–737.
"Provence, Recueil des Actes des Rois de", ed. René Poupardin, reviewed, 141.
"Prusse, Histoire de", II., by Albert Waddington, reviewed, 788.
Prussia, attitude toward Spanish-American colonies, 208; Ford's "Stein

and the Era of Reform in Prussia", reviewed, 794.
"Prussia, Evolution of Industrial Freedom in, 1845–1849", by H. C. M. Wendel, reviewed, 609.
"Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1680–1681, preserved in", reviewed, 787.
"Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661", by St. J: D. Seymour, reviewed, 146.

Quakerism, Sippell's "Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums", reviewed, 344.
"Québec, Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de", reviewed, 835.
Quitman, J: A., and secession sentiment in 1850, 249.

"Railroad Problem, American", by I. L. Sharfman, reviewed, 597.
Rainwater, C. E., "Play Movement in the United States", reviewed, 831.
Rawlinson, H. G., "British Beginnings in Western India", reviewed, 144.
Raymond, Dora N., "British Policy and Opinion during the Franco-Prussian War", reviewed, 352.
Raymond, E. T., "Portraits of the Nineties", reviewed, 315.
"Recent History of the United States", by F: L. Paxson, reviewed, 594.
"Recollections of a Foreign Minister: Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky", trans. C: L. Seeger, reviewed, 120.
"Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence", ed. René Poupardin, reviewed, 141.
Reeves, J. S., (R) Holland's "Letters to *The Times* upon War and Neutrality", 822.
"Réforme en Italie", by E. Rodocanachi, reviewed, 288.
Reid, R. R., "King's Council in the North", reviewed, 550.
"Reid, Whitelaw, Life of", by Royal Cortissoz, reviewed, 135.
Reinach, Joseph, deceased, 165.
Reitzenstein, R., "Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium", reviewed, 139.
"Relations of the United States with Sweden", by K. E. Carlson, reviewed, 828.
Relf, Frances H., (ed.) "Commons Debates for 1629", 292; (R) "Nicholas Papers", IV., 551.
Religious history, Reitzenstein's "Iranische Erlösungsmysterium", reviewed, 139; Amer. Soc. of Church Hist., "Papers", 2d ser. VI., reviewed, 157; Conybeare's "Russian Dissenters", reviewed, 313; Sippell's "Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums", reviewed, 344; Eekhof's "Theologische Faculteit te Leiden in de 17de Eeuw", reviewed, 345; Mode's "Source Book for American Church History", reviewed, 582; Stephenson's "Conservative Character of Martin Luther", reviewed, 608; Smith's "Short History of Christian Theophagy", reviewed, 811; Strohl's "L'Évolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515", reviewed, 818.
"Renaissance de l'Hellénisme", by Édouard Driault, reviewed, 123.
"Repertory of British Archives", pt. I., "England", reviewed, 813.
"Restauration" (Lavisse, IV.), by S. Charléty, reviewed, 306.
Revolution, Cartellieri's "Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen", reviewed, 117.
"Révolution de 1848: Second Empire" (Lavisse, VI.), by Ch. Seignobos, reviewed, 306.
"Revolution from 1789 to 1906", ed. R. W. Postgate, reviewed, 554.
Revolutionary Tribunal, French, 26, 27, 33, 36.
Richelieu, Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, duke of, 210.
Richet, Charles, "Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte", reviewed, 90.
Riley, F. L., (ed.) "General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox", reviewed, 830.
Robertson, J. A., (R) Bolton's "Spanish Borderlands", 580.
Robertson, W: S., paper by, 411.
Robespierre, Maximilien, 28, 29, 33 34, 41, 45, 46.

"Robespierre, Terroriste", by Albert Mathiez, reviewed, 148.
ROBINSON, D: M., (R) Blegen's "Korakou", 810.
Robinson, Gertrude, "David Urquhart", reviewed, 150.
Robinson, J. H., "The Mind in the Making", reviewed, 767.
Rodocanachi, Emmanuel Pierre, "La Réforme en Italie", reviewed, 288.
Roger II., Sicily, 670.
Roman Catholic Church, Pastor's "Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters", VII., VIII., reviewed, 112; Lamott's "Archdiocese of Cincinnati", reviewed, 159; Baluze's "Vitae Paparum Avenionensium" (ed. Mollat), I., III., reviewed, 605; La Gorce's "Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française", III., IV., reviewed, 791; Garraghan's "Catholic Church in Chicago", reviewed, 834.
Rome, Petersson's "Cicero", reviewed, 97; Sedgwick's "Marcus Aurelius", reviewed, 141; Païs's "Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani", reviewed, 284.
"Roosevelt, Theodore, and his Times", by Harold Howland, reviewed, 333.
"Roosevelt in the Bad Lands", by Hermann Hagedorn, reviewed, 621.
Root, W. T., paper by, 411.
Rosier, Bernard du, archbishop, 433, 437, 449.
ROSTOVTSEFF, MICHAEL, (R) Conybeare's "Russian Dissenters", 313; paper by, 411.
"Roumania, Greater", by C: U. Clark, reviewed, 823.
Rousseau de Chamoy, 437, 445, 446, 450, 451, 458.
Roy, P.-G., "Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, 1920–1921", reviewed, 835.
Royal Historical Society, publication, reviewed, 813.
"Ruffin, Thomas, Papers of", IV., ed. J. G. de R. Hamilton, reviewed, 803.
Russell, T: C., (ed.) Mourelle's "Voyage of the Sonora", reviewed, 360.
Russia, attitude toward Spanish-American states, 208, 214–218; Pasvolsky's "Economics of Communism", reviewed, 356; "Un Livre Noir", I., 1910–1912, reviewed, 796.
"Russian Dissenters", by F: C. Conybeare, reviewed, 313.

Sabin, Frances E., "Classical Associations of Places in Italy", reviewed, 605.
Sackville, Lord, *Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631* (doc.), 493–538, 738–765.
Sagnac, Philippe, "La Révolution, 1789–1792" (Lavisse, I.), reviewed, 301.
Salter, J. A., "Allied Shipping Control", reviewed, 565.
Sardinia, relations with Naples, 225, 228; attitude toward Garibaldi's expedition, 227, 228, 231, 237, 239, 240.
Sartorius von Waltershausen, A., "Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte", reviewed, 308.
Savage, Richard, (comp.) "Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, 1553–1620", reviewed, 819.
Schachner, August, "Ephraim McDowell", reviewed, 616.
Schäfer, Dietrich, "Kolonialgeschichte", reviewed, 809.
SCHAFER, JOSEPH, (R) Bell's "Opening a Highway to the Pacific", 331; paper by, 417; (R) Chapman's "History of California", 804.
Schaw, Janet, "Journal, 1774–1776", reviewed, 801.
SCHEVILL, FERDINAND, "Political History of Modern Europe", reviewed, 342; paper by, 412; (R) Heywood's "History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", 775; (R) Clark's "Greater Roumania", 823.
Schlesinger, A. M., remarks by, 415.
SCHMITT, B. E., (R) Gertrude Robinson's "David Urquhart", 150.
SCHNEIDER, FRANZ, jr., (R) Crowell and Wilson's "How America Went to War", I.–III., 136.
School for Ambassadors, presidential

address, by J. J. JUSSERAND, 426–464; early manuals, 427–428; temporary missions, 429–431; development of permanent embassies, 431–433; qualities and conduct prescribed in early treatises, 433–453; later manuals show changed standards, 454–460; new methods and aims in international relations, 461–464.

SCHUYLER, R. L., (R) Wittke's "English Parliamentary Privilege", 290.

Science, history of, Mieli's "Gli Scienziati Italiani", reviewed, 337; conference on, 410.

Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II., by C. H. HASKINS, 669–694; scientific activity at courts of Frederick's predecessors, 670; Michael Scot and other scholars at Frederick's court, 671–676; royal regulation of universities, 676–677; Frederick's relations with Jewish and Mohammedan scholars, 677–679; interest in animals, 680–681; in medicine, 682; in astrology, astronomy, and mathematics, 682–684; in philosophy, 684–686; experiments and investigations, 686–688; use of questionnaires, 688–691; rationalistic habit of mind, 691–692; scientific activity at Manfred's court, 692–694.

"Scienziati Italiani dall'Inizio del Medio Evo ai Nostri Giorni", ed. Aldo Mieli, reviewed, 337.

Scot, Michael, 672, 685, 689, 691.

"Scotland, Social and Industrial History of", by James Mackinnon, reviewed, 346.

Scott, J: B., "United States of America: a Study in International Organization", reviewed, 128.

SEARS, L. M., *Slidell and Buchanan*, 709–730.

Secession Movement, Webster's Seventh of March Speech and, by H. D. FOSTER, 245–270.

Sedgwick, H: D., "Marcus Aurelius", reviewed, 141.

Seeger, C: L., (trans.) "Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky", reviewed, 120.

Seeliger, Gerhard, deceased, 630.

Seignobos, Charles, "La Révolution de 1848: le Second Empire" and "Le Declin de l'Empire" (Lavisse, VI., VII.), reviewed, 306; "L'Évolution de la Troisième République" (Lavisse, VIII.), reviewed, 560.

Seissel, Claude de, 447.

"Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812", ed. William Wood, reviewed, 588.

"Serbia and Europe, 1914–1920", ed. Lazar, Marcovitch, reviewed, 154.

Severance, F. H., (ed.) Buffalo Historical Society, "Publications", reviewed, 158, 834.

SEYMOUR, CHARLES, "Woodrow Wilson and the World War", reviewed, 333; (R) Temperley's "History of the Peace Conference", IV., V., 566; (R) Lansing's "Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference", 612.

Seymour, St. J: D., "Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661", reviewed, 146.

SHAPLEY, JOHN, (R) Bolton's "Early American Portrait Painters", 615.

Sharfman, I. L., "American Railroad Problem", reviewed, 597.

Shaw, Wilfred, "University of Michigan", reviewed, 160.

SHEARER, A. H., (R) Dow's "Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls", 361.

"Shipping Control, Allied", by J. A. Salter, reviewed, 565.

Shoemaker, F. C., paper by, 418.

"Short History of Christian Theophagy", by Preserved Smith, reviewed, 811.

"Short History of the Irish People", by Mary Hayden and G: A. Moonan, reviewed, 783.

Shotwell, J. T., (ed.) "Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series", reviewed, 565.

Sicily, GAY'S *Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat*, 219–244.

Sidney, Sir Philip, 431.

Simcoe, J: G., 470.

Simond, Émile, "Troisième République", I.–III., reviewed, 353.

"Since the Civil War", by C: R. Lingley, reviewed, 620.
Sippell, Theodor, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums", reviewed, 344.
"Sir Francis d'Ivernois, 1757–1842", by Otto Karmin, reviewed, 149.
Slidell and Buchanan, by L. M. Sears, 709–730; Slidell's early hopes of Presidency for Buchanan, 710–711; labors to secure Buchanan's nomination in 1852, 712–717; in the Senate, 719–722; preconvention campaign of 1856, 723–724; further activity of Slidell for Buchanan, 725–727; his suggestions for Cabinet appointments, 728–729; continued loyalty, 730.
Slosson, E. E., "American Spirit in Education", reviewed, 622.
Smith, E: C., "History of Lewis County, West Virginia", reviewed, 365.
Smith, H. M., "Early Life and Education of John Evelyn", reviewed, 146.
Smith, J. H., (R) Stephenson's "Texas and the Mexican War", 618.
Smith, Preserved, "Short History of Christian Theophagy", reviewed, 811; (R) Strohl's "L'Évolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515", 818.
Smith, T. C., paper by, 416.
Snow, A. H., "American Philosophy of Government", reviewed, 826.
"Social and Economic History of England and Wales", V., ed. F. M. Stenton, reviewed, 104.
"Social and Industrial History of Scotland", by James Mackinnon, reviewed, 346.
"Social and Legal History, Oxford Studies in", VI., ed. Sir Paul Vinogradoff, reviewed, 548.
Social conditions and history, Kimball's *Architecture in the Colonies and the Republic*, 47–57; Moon's "Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France", reviewed, 310; papers on American social conditions, 417; Murray's "Witch-Cult in Western Europe", reviewed, 780; Rainwater's "Play Movement in the United States", reviewed, 831.
"Social History of the Western World", by H. E. Barnes, reviewed, 603.
"Social Reform, The Mind in the Making: the Relation of Intelligence to", by J. H. Robinson, reviewed, 767.
Social Studies, National Council for the, note concerning, 491–492.
"Sociology, Significance of, for Economic and Social History", paper by H. E. Barnes, 412.
Soulé, Pierre, 710, 713, 715, 719–721, 725.
"Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History", by P. G. Mode, reviewed, 582.
South America, Perkins's *Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine*, 207–218.
"South Carolina, Historic Houses of", by Harriette K. Leiding, reviewed, 620.
"South India and her Muhammadan Invaders", by S. K. Aiyangar, reviewed, 825.
Souvay, C: L., (R) Garraghan's "Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673–1871", 834.
"Souville, La Bataille devant", by Henri Bordeaux, reviewed, 155.
Spain, Montero's "Guia Histórica y Descriptiva del Archivo General de Simancas", reviewed, 359.
Spanish America, Perkins's *Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine*, 207–218.
"Spanish Borderlands: a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest", by H. E. Bolton, reviewed, 580.
"Spanish Economic History: the Mesta", by Julius Klein, reviewed, 285.
Spaulding, O. L., jr., (R) Johnson's "Battlefields of the World War", 563.
Spencer, H: R., (R) Scott's "United States of America: a Study in International Organization", 128.

Sperry, E. E., (R) Turner's "Europe since 1870", 311.
Srbik, Heinrich von, "Wallenstein's Ende", reviewed, 115.
"Statecraft, Studies in: mainly on the Sixteenth Century", by Sir Geoffrey Butler, reviewed, 111.
"Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia", by G. S. Ford, reviewed, 794.
Stengel, Edmund, "Nova Alamanniae", I., reviewed, 778.
Stenton, F. M., (ed.) "Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw", reviewed, 104.
Stephens, A. H., and secession sentiment in 1850, 250, 251, 254, 258.
Stephenson, G: M,, "Conservative Character of Martin Luther", reviewed, 608.
Stephenson, N. W., "Texas and the Mexican War", reviewed, 618.
Stevens, W. E., (R) Haworth's "Trailmakers of the Northwest", 364; paper by, 410; (R) Alvord's "Governor Edward Coles", 615.
Stevenson, E: L., "Terrestrial and Celestial Globes", reviewed, 543.
Stiles, C. C., address by, 408.
Stocks, G. A., (ed.) "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340.
Stoddard, Lothrop, "New World of Islam", reviewed, 322.
Stowell, E. C., (R) Hyde's "International Law", 769.
Strachey, Lytton, "Queen Victoria", reviewed, 351.
"Stratford-upon-Avon, Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of", reviewed, 819.
Strohl, Henri, "L'Évolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515", reviewed, 818.
Stuart, G. H., "French Foreign Policy from Fashoda to Serajevo", reviewed, 317.
"Study of American History", by Viscount Bryce, reviewed, 826.
Suarez, P. D., 430.
Surrey, Mrs. N. M. M., paper by, 419.
"Sweden, Relations of the United States with", by K. E. Carlson, reviewed, 828.
Sweet, A. H., (R) Jackson's "Introduction to the History of Christianity", 774.
Swift, Gen. Eben, paper by, 412.
Switzerland, Karmin's "Sir Francis d'Ivernois", reviewed, 149.

Tait, James, (ed.) "Chetham Miscellanies", IV., reviewed, 340.
Taylor, F. L., "Art of War in Italy, 1494–1529", reviewed, 144.
Taylor, Frank, "Wars of Marlborough", reviewed, 298.
Taylor, G. W., (ed.) Frank Taylor's "Wars of Marlborough", reviewed, 298.
Taylor, Zachary, 258.
Technology, Vierendeel's "Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Technique", reviewed, 809.
Temperley, H. W. V., (ed.) "History of the Peace Conference", IV., V., reviewed, 566.
"Terrestrial and Celestial Globes: their History and Construction", by E: L. Stevenson, reviewed, 543.
Texas, "Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick", reviewed, 617.
"Texas and the Mexican War", by N. W. Stephenson, reviewed, 618.
Thacher, J: Boyd, Collection, 31.
Theodore, "the philosopher", 672–674, 682.
"Theologische Faculteit te Leiden in de 17de Eeuw", by A. Eekhof, reviewed, 345.
"Thiers, Le Courrier de M.", ed. Daniel Halévy, reviewed, 558.
Thomas, Capt. Shipley, paper by, 410.
Thompson, David, survey of upper Mississippi, 480–482.
Thompson, Holland, "Age of Invention", reviewed, 623.
Thompson, J. W., (R) Stengel's "Nova Alamanniae", I., 778.
Thorndike, Lynn, (R) Mieli's "Gli Scienziati Italiani", 337; paper by, 413.
Toombs, Robert, 250, 251, 258.

Torchiana, H. A. van C., "Tropical Holland", reviewed, 347.
Toucey, Isaac, 729.
"Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland", by Allan Forbes, reviewed, 613.
"Trailmakers of the Northwest", by P. L. Haworth, reviewed, 364.
"Treaties, Leading American", by C: E. Hill, reviewed, 827.
TRENHOLME, N. M., (R) "Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester", 606.
TRENT, W. P., (R) Bruce's "History of the University of Virginia", III., IV., 132.
"Tropical Holland", by H. A. van C. Torchiana, reviewed, 347.
TROTTER, R. G., (R) Mackinnon's "Social and Industrial History of Scotland", 346.
Tryon, R. M., paper by, 408.
TURNER, E. R., *English Coal Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1–23; (R) G: B. Adams's "Constitutional History of England", 106; "Europe since 1870", reviewed, 311.
"Twenty Years: the Party System, 1815–1835", by Cyril Alington, reviewed, 350.
Tyler, J: M., "New Stone Age in Northern Europe", reviewed, 94.
TYLER, M. W., (R) "Das Ausland im Weltkrieg", I., 153.
"Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne", by Joseph Hazzidakis, reviewed, 604.

United States, Luckwaldt's "Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten", reviewed, 127; BEMIS'S *Jay's Treaty and the Northwest Boundary Gap*, 465–484; Mitchell's "Our Air Force", reviewed, 599; Bryce's "Study of American History", reviewed, 826.
"United States", III., ed. Max Farrand, reviewed, 620.
"United States, Economic Development of the", by Isaac Lippincott, reviewed, 583.
"United States, History of the", V., by Edward Channing, reviewed, 589.
"United States, International Law, chiefly as interpreted by", by C: C. Hyde, reviewed, 769.
"United States, Play Movement in the", by C. E. Rainwater, reviewed, 831.
"United States, Recent History of", by F: L. Paxson, reviewed, 594.
"United States, Relations of the, with Sweden", by K. E. Carlson, reviewed. 828.
"United States of America: a Study in International Organization", by J: B. Scott, reviewed, 128.
"Université de Louvain", by Léon Van der Essen, reviewed, 341.
"University of Michigan", by Wilfred Shaw, reviewed, 160.
"University of Virginia", III., IV., by P. A. Bruce, reviewed, 132.
"Urquhart, David: a Victorian Knight-Errant", by Gertrude Robinson, reviewed, 150.
"Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums", I., by Eduard Meyer, reviewed, 99.
USHER, R. G., (R) "Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1613–1614", 785.

"Van Buren, Martin, Autobiography of", ed. J: C. Fitzpatrick, reviewed, 133.
Vandenberg, A. H., "The Greatest American, Alexander Hamilton", reviewed, 363.
Van der Essen, Léon, "L'Université de Louvain", reviewed, 341.
Vanderpol, Alfred, "Doctrine Scholastique du Droit de Guerre", reviewed, 138.
VAN METRE, T. W., (R) Morison's "Maritime History of Massachusetts", 600.
Vannérus, Jules, (ed.) "Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny", reviewed, 777.
VAN TYNE, C. H., (R) Burnett's "Letters of Members of the Continental Congress", I., 328; paper by, 415.
Vendryes, J., "Le Langage", reviewed, 772.

"Venizelos, Life of", by S. B. Chester, reviewed, 320.
Vera y Çuniga, Juan Antonio de, 428, 433, 434, 441, 445.
Verona, Congress of, 209.
Vesey, Constance, (trans.) Prince Windischgraetz's "My Memoirs", reviewed, 318.
Victor Emmanuel II., 225.
"Victoria, Queen", by Lytton Strachey, reviewed, 351.
Vierendeel, A., "Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Technique", reviewed, 809.
Vigna, Piero della, 674.
Vignaud, Henry, "Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende", reviewed, 577.
Villèle, Joachim de, 208, 210–212.
VINCENT, J: M., (R) Karmin's "Sir Francis d'Ivernois", 149.
Vinogradoff, Sir Paul, (ed.) "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History", VI., reviewed, 548.
Violette, E. M., paper by, 408.
"Virginia, History of the University of", III., IV., by P. A. Bruce, reviewed, 132.
Virginia, Lord Sackville's Papers respecting, 1613–1631 (doc.). 493–538, 738–765.
"Virginia Dynasty, Jefferson and his Colleagues: a Chronicle of the", by Allen Johnson, reviewed, 585.
"Vitae Paparum Avenionensium", by Étienne Baluze, ed. Mollat, I., III., reviewed, 605.
VON KLENZE, CAMILLO, (R) Kelly's "England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century", 147.
"Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums", by Theodor Sippell, reviewed, 344.
"Voyage of the Sonora in the Second Bucareli Expedition", by F. A. Mourelle, reviewed, 360.
"Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende", by Henry Vignaud, reviewed, 577.

Waddington, Albert, "Histoire de Prusse", II., reviewed, 788.
Wätjen, Hermann, "Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien", reviewed, 836.
"Wales, National Library of, Calendar of Deeds and Documents in the", I., comp. Francis Green, reviewed, 340.
Walker, R. J., 710, 713, 725, 726, 728.
WALKER, WILLISTON, deceased, 628; (R) Seymour's "Puritans in Ireland", 146.
"Wallenstein's Ende", by Heinrich von Srbik, reviewed, 115.
Walsh, J. J., address by, 406.
"War and Neutrality, Letters to *The Times* upon", by Sir T: E. Holland, reviewed, 822.
"War in Italy, Art of", by F. L. Taylor, reviewed, 144.
"War of 1812, Select British Documents of the Canadian", I., ed. William Wood, reviewed, 588.
"War Powers of the Executive in the United States", by C. A. Berdahl, reviewed, 330.
Ward, Sir A. W:, "Collected Papers", I., II., reviewed, 355.
"Ward, Artemas, Life of, the First Commander-in-Chief of the American Revolution", by Charles Martyn, reviewed, 362.
Warner, G: F., (ed.) "Nicholas Papers", IV., reviewed, 551.
Warner, Langdon, paper by, 411.
WARREN, F. M., (R) Hanotaux's "Histoire de la Nation Française", XII., 547.
"Wars of Marlborough", by Frank Taylor, reviewed, 298.
Washington, George, and the northwest boundary, 474.
Washington, ship, sent to aid Garibaldi, 233–237.
Washington in 1834; Letter of Robert C. Caldwell (doc.), 271–281.
Watson, J. W., 240–242.
Webster, Hutton, "Historical Source Book", reviewed, 358.
Webster's Seventh of March Speech and the Secession Movement, 1850, by H. D. FOSTER, 245–270; new material available, 245–246; disunion sentiment prior to speech, 246–252;

the Nashville Convention, 252–255; influence of Webster's policy on South, 255–256; Northern opinion as to Southern sentiment, 256–262; purpose and character of speech, 262–264; contemporary approval of speech, 264–268; gains from postponement of secession, 268–270.

Weil, M.-H., "D'Ulm à Iéna", reviewed, 349.

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st duke of, 209, 213.

Welvert, Eugène, 24, 31.

Wendel, H. C. M., "Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845–1849", reviewed, 609.

"Wentworth, John", by L. S. Mayo, reviewed, 326.

WEST, ELIZABETH H., (R) Maverick's "Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick", 617.

West Indies, Higham's "Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration", reviewed, 162; "Journal of a Lady of Quality, 1774–1776", reviewed, 801.

"West Virginia, History of Lewis County", by E: C. Smith, reviewed, 365.

Westermann, W: L., paper by, 412.

Whear, Degory, 735–737.

White, M. J., paper by, 418.

Willoughby, W. W., "China at the Conference", reviewed, 798.

WILSON, G: G., (R) Bryce's "International Relations", 766; (R) Hill's "Leading American Treaties", 827.

Wilson, R. F., "How America Went to War", I.–III., reviewed, 136.

"Wilson, Woodrow, and his Work", by W: E: Dodd, reviewed, 334.

"Wilson, Woodrow, and the World War", by Charles Seymour, reviewed, 333.

Windischgraetz, Prince Ludwig, "My Memoirs", reviewed, 318.

Winsor, Justin, prize, awarded, 421.

"Witch-Cult in Western Europe", by Margaret A. Murray, reviewed, 780.

WITTKE, CARL, (R) Luckwaldt's "Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika", 127; "English Parliamentary Privilege", reviewed, 290.

Wood, William, (ed.) "Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812", I., reviewed, 588; "Captains of the Civil War", reviewed, 592.

WOODWARD, R. S., (R) Fiske's "Invention", 541.

Wotton, Sir Henry, 439.

WRIGHT, H. F., (R) Vanderpol's "Doctrine Scholastique du Droit de Guerre", 138.

Wright, J. M., "Free Negro in Maryland", reviewed, 365.

WRONG, G: M., (R) "Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald", 799.

WYCKOFF, C: T., (R) Bogart and Mathew's "Modern Commonwealth", 806.

Ya'koub, Abou Yousof, "Livre de l'Impôt Foncier (Kitâb El-Khâradj)", reviewed, 817.

ZOOK, G: F., (R) Hallward's "William Bolts", 348; (R) Slosson's "American Spirit in Education", 622.

"Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte", by Reinhold Koser, reviewed, 300.

Volume XXVII] *October, 1921* [*Number 1*

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ENGLISH COAL INDUSTRY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

IN England the mining of coal is of great antiquity.[1] Coal was in use among the Saxons, apparently, for the burning of lime and the shaping of iron.[2] At an early time it came into use as fuel. It is mentioned in the Newminster chartulary about 1236; and in 1306, according to the antiquarian Prynne, it was much employed by London artificers in place of charcoal and wood, and caused such intolerable smoke that the king forbade it to be used there.[3] About the time of the Peasants' Revolt a chronicler speaks of coal which grows under the ground in Wales.[4] Before this time it seems to have been exported.[5] During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there is much information to show that coal was mined at Newcastle and Gateshead, that it was largely used, and that considerable quantities were borne by sea to London, becoming thus the sea-coal

[1] For an admirable account, filled with antiquarian learning, and with copious references and annotations, see John Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne, including an Account of the Coal Trade of that Place*, etc. (London, 1789), II. 241–311; also Matthias Dunn, *An Historical, Geological, and Descriptive View of the Coal Trade of the North of England*, etc. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1844); Mark Archer, *A Sketch of the History of the Coal Trade of Northumberland and Durham* (London, [1897]), pt. I.; also R. L. Galloway, *Papers relating to the History of the Coal Trade and the Invention of the Steam Engine*, etc. (London, 1906), pp. 15–24.

[2] Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5.

[3] Surtees Society, *Publications*, LXVI. (1876) 55, 201. "Jam de novo praeter solitum ex Carbone marino concremant et componunt; de quo tantus et talis prosilit foetor intolerabilis, quod diffundens se per loca vicina, aër ibidem inficitur in immensum: . . ." William Prynne, *Brief Animadversions on . . . the Fourth Part of Coke's Institutes* (London, 1669), p. 182, quoting "Pat. 35 Edward I. m. 4. dorso".

[4] Trevisa-Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), I. 399.

[5] Petition of Thomas Rente of Pontoise, 1325. *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I. 433; Brand, II. 255.

of common parlance.[6] This traffic may have been subject to customs payment for a long time, but express mention is made of it in the time of Henry V.[7] During this and the following century there were probably numerous mines, many of them doubtless small, in the north country.[8] Aeneas Sylvius, speaking of the wonders of Scotland, of the winter days only three hours long, and of fruits which change into birds, tells also of the wondrous stones which poorly clad beggars accept in lieu of alms, and which they joyfully burn instead of wood.[9] A hundred years later the Venetian ambassador sends back a quaint account of the wide use of coal in industry.[10] Sea-coal, stone-coal, and moor-coal are all mentioned, and the mines were sources of revenue to many a landowner and ecclesiastic.[11] A monopoly of sea-coals was one of the measures of James I., and was planned also in the reign following, while by this time the customs upon coal were recognized as "an ancient Revenue of the Crown".[12]

This coal was obtained in various places. There was a coal-pit eight fathoms deep in Somersetshire at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[13] At this time there was no little activity in the Midlands, while Scottish coal is mentioned also.[14] Trade was carried on from Hull, Yarmouth, and "Larpoole" in Lancashire;[15] most of all, however, from the Tyne. "The greatest Part of this Kingdom, and more especially the City of London, and most Mari-

[6] Richard Welford, *History of Newcastle and Gateshead in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1884, 1887).

[7] *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 208; Brand, *op. cit.*, II. 270.

[8] *Welford, loc. cit.*, I., II.

[9] "Nam pauperes pene nudos ad templa mendicantes, acceptis lapidibus eleemosynae gratia datis, laetos abiisse conspeximus: id genus lapidis sive sulphurea sive alia pingui materia praeditum, pro ligno, quo regio nuda est, comburitur." *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei . . . Opera* (Basel, 1551), p. 443; Brand, *op. cit.*, II. 263.

[10] "Nelle parti del Nord, che e il paese confinante colla Scozia, si ritrova certa sorta di terra quasi come miniera, e brucia come il carbone, e se ne usa da molti e massime dalli fabbri; e se non lasciasse un non so che di mal sentore, facendo gran fazione e costando poco, si userebbe ancora piu." "Relazione di Giacomo Soranzo", in Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni dello Impero Britannico nel Secolo XVI. scritte da Veneti Ambasciatori* (Florence, 1852), pt. II., p. 50; Welford, *op. cit.*, II. 318.

[11] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. IV., pt. I., p. 410; Welford, *op. cit.*, II. 83, 104, 111.

[12] *Commons' Journals*, I. 685; "Many monopolies spoken of, among others, one that only 10 men may sell sea-coal throughout England" (1637). Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Tenth Report*, III. 163; *Commons' Journals*, I. 778.

[13] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Twelfth Report*, I. 71 (Coke MSS.).

[14] *Id.*, IV. 499, 500; *Fifteenth Report*, X. 156.

[15] *Commons' Journals*, II. 90.

time Towns, are served and furnished with Coals from the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the adjacent Parts of Northumberland, and the Bishoprick of Durham", says a declaration of 1643.[16] Somewhat earlier the author of a pamphlet declares that 200 ships carry coal from Newcastle to London, while as many more serve the other seacoast towns, great and small. "Hither even to the Mines mouth, come all our Neighbour countrey Nations with their Shippes continually." French ships came in fleets of forty or fifty sail, serving the ports of northern France, and others from Germany and Holland carried on the trade with Flanders and beyond.[17] "An other Commodity that this River bringeth forth, is Coale in great abundance; most of the People that liveth in these parts, lives by the benefit of Coales, and are carried out of this River into most parts of England South-Ward, into Germany, and other transmarine Countries."[18] And a rhymester bursting forth in exultant doggerel cries:[19]

> "England's a perfect World! has Indies too!
> Correct your Maps: New-Castle is Peru."

The protection of this sea trade, and particularly the uninterrupted transport of coals to London, was a matter of great solicitude to the authorities. A navy paper of 1629, endorsed by Sir J. Coke, "Proposition for a fleet of 5 squadrons", assigns one of them to guard "the Coal Fleets of Newcastle".[20] In 1640 there were apprehensions that the trade might be interrupted by the Scots; and two years later Parliament, narrating things done by the king's evil counsellors, spoke of their fortifying the mouth of the Tyne, so that all the Newcastle coal traffic could be stopped whenever his Majesty pleased, which would bring great burden and distress to the city of London and many parts of the kingdom.[21] After the Restoration, whenever there was danger from abroad, hundreds of colliers sailed together under the convoy of war-ships, and numerous communications about their movements were sent to the commissioners of the navy and the clerk of the privy council.[22]

16 *Lords' Journals,* VI. 82.

17 *The Trades Increase* (London, 1615), pp. 10, 11; also Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eleventh Report,* VII. 291.

18 William Grey, *Chorographia; or, a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1649, ed. Newcastle, 1818), p. 32.

19 *News from Newcastle* (London, 1651), p. 1.

20 Hist. MSS. Comm., *Twelfth Report,* I. 379 (Coke MSS.).

21 *Hardwicke State Papers,* II. 173; *Parliamentary History,* II. 1411.

22 "Yesterday the Flyeing Grayhounde sayled from this porte [Newcastle] in the Companie of the Convoy and neere 400 sayle of Colliers". State Papers

During the seventeenth century coal was more and more used in various manufactures, and by the end of the century it had become indispensable. "Iron may be made with Sea-coal, and Pit-coal", says a speaker in 1614.[23] A little later coal was to be used in the making of tobacco pipes.[24] In 1690 the brewers of London were suffering in their trade because of the high price of coals.[25] Two years after, the attorney-general reported in favor of the incorporation of a company to smelt iron with pit-coal.[26] In 1696 the glass-workers of Southwark petitioned that a duty might be removed, lest their manufacture be ruined, and the woolen-dyers of London declared that "they cannot carry on their Trade without great Quantities of Coals".[27] It was employed likewise in the manufacture of salt.[28] Many trades made use of it as time went on. In 1731 a petition of brewers, distillers, dyers, glass-makers, smiths, and sugar-bakers, had to do with the use of coal.[29] Shortly after, a petition against its high cost came from these same, together with soap-boilers, "and other considerable Consumers".[30] In 1739 high prices occasioned protest from brewers, brick-makers, calico-printers, distillers, dyers, founders, glass-makers, lime-burners, smiths, soap-boilers, and sugar-bakers, "who are Consumers of large Quantities of Coals".[31]

A great part of it was used for fuel. In 1641 payment is made by the corporation of Bridgnorth "To Humfrey Parkes for halfe a tonne of coales for a great fire that watch night which was made nere the Cross in the high streete of this Town".[32] "Winter draws on and never was less provision of coals here than now; 'tis likely many a house will be pulled down and burnt for want of firing", writes a correspondent from Dublin in 1643.[33] In 1662 arrangement is made for the purchase of £500 worth of sea-coal for the king's garrison at Tangier.[34] Above all it was so used in London.

Domestic, Charles II., CLXVIII., Aug. 25, 1666. See *id.*, CCCV., Apr. 13, 1672; CCCXII., June 24, 1672; and CCCXIII., CCCXIV., *passim*. "This day wee have news of 14 Colliers being taken by three dutch Capers aft of Hornesey". *Id.*, CCCXXXVI., pt. I., June 13, 1673.

[23] *Commons' Journals*, I. 480.

[24] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report*, II. 69 (Portland MSS.).

[25] *Commons' Journals*, X. 491.

[26] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1691–1692*, pp. 518, 523, 524.

[27] *Commons' Journals*, XI. 391, 394.

[28] *Id.*, XII. 587.

[29] *Id.*, XXI. 739, 740.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[31] *Id.*, XXIII. 263.

[32] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Tenth Report*, IV. 434.

[33] *Id.*, *Thirteenth Report*, I. 133 (Portland MSS.).

[34] Privy Council Register, LVI., Aug. 16, 1662.

At the beginning of the Civil War, Parliament commanded the lord mayor to ascertain, "What Quantities of Coals are in and about the City of London, and for what Time the Store will continue; and to consider what moderate Price and Rate may be set upon the Coals that are now in Store, in Consideration of the Poor".[35] In the following year, when trade with Newcastle was stopped, "all the poore in the City . . . are fearfull they must sit and blow their nailes the rest of this Winter for cold, unlesse some new project . . . be found out, to make the Bricks and balls of Clay burne."[36] "All the morning in the cellar with the colliers, removing the coles out of the old cole hole into the new one", writes Pepys in 1662; and during the war with Holland he notes the great misery the city and kingdom are like to suffer soon, with the Dutch in command of the sea, and able to burn the ships at Newcastle.[37]

Lowering the price of coals, or affording a substitute, engaged the attention of charlatans and statesmen; and during the South Sea period one of the projects was "A Subscription of £1,000,000 for a Joint Stock, to be employed in carrying on the Navigation and Traffick of Coals from Newcastle to London".[38] Huge quantities were brought down the coast. In 1690 an investigation showed that during the two past years 650,000 chaldrons had been conveyed to London.[39] About 1704, 400,000 chaldrons were entered from Newcastle, and for some time this seems to have been the amount imported annually.[40] About 1730 a writer declares, "There are above a Thousand Sail of Ships constantly imployed in Carrying Coals to the different Parts of England, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, France, Flanders, and Holland; and the Market at Lon-

[35] *Commons' Journals,* II. 905.

[36] *Sea-Coale, Char-Coale, and Small-Coale: or a Discourse betweene a New-Castle Collier, a Small-Coale-Man, and a Collier of Croydon: concerning the Prohibition of Trade with New-Castle, and the Fearfull Complaint of the Poore of the Citie of London, for the Inhancing the Price of Sea-Coales* (London, 1643), p. 4.

[37] *Diary,* Feb. 8, 1661/2, June 23, 1667.

[38] Broadside, "Expedients proposed for the easing and advantaging the Coal-trade, and lessening the price of Coles in London and other places", St. P. Dom., Charles II., CCCLXXIV. 107; *Good News for the Poor, or an Expedient Humbly Offered for Supplying the Want and Bringing Down the Price of Coles: Discovering a New Invention for Maintaining good Fires at an easie Charge, notwithstanding the present War, or any the like Exigency,* etc. (London, 1674); *Commons' Journals,* XIX. 341.

[39] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Thirteenth Report,* V. 26 (House of Lords MSS.). The content of a chaldron was different at different times: 42 cwt. before 1678; 52½ cwt., 1678–1695; 53 cwt. from 1696. See Surtees Society, *Publications,* CV. 260.

[40] St. P. Dom., Anne, IV., May 18, 1704; *Commons' Journals,* XXI. 370, 517.

don is the Standard, and settles the Price, for the most Part, for all other Markets."[41] By the middle of the century 500,000 chaldrons of coal were imported into London annually, most of which was used in the trades.[42] Lesser quantities were consumed in other places. In 1696 the officials of Norfolk declared that the fuel of their county was almost entirely coal.[43] There was a considerable trade from the pits to inland towns. Many thousand families got their living by transporting it in wagons over the roads in good weather. This coal was said to be less good than the sea-coal brought to London.[44]

Thus it may be seen that mining and the coal trade had become important industries at this time. "Many . . . are imployed in this trade of Coales;" says a seventeenth-century writer, "many live by working of them in the Pits; many live by conveying them in Waggons and Waines to the River Tine; many men are employed in conveying the Coals in Keels from the Stathes aboard the Ships."[45] And another, writing later, says that there were employed in his time 1200 ships with 15,000 men to navigate them, and that on land 100,000 persons were engaged above the ground and under it.[46] In these industries the government had unusual and growing interest. Constantly increasing duties were levied, which, though they were difficult to collect, were a noticeable item in public revenue, and helped to rebuild St. Paul's and repair Westminster Abbey.[47] The shipping of coals along the coast was always considered important in the interests of the navy. "Plantations, the Fishery, and Coal trade, are the three great nurseries of seamen", said Sir George Downing.[48] In 1696 a petition stated that "the Coal-Trade . . . now is the chiefest Nursery for Seamen", and the same thing was said half a century later.[49] Charles Povey asserted that to his certain knowledge the colliery trade bred up more mariners than all of England's commerce with other countries.[50] In addition to the fact that the

[41] *The Case of the Owners and Masters of Ships Imployed in the Coal-Trade* (1730?); also *Commons' Journals*, XXI. 516, where it is stated that 400 ships were engaged in the London trade.

[42] *Considerations on the Coal Trade*, etc. (1748 ?).

[43] *Commons' Journals*, XI. 421.

[44] *Reasons Humbly Offered; to shew, that a Duty upon In-land Coals, will be no Advantage to His Majesty, but a great Grievance to his Subjects* (n. p., n. d.).

[45] Grey, *Chorographia*, p. 34.

[46] *The Case of the Owners of Ships concerned in the Coal-Trade*, etc. (n. p., n. d.).

[47] St. P. Dom., Charles II., CCCCXII. 97; Additional MSS. 30504.

[48] In 1675. Grey, *Debates*, III. 333.

[49] *Commons' Journals*, XI. 382, XXI. 465.

[50] Charles Povey, *The Unhappiness of England, as to its Trade by Sea and Land, Truly Stated* (London, 1701), p. 4.

government had for its own sake great interest in the maintenance of the trade, whenever anything interfered with the obtaining or distribution of the commodity the authorities were assailed with such insistent and vociferous complaints, that they were never willing to tolerate interference of any kind.

The assistance of the government was usually invoked to reduce exorbitant prices. There was constant tendency for the cost to increase to consumers along with a rise in other prices, and also for reasons to be discussed below. In 1690 complaint was made that the high price of coals was harming London manufacturers and making the poor suffer for want of firing.[51] In 1702 a committee investigated the cause of excessive prices then prevailing, and there were many complaints and attempted remedies as time went on.[52] This dearness was due among other things to the duties levied upon coal both at the port of departure and at the port where it was unloaded again, but it must be explained largely as a result of restraint of trade arising from numerous devices practised by both employers and employes, where the coal was produced and where it was finally sold for consumption.

As regards the capitalists in places where the coal was obtained, it may be said at once that power tended always to get into the hands of those who controlled transportation. But whereas in the nineteenth century mastery in many places fell to those who directed the railroads, in England in the eighteenth century control of the coal trade came into the possession not of the ship-owners, but of those who held terminal facilities, such as way-leaves and wharf rights. Here the typical instance is the powerful organization of the hostmen of Newcastle.

In the north of England, as elsewhere during the Middle Ages, the hostelers or hostmen were free inhabitant householders, to whom was assigned the entertaining of merchant strangers, with responsibility for their conduct, and who had among other privileges the right to sell such supplies as were not monopolized by the local trading gilds. At Newcastle the vend of coal and grindstones came into their hands, and by 1600 they had obtained as the result of long custom a practical monopoly. In return for an increased duty upon coal exported, Elizabeth incorporated their company, and confirmed ambiguously the privileges which they alleged to be theirs; after which, vigorous action and able management upheld, for a long time, what they affirmed to be their right.[53] A statute of

[51] *Commons' Journals*, X. 491.

[52] *Id.*, XIV. 19.

[53] F. W. Dendy, *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of*

Tudor times making Newcastle the emporium of this district rendered it easier for the hostmen to obtain a monopoly.[54] Except for a brief period, they maintained intact their exclusive privileges throughout the seventeenth century and for a while in the century following, until rising sentiment in favor of free trade in towns gradually broke it down.[55]

Having established firmly their monopoly of selling at Newcastle, they began to reach out for the ownership or the control of the coal mines nearby. In 1638 an owner near Newcastle, seeking to obtain from the king permission to sell certain mines, declared that no one could make a gain by them save the free hostmen.[56] During the period of the Protectorate they were vigorously and almost successfully assailed by independent interests through an able pamphleteer, in whose denunciations as well as in their own records their methods of procedure are revealed.[57] According to this writer, they are

> Ingrossers of all Coals, and other commodities, into their own hands, from the Inheritors . . . with other irresistable Oppressions, like to the Spanish Inquisition . . . And what they cannot do by force of their Charter amongst themselves, against any private person opposing, then by Combination ruin them at Law, by their Delatory Plea, and out-pursing them, to the high dishonor of God. . . . They will not suffer any of the Coal Owners in any of the two Counties to sell their own Coals, but the Owners must either sel their Coals to the free Hoast-men, at what price they please, and then all ships must give them their own price, or get none. This it is which makes coals so dear: they either hoard or sell at excessive rates, and so reduce the people to miserable condition.[58]

The ownership of the neighboring coal-mines had by the beginning of the seventeenth century come largely into the hands of the hostmen. Owners who were not of this society labored under great disadvantage in getting their coal to market and disposing of it. Sometimes it was a matter of much difficulty and expense to make possible the transportation of coal from colliery to river front. In 1732 a traveller notes the pains which had been taken to prepare a way from the Blackburn mine, seven miles from Newcastle, and the huge arch built over a small stream, to make the proper incline all

Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Surtees Society, CV., 1901). The author's admirable introduction is the principal authority upon the subject.

[54] 21 Henry VIII. c. 18; Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx, xxxi.

[55] Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi.

[56] Welford, *op. cit.*, III. 343.

[57] Ralph Gardiner, *Englands Grievance Discovered, in relation to the Coal-Trade*, etc. (London, 1655).

[58] *Ibid.*, introduction, and p. 64.

the way.[59] Even when there were no natural obstacles, it was often necessary to pay exorbitant prices to obtain right of way. "Another thing that is remarkable is their way-leaves," says Roger North, "for when men have pieces of ground between the colliery and the river, they sell leave to lead coals over their ground; and so dear that the owner of a rood of ground will expect £20 per annum for this leave."[60] In 1739 a pamphleteer inveighed against the abuses connected with this. He declared that the value of the land over which many of the ways were constructed did not exceed twenty shillings an acre, and some of it was not worth two.[61] At Wickham Moor a rent of £3000 per annum was for a long while paid. He thought it extraordinary that a single acre of land should sometimes, because of its lucky situation, be of more value than three or four hundred acres of better land nearby, with a coal mine besides. Twenty-five years' purchase was the ordinary price of land, but twenty-five thousand years' value for an annual rent was a monstrous thing. He proposed that the public authorities purchase the way-leaves at a fair valuation, and that ways be constructed where necessary, after which all coal-owners should be admitted to use them on payment of a proper share of the cost.[62]

The monopolists first obtained such mines as they wished, and then strove to crush out all competition. Many collieries they leased from the proprietors; elsewhere they paid the possessors an annual consideration to let their mines lie unwrought.[63] By various means owners were harassed in their business. A statement printed about 1740 recounts two instances where several devices were employed to prevent the working of mines, which ended at last with their being flooded.[64] It was at this time that a statute was passed against the drowning of mines, directed against those

[59] *Diary of a Tour in 1732 through Parts of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, made by John Loveday of Caversham* (Roxburghe Club, CVII., 1890), p. 172.

[60] North, *Lives of the Norths* (ed. Jessopp, London, 1890), I. 176.

[61] "There is a small Common, not exceeding three hundred Yards over; the Herbage of the whole Common is not, nor ever was, worth 20*s. per Annum*. For Leave of a Way over this small Pittance of Ground, otherwise almost useless, the late Mr. C—, as I am credibly informed, received annually, for some Years, above 2500 *l.* Impositions of the like Nature, though, perhaps, not altogether so prodigious, are frequent, and scarce a Colliery is free from them." *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance of the Price of Coals*, etc. (London, 1739), pp. 17, 18.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 22, 23, 24.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[64] *The Case of One of the Petitioners* (n. p., n. d.).

who wished to establish a monopoly.[65] Above all, they secured the way-leaves, for which in many instances they paid dead rents, not to use them, but to exclude others from them, so that proprietors must either let their mines be idle, or lease them on the terms offered. "The aforesaid Gentlemen having, by these Methods, secured to themselves little less than an absolute Monopoly of all Coals about Newcastle, they soon found it in their Power to enhance the Price."[66]

In course of time it was found that possession of the mines was less important than control of terminal facilities and rights of way. The result of this was that gradually within the society of hostmen the fitters, who had originally been apprentices or agents for unfree owners, became more important than the hostmen who were owners; and the composition of the company was at length changed altogether from a fraternity of coal-owners to a fraternity of privileged fitters or agents, whose business it was to deliver coal from the colliery stathes or wharfs to the ships in which it was exported.[67] In the prosecution of their plans, besides employing the devices already mentioned, they got possession of so large a share of the lands adjoining the Tyne and the Wear that they almost totally debarred other persons from access to them.[68] Moreover, the fitters not only owned the keels, or small boats in which the coal was taken

[65] "Whereas of late divers evil-disposed persons possessed of or interested in collieries, have by secret and subtil devices wilfully and maliciously attempted to drown adjacent collieries, and have by means of water conveyed or obstructed for that purpose destroyed or damaged the same, intending thereby to enhance the price of coals, and gain the monopoly thereof", culprits were to pay treble damages and full costs of the suit. 13 George II. c. 21.

[66] *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., pp. 13, 14.

[67] Dendy, *op. cit.*, p. xlviii. "The Hostmen or Fitters at Newcastle are an incorporated Company; their Business is to load Ships with Coals, which they carry from the Coal Owners Staiths or Wharfs, on board the Ships in Keels; these Keels are a kind of Lighters, and always carry eight Newcastle Chaldrons each." *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., p. 31. By 1703 the process was already marked. "There are at Newcastle upon Tyne Men called Hoastmen or Fitters . . . it is now become a practice of these Hoastmen to buy Coales at certain prices of the owner of Colliery's and to carry them in Keels and Sell them to the Ship Masters, and Sometimes they are paid at certain Rates for their Negotiation between the Owners of the Adjacent Collieries, and the Ship Masters . . . they (and they only) now Act between the Colliery Ownrs and the Ship Masters and will Suffer none so to Act but themselves, nor any ownr of a Colliery to Act without them, for they pretend that no person but one of them (altho' an Ownr of a Colliery) can carry his Coales in Boats and Sell them directly to a Ship Mr, so that all the Coale Trade at Newcastle must come thro' the hands of these Hoastmen as they pretend." Opinion of Edward Northey, attorney-general. Surtees Society, CV. 162.

[68] *An Enquiry into the Reasons*, etc., p. 13.

to the ships, but they became part owners of the ships, and then agreed among themselves that no fitter should load a ship in which another fitter owned even a small share.[69] Next they strove by combination and agreement not only to regulate prices but to limit the output.[70] The result of all this was rising prices and constant complaint and discontent.

In 1704, because of a combination at Newcastle to keep up the price of coal, the queen in council commanded the secretary of state to write, "That Her Maty. disapproves all sorts of Combinations of the like Nature".[71] Later in the year a committee of the council investigating the increase of price could learn of no combination of merchants at Yarmouth, and doubted whether a combination of colliery owners at Newcastle had enhanced the price, but asserted that "the Masters of Ships and the Fitters or Hoastmen Perplex the Trade by all the Artifices they can".[72] In 1711 a bill was presented in the Commons to dissolve present and prevent future "Combinations of Coal-owners, Lightermen, Masters of Ships, and others, to advance the Price of Coals"; and the law which was passed imposed penalties upon the owners, the fitters, and the ship-owners who entered into such contracts.[73] In 1739, however, a petition of numerous manufacturers of London alleged that all the old abuses still brought them grievance.[74] A writer, who was apparently the champion of the complainants, asserted that the monopoly was now so thoroughly established as almost to defy opposition; that the mine-owners were not now at greater expense in digging and carrying coals than previously, but that the payment of dead rents increased the expense; that the total cost of coal delivered on shipboard was not more than 7s. 6d. per chaldron; that it might be sold at fair profit for 9s. 6d., and was sold for foreign trade at 9s. By selling it for 13s. 6d. monopolists made a profit

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34.

[70] Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. xliii–xlvi.

[71] Privy Council Register, LXXX., May 25, 1704.

[72] *Id.*, Sept. 5, 1704.

[73] *Commons' Journals*, XVI. 553; 9 Anne c. 30.

[74] "That the Price of Coals at Newcastle, and other Places in the North, hath, of late, been greatly advanced; which, the Petitioners apprehend, is owing to paying Rents for Collieries not wrought; to Wharves or Staiths being engrossed by a few; and by other Persons being prevented from bringing Coals to, and using the same; by giving less Measure of Coals at Newcastle than heretofore; and by reason many Persons are discouraged from working their Coal Mines, for want of convenient Ways or Roads to the Staiths, which they are refused or prevented from using, renting, procuring, or having, by Methods which tend to monopolize the same, as well as the Coal Trade." *Commons' Journals*, XXIII. 263.

of more than sixty-five per cent.; and thus an added burden of £83,500 a year was placed upon the kingdom. This profit went to a very few men: not to the dealers in London, nor the ship-owners, nor the miners, nor those who sold materials or sunk the mines; but to the monopolists—in so far as it did not go for way-leaves, dead rents, and lawsuits. The government should dissolve such combinations, and forbid those devices which had been employed.[75]

The maintenance of the monopoly depended also on controlling the ship-owners. This was done partly by acquiring an interest in the ships, and partly by making agreements with their masters. The lot of these masters was not a happy one, for, as will presently be shown, they merely carried the coal from the monopoly where it was produced to another monopoly where it was sold. In 1701 a writer estimated that they received less than half of what would have been the fair charge for freightage, and that the coal shipping was threatened with ruin.[76] "I have been frequently surprised", he declares, "in seeing a Fleet of one or two hundred Sail arrive in the River, and the Masters sell their Coals at so low a Rate, that they have actually lost ten or fifteen Pounds in their Freight"; and he says that the masters then tried to grind down the wages of those who unloaded their vessels.[77]

The laborers, that is to say, the miners who dug the coal, and the keelmen who carried it from the wharves to the ships, present another aspect of the subject. Of the miners at this time there is little to be said, for accounts of them are scanty and few. Probably they belonged to the lowest class of the population: in Scotland they remained villeins attached to the soil until the end of the eighteenth century. In the north of England they were hired for the year, during which they were bound for certain wages, as had been the case since the days of the Statute of Laborers.[78] In 1739 George Whitefield preached to the savage colliers near Bristol,[79]

[75] *An Enquiry into the Reasons,* etc., pp. 8–10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 28–31. This attack was directed rather against the mine-owners than the fitters.

[76] Coals were sold at London for about 18s. per chaldron; the masters purchased them for about 6s. at Newcastle, and paid 15d. for various charges there; to which must be added 5s. customs to the king, 1s. 6d. for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, 1s. 6d. metage, and certain charges to laborers, making more than 8s.; so that masters had no more than 3s. for themselves; whereas 6s. in summer and 9s. in winter would have been a fair compensation. Charles Povey, *The Unhappiness of England,* etc., pp. 11, 12.

[77] *Ibid.,* p. 10. In 1702, however, the masters had complained of the high wages which they then had to pay. *Commons' Journals,* XIV. 19.

[78] R. N. Boyd, *Coal Pits and Pitmen, a Short History of the Coal Trade and the Legislation Affecting It* (London, 1892), p. 3.

[79] When Whitefield spoke of going forth to convert savages, friends in

and about the middle of the eighteenth century a philosophic writer pitied the miserable condition of all miners.[80] Nearly all of their labor was done by hand. The coal-hewers worked in stagnant atmosphere and amidst poisonous gases with ever present danger of explosions, though many of the mines as yet were carried to no great depth.[81] Drainage was poor until Newcomen's steam engine came generally into use about 1720. The coal was drawn along miry passages in corves or baskets, or later in cars, and was raised up the shafts by horse machines or gins, or by hand-windlasses, and sometimes was carried up ladders. From the mines to the wharves the coal was drawn over rude wooden ways in ruder wagons, cast-iron railways appearing in the latter half of the century. In the north of England a coal-hewer received 1s. 6d. or more a day. Some women worked in the mines, and around the pit mouths and the stathes a great part of the labor was performed by them. They cleaned the coal, and barrowed it from the stathes to the keels, receiving for such work a penny or a penny and a half a ton. The toil was brutalizing, and the hours were probably long.[82]

Apparently there are instances of rudimentary organization among the miners, but not enough to ameliorate their condition. Remedy they sought by violence and uprising. In 1738 there was a riot of coal-miners at Bristol, in which they attempted to stop all supplies of coal from coming to the city whether by sea or land, and in the midst of much violence levied contributions from passers-by for their support.[83] In 1754 there was another riot among them.[84] Two years later, in a season of backward harvests, when

Bristol said to him: "What need of going abroad for this? Have we not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough in Kingswood." Robert Southey, *Life of Wesley,* etc. (third ed., London, 1846), I. 197.

[80] "I suppose that there are in Great Britain upwards of an hundred thousand People employed in Lead, Tin, Iron, Copper, and Coal Mines; these unhappy Wretches scarce ever see the Light of the Sun; they are buried in the Bowels of the Earth; there they work at a severe and dismal Task, without the least Prospect of being delivered from it; they subsist upon the coarsest and worst sort of Fare; they have their Health miserably impaired, and their Lives cut short, by being perpetually confined in the close Vapour of these malignant Minerals." [Edmund Burke?], *A Vindication of Natural Society,* etc. (London, 1756), pp. 90, 91.

[81] But in 1688 Sir Thomas Lowther writes: "In the morning the steward of my Colepitts fell downe the Pitt 34 yards deep . . . yet by God's mercie was not killed." Hist. MSS. Comm., *Thirteenth Report,* VII. 96 (Lonsdale MSS.).

[82] The best account which I have noticed is in Matthias Dunn, *View of the Coal Trade,* etc., pp. 39–44; also Boyd, *Coal Pits and Pitmen,* p. 14.

[83] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CXXXI., Oct. 9, 11, 13, 1738.

[84] St. P. Dom., George II., CXXV., Jan. 17, 1754.

the farmers kept for their own work the wagons in which the coal was hauled to market, coal masters of the Midlands stopped work at the mines, or turned off great numbers of men. Then the miners gathered together at Coventry, at Nuneaton, and also at Nottingham, and terrified the local authorities in an effort to reduce the price of food.[85] Their clannishness and their willingness to act together made it difficult to deal with them;[86] and in some places they had a measure of political importance.[87] The severe penalties imposed upon persons who drowned or set fire to coal-mines would seem to bear witness to numerous outrages committed against such property by the discontented; and repeated legislation suggests the continuance of the evil and the difficulty of stamping it out.[88]

More picturesque and better known are the keelmen of Newcastle, who carried the coal in wherries or keels from the wharves to the ships. The keelmen with their distinctive habits and dress, long a feature of life by the Tyne, were largely Scots and borderers. They had a fellowship at the beginning of the sixteenth century, which became well known in later times.[89] A church and a school were provided for them by the corporation, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century they agreed that regular deductions be made from their wages for the erection of a hospital and the maintaining of charities among them.[90] At this time they numbered about 1600.[91] These keelmen were not only well organized in their asso-

[85] St. P. Dom., George II., CXXXV., Aug. 25, 30, 1756.

[86] "I need not observe, that the Circumstances of Colliers are very different to any other Men; not only as they all act in League, and would stand by one another, throughout the Kingdom, and are desperate Fellows (which is seen by their attacking Gaols to release any that are confined,) but besides this they think they can, at any time, hide themselves, and they know that the Kingdom cannot do without Coals, and they know that other People cannot do their Work." Report, *ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1756.

[87] "These Colliers are always let loose to support the Freedom of Elections, and therefore now all the Party are desirous to have the Colliers now in prison rescued." The mayor of Nottingham, *id.*, Sept. 7, 1756.

[88] 10 George II. c. 32; 17 George II. c. 40; 24 George II. c. 57; 31 George II. c. 42.

[89] Dendy, *op. cit.*, pp. l, li.

[90] "It has been already represented, that the Poor Keel-men have raised a voluntary Contribution of Charity, spared out of their Daily Labour, in order to Maintain and Support their own Poor; and that themselves, when by Age or Accidents, to which their hazardous Employment is very much exposed, are past their Labour, may not perish thro' Want, and be miserably Starved." *A Farther Case Relating to the Poor Keel-men of Newcastle* (n. p., n. d.).

[91] *The Case of the Poor Skippers and Keel-men of New-Castle, Truly Stated,* etc. (n. p., n. d.), p. 1; *The Case of . . . great Numbers of the Trading Hoastmen, commonly called Fitters, . . . of New-Castle upon Tyne* (n. p., n. d.); Dendy, p. lii.

ciation, but were hardy and vigorous, and fully alive to the opportunities which they had to interrupt the coal trade when they desired to express their dissatisfaction. Accordingly there were numerous disturbances.

In 1671 there was "a Riott at New Castle", when the keelmen assembled to disturb the peace and interrupt trade, so that the privy council ordered the leaders to be imprisoned until the next assizes.[92] In 1710 there was a grave disturbance as a result of which coal trade on the Tyne was brought to a stop. The civil magistrates were entirely unable to cope with the situation, until the arrival of troops made it possible to force the strikers back to their work.[93] The queen in council considered a petition "from the poor Keelmen and others concerned in the Coal Works", and ordered an investigation.[94] The mayor of Newcastle wrote:

> We have examined and considered some of their Complaints which relate to their Wages w'ch they wou'd have encreased beyond what has been paid them these thirty years—With severall extravagant demands not in our power to grant them. We have given them undr. our hands that they shall have their just and usual Wages and all other reasonable demands soe far as it is in our power to grant yet this will not prevail with them to goe to work.[95]

The queen commanded the magistrates to "Consider of the Causes and occasions of the uneasiness and discontent of the Keelmen there, and endeavour to find out some expedient for satisfying the Minds of those People"; and appointed a committee of the council to examine the affair, "as this matter of the Coals is of so publick a Concern". The result was a settlement, in which apparently concessions were made on both sides.[96]

In 1719 trouble broke out afresh, so serious that it seemed to the local authorities almost a rebellion. The strikers demanded an increase of wages to 3s. per keel.[97] This was refused as more than the trade could bear, whereupon navigation upon the Tyne and the Wear was completely stopped. Not only did they refuse to work, but they would not let the fitters make use of the keels. Persuasion was tried, the riot act was read, and presently some of the leaders

92 Privy Council Register, LXIII., June 9, 1671; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Twelfth Report*, VII. 79 (Le Fleming MSS.).

93 St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIX., June 17, 27, July 1, 1710; St. P. Dom., Anne, XII., June 23, July 21, 1710.

94 Privy Council Register, LXXXIII., June 15, 1710.

95 St. P. Dom., Anne, XII., July 11, 1710.

96 St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIX., July 4, Aug. 1, 1710.

97 Apparently the keel contained at this time six chaldrons. St. P. Dom., Regencies, LXI., June 5, 1719. Earlier it was supposed to contain ten. Surtees Society, CV. 44.

were seized and thrust into prison, whereupon great numbers of their comrades assembled in threatening mien. In answer to appeals from the local officials the lords justices of the regency caused a regiment and two tenders to be dispatched. After attempts had been made to reach an agreement, the keelmen, with their leaders in prison and themselves reduced to destitution, submitted.[98] They complained that the fitters had put more work upon them than was usual, and had obliged them to receive part of their wages in truck. This the magistrates denied.[99] Proceedings were begun against the strikers for restraining trade and for refusing to allow others to work,[100] and because, after contracting to work at certain wages for a year, they had insisted upon more,[101] and also because they had entered into a combination. Prosecution, against all but a schoolmaster who had urged the keelmen to rise, was finally stayed, when they made entire submission and expressed their sorrow.[102]

In 1738 there was disturbance again, and again military aid was asked for.[103] There was trouble or threatened trouble on several occasions after this.[104] In 1746 the mayor of Newcastle declared that the keelmen "are too ready to rise and become tumultuous upon the least pretence".[105]

The experience of the keelmen, as well as that of the weavers and the tailors at this time, shows that the attitude of the authorities toward workmen was, that they must not combine in clubs or associations, as the rudimentary trade unions were called; that they must

[98] St. P. Dom., Regencies, LVII., May 15, 16, 17, 1719; LXI., May 19, 21, June 4, 5, 9, 16, 1719; LXII., May 30, 1719.

[99] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXXXI., June 16, 1719; St. P. Dom., Regencies, LXI., June 4, 1719.

[100] It "had given an Interruption of several Weeks to the Coal Trade and the Consequence would have been severely felt at London if it had continued", Delafaye to Stanhope, St. P. Dom., Regencies, LXI., June 9, 1719.

[101] "They will not go to work in their Keells without a great increase of their Wages, altho they have bound themselves to the Fitters . . . for certain Wages for a Year ending at Christmas next, which are duely paid them." Letter of the magistrates of Newcastle, *id.*, LVII., May 16, 1719.

[102] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXXXI., July 23, 1719.

[103] "Our Keelmen . . . on pretence of some grievencys have refused to go to work for a few days past and assembled every Night in great Numbers keeping Watch, to deter and hinder those of the well disposed among them, from Navigating their Keels to the entire stoppage of the Coal Trade on the River Tyne." They have been urged to return to their duty, and some seem willing, "but express their fear of being ill treated and hindered by others of their own Fraternity". The mayor and magistrates of Newcastle to the secretary of state. *Id.*, CXXX., May 16, 1738.

[104] *Gentleman's Magazine*, X. (1740) 355; Brand, *op. cit.*, II. 520; St. P. Dom., George II., LXXXIII., Apr. 17, 1746, CXII., Apr. 30, 1750.

[105] St. P. Dom., George II., LXXXIII., Apr. 21, 1746.

not assemble together for the purpose of altering their wages or bettering their condition; that assembling for such purposes would be regarded as unlawful, and disorder accompanying it would be dealt with as riot. This was not merely because the government represented capitalists and the upper classes, but also because the authorities continued as in the past their attempts to supervise industry and regulate wages. If the justices of the peace tried to enforce wages which they had assessed or which the workmen had contracted for during a certain period, and if the central and the local authorities alike frowned upon the strike and the meeting together of workmen, and often compelled them to go back to work, it is also true that the government strove to regulate the prices fixed by capitalists and to break up their combinations also. That its success was greater with respect to laborers than employers was noticed by a contemporary: "We have many laws, Sir", he said, "for preventing combinations amongst poor workmen, but few, if any, for preventing combinations amongst the rich masters that employ them: the one I take to be as necessary as the other."[106]

A study of the coal industry during this period in connection with the importation and distribution of the commodity reveals the same story of combination, attempted monopoly, enhancement of prices, and oppressed and discontented labor. As Newcastle was the centre of the industry at the one end, so was London at the other. From London, as from other places, came constant complaints of the exorbitant and increasing cost of coal. "Nay, I doe intend, neighbour *Sea-coale* . . . and so does all the poore of the Citie, to petition that a constant rate may be set upon you", says a pamphlet of 1643.[107] The trouble was owing to the number of successive exchanges involved in getting the coal to the consumer,[108] but it was moreover due to the increasing duties imposed, and to the monopoly which the woodmongers or importers were attempting to establish in London.

Customs on coal were increased as the exigencies of the government became greater. Elizabeth imposed a shilling duty on each chaldron exported from Newcastle for English consumption at the

[106] Thomas Whichcot, in the House of Commons, Mar. 26, 1753. *Parliamentary History*, XIV. 1312.

[107] *Sea-Coale, Char-Coale, and Small-Coale*, etc., p. 8.

[108] "A Welch Pedigree, doth not descend by more steps and degrees, than the propriety of their Coals is varied . . . The Owners of Collieries, must first sell the Coals to the Magistrates of Newcastle, the Magistrates to the Masters of ships, the Master of ships to the Woodmongers or Wharfingers, and they to those that spend them." Gardiner, *Englands Grievance Discovered*, p. 201.

time when she incorporated the hostmen.[109] In 1695 the duty at London was made 5s. per chaldron, and immediately the price of coal at Southwark was more than doubled.[110] In the time of Anne and afterward statutes were repeatedly passed, followed by complaints of the heavy burden.[111] "Coals is a Thing of so absolute Necessity, that it is impossible to preserve the Poor from perishing without having the same at a moderate Price", runs a broadside written to oppose a duty.[112] Not the least of the discontent was due to the fact that at times the duty was less on coals exported to foreign parts, so that shipmasters could sell cheaper in Holland and France than in the port of London.[113] In addition there were duties at London for metage or measuring and for the rebuilding of St. Paul's.[114] On one occasion it was alleged that any further imposition would give great advantage to the Irish and the men of Hamburg, and carry trade away from England.[115]

More insistent were the complaints against the monopolists in London. As the hostmen of Newcastle got control of the export, so the woodmongers or wharfingers and the lightermen attempted to control the importation into London. In 1664 a report to the lord mayor and aldermen declared, "That the Citizens and Inhabitants of London, and Parts adjacent, do lie under an intollerable grievance . . . brought upon them by the Wood-mongers", who had tried to get into their hands the entire retail trade of the city. They had got possession of as many wharves as possible, and where they themselves could not use them, had let them with the understanding that they be not employed for the landing or selling of coals. It was said that they endeavored to compel the coal-ships to unload at their wharves, and by all means to prevent people dealing with the ships direct; that they tried to suppress others who dealt in the retailing of coals; and that by various devices they manipulated the supply and raised prices.[116] In 1669 Prynne alludes to the excessive prices caused by a confederacy of woodmongers.[117]

[109] Dendy, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

[110] 6 and 7 William and Mary c. 18; 9 William III. c. 13; *Commons' Journals*, XI. 390.

[111] For example, 6 Anne c. 50; 8 Anne c. 10; 9 Anne cc. 6, 27; 30 George II. c. 19, sect. 28; *Commons' Journals*, XVIII. 414, XXIII. 263.

[112] *Some Considerations Humbly offered to the Honourable House of Commons against Passing the Bill for laying a further Duty on Coals* (n. p., n. d.).

[113] *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance*, etc., p. 37.

[114] 1 James II. c. 15; 9 Anne c. 27; *Commons' Journals*, X. 235.

[115] *Reasons, Humbly Offered to the Honourable House of Commons, by the Dyers, against laying a further Duty upon Coals* (n. p., n. d.).

[116] *Some Memorials of the Controversie with the Wood-Mongers, or Traders*

In process of time the woodmongers lost their power to the lightermen, who, at first employed by the woodmongers, presently began to furnish coal to purchasers direct.[118] In 1700 they were incorporated as the Lightermen's Company of London,[119] and acquired a certain monopoly. Previously all dealers might load and carry coals in their own lighters anywhere on the Thames, but the new company obtained exclusive privileges as to the use of lighters, and other dealers were debarred from employing them except to carry coals from the ships to their own wharves, with the result that they lost many of their customers, while the lightermen were able to engross the principal part of the trade.[120] Thus they came to be able to unload or retard a fleet of coal-ships, and so raise or lower the price as suited them.

In 1702 a committee of the Commons reported that several owners of collieries at Newcastle had made a contract with "the Body of Lightermen at London", by which the proprietors obliged themselves to pay to the lightermen 3d. per chaldron for all coals which the latter sold for them, while the lightermen agreed to pay these proprietors 6d. for each chaldron of other owners' coals sold before theirs was disposed of, whereupon the price was immediately raised at Newcastle.[121] In 1729 numerous complaints from the trades of London brought to light agreements and combinations of lightermen and shipmasters to enhance the price, oppress the poor, and lessen the public revenue.[122] In the next year shipmasters of Scarborough, Whitby, Newcastle, Sunderland, and Great Yarmouth, who were employed in carrying coal, sought relief from the oppressive conduct of the lightermen, and asked that the trade might be open.[123] The Lightermen's Company was now thoroughly investigated. Testimony was given to the effect that half of all the coal brought to London was bought by twelve lightermen, and the other half by about forty more. Few coals were sold to persons not of the company, since masters feared to have their ships marked, and then subjected to delays. Two or three lightermen each sold more

in Fuel, from the Year 1664 to this Time, as it lieth before a Committee of Common Council (1680), pp. 2–4.

117 *Brief Animadversions,* etc., p. 183.

118 *The Case of the Watermen and Lightermen working on the River of Thames* (n. p., n. d.).

119 11 William III. c. 21.

120 *The Case of many Persons Keeping Wharfs, and Others, Dealing in Coals, in the Cities of London and Westminster, and the Parts Adjacent* (1730?).

121 *Commons' Journals,* XIV. 19.

122 *Id.,* XXI. 345, 368, 369–373.

123 *Ibid.,* pp. 465, 474.

than 30,000 chaldrons a year, eight or nine others about 20,000 each. Sixteen of the lightermen maintained a fund to prosecute persons who kept lighters and bought coals in London. Not only was the price advanced to consumers, but they had so put down the price paid to shipmasters that the coal-ships were run at a loss.[124] The Commons were resolved to bring this to an end, and so a statute was passed which declared that inasmuch as a monopoly in the coal trade had almost been created at London, thereafter dealers in coals might use their own lighters, and anyone attempting to act as an agent for a shipmaster should be heavily fined.[125] Thus the lightermen's monopoly was brought to an end, while the shipmasters were given the freedom they had desired to dispose of their coals, and the price in London was made subject to the regulation of the local authorities.[126]

Raising prices and restraint of trade were not the only abuses by those seeking profit from selling of coals. Mixing of different grades, false measure, and under-weight were constant evils. Abuse in the sale of coals was noticed in the House of Lords in 1605.[127] Some years later a paper addressed to the privy council complained of "the corrupt mixture of coales, and the foule abuse and deceipt thereby".[128] At the end of the century Charles Povey, a merchant of London, gives his own account how, after adopting a device to unload ships directly at his own wharf, he was subjected to calumny and prosecution because he lowered the price, gave just measure, and refused to bribe officials. In 1700 he published a pamphlet in which he exposed the villainous practices of his time.[129] Next year he wrote again, explaining how the struggle to engross the trade had led to fraud, that prices were reduced below the point where profit could honestly be made, and then short measure given, so that twenty chaldrons were sold as twenty-three, twenty-four, or twenty-five. He declared that dealers undertook to deliver coals for only three shillings more than they paid for them, when they were at four shillings' expense. "The World is now come to that sad pass, that an Honest Man cannot Live; for if he gives to every one his due, he gains nothing; and if he does not

124 *Commons Journals*, XXI. 517, 518.

125 3 George II. c. 26; also 4 George II. c. 30.

126 *The Case of the Owners and Masters of Ships Imployed in the Coal-Trade; an Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance of the Price of Coals*, p. 8.

127 *Lords' Journals*, II. 392.

128 Add. MSS. 12496, f. 96 (1622).

129 *A Discovery of Indirect Practices in the Coal-Trade, or a Detection of the pernicious Maxims and unfair Dealings of a certain Combination of Men, who affirm, It is a Cheat to be Just, and Just to Cheat*, etc. (London, 1700).

dispose of his Goods at the same Rate as others do, he shall have no Trade." Officials had long been employed to see that full measure was given, but there was private correspondence between the officers and dishonest dealers, so that these dealers were warned and protected, and the honest maligned and harassed.[130] That these measurers of coals were themselves subjected to troubles if they attempted to fulfil their duties honestly is affirmed by a complaint made in 1714. A faithful measurer was often removed from the inspection of a ship on complaint to his superior. "And after a Vatt is filled, the Ships' Crew will often sweep off great Quantities of Coals, and the Under-meter taking Notice thereof is often in danger of his Life for so doing."[131]

Many attempts were made to prevent the mixing of inferior coal with good, and then selling all as of the best quality, but various means were found to evade the regulations. It was asserted that when those who thus cheated their customers lost standing, they attempted to force honest dealers to imitate their conduct, and join in a combination with them, and that after a war of price-cutting they succeeded in doing this, after which prices were raised and the measure lessened.[132] About the middle of the century it was said that where the inspection of the public meter was not feared, the fraud amounted to three bushels in the chaldron; though at the same time it was asserted that the dealers insisted on getting overweight from the lightermen: "It is notorious that Dealers have been hardy enough to complain, because the identical Coals, which they have bought of the Lightermen for Twenty-one, did not measure out Twenty-four Chaldrons."[133]

The story of the laborers where coal was imported is a record of discontent and protest against oppression. Prior to Elizabethan times the unloading of coal-ships in the Thames belonged to the society of "Billingsgate Porters", freemen of London and well organized. In the course of time, however, as the trade greatly increased, the porters ceased to do the actual unloading and became occupied with other parts of the work, after which the unloading came to be done by the coal-heavers, not freemen and not governed by their own rulers.[134]

130 Charles Povey, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30, 31, 32, 40, 41.

131 *The Report and Order Thereupon, made concerning the Coal-Meters, and Their Deputies or Under-Meters* (London, 1714), p. 9.

132 *An Enquiry into the Reasons of the Advance*, etc., pp. 18–21.

133 *Consideration on the Coal Trade, More particularly as it concerns the Consumers within the City and Liberty of Westminister*, etc. (1748?).

134 *The Coal-Heavers Case* (1764?), p. 1.

In 1696 the coal-heavers complained of new impositions laid upon them by the lord mayor and the aldermen and refused to work. Investigation by the privy council showed that the authorities had "Erected a Fellowship or Fraternity" to unload the colliers, that only its members were to be allowed to do the work, at a certain rate of pay, from which 2d. per chaldron was to be deducted for hospitals and other uses. Both masters of ships and men were discontented at these restrictions, and work was stopped until the old conditions were restored by the lords justices.[135] In 1701 Povey noticed the mean condition to which the coal-heavers had been reduced, they receiving now 7s. where formerly they had 20s.; "and harder Labour there cannot be, for they work more like Gally-slaves than Free-men". As matters were, there was constant competition on the part of these laborers and underbidding, and he thought that the remedy lay in the government settling their wages.[136]

In 1708 the coal-heavers petitioned the queen for a charter of incorporation, which was apparently granted.[137] But half a century after their condition seems to have improved little, for they complained to Parliament that a number of men called "Undertakers" had established a monopoly of supplying laborers to the masters of coal-ships, from whose rules and exactions they prayed relief. They asked that Parliament establish an office for supplying laborers and pass a law to regulate their wages, "that they might be enabled to make such Provision for such of them as may be sick, lame, and past their Labour, and for the Relief of their Widows and Orphans, as should be thought proper". A committee reported that the coal-heavers did hard work for wages which ranged from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per twenty chaldrons, the price of labor varying according to the number of ships in the river. Sometimes when wages were low and a great number of ships arrived, the laborers insisted on higher wages than they had contracted for, without which they would leave the ships which they had engaged to unload. It would be well for the trade if wages were regulated. The men, the report declared, worked in groups of fifteen, one of whom was called the "Market-Man". The undertakers agreed with the masters of the ships for unloading their coals, and then applied to the market-men, who furnished the laborers. There were twenty undertakers, of whom nineteen kept ale-houses in which the coal-heavers were obliged to spend part of their wages daily. Under one pretext or another

[135] St. P. Dom., William and Mary, VI., Aug. 11, 13, 1696.
[136] *The Unhappiness of England*, pp. 46–48.
[137] St. P. Dom., Entry Books, CVI., Sept. 14, 1708.

various deductions were made from the wages, which were not paid until the ship was cleared. Complaint was also made about a combination of the undertakers to compel the coal-heavers to obtain from them their shovels, which were furnished at a shilling a ship. The result was that in 1758 the coal-heavers secured a bill for their relief.[138] An office for the registering of workers was now erected, but the undertakers by intrigue and by threat sought to restrain the men from enrolling, so that later the office was closed for want of support.[139] "It can be proved", said a protest, "that all those who have paid into that Office, have punctually received One Shilling per Day when they have been ill, and in case of Death, they have been buried in a decent and Christian-like Manner."[140]

Thus it is evident that in the English coal trade before the Industrial Revolution many of the practices which obtained afterward flourished in much the same way as later. Capitalists strove by various devices, particularly by combination, to destroy competition, monopolize markets, and fix prices as they desired. The greatest success came to those who seized the routes of transportation and terminal facilities for export and import. Against all such devices the government strove, after its traditional policy of supervising industry for the welfare of the nation, but it strove ineffectively and with decreasing success. The case of the laborers was harder, for trade unions were just feebly beginning. Then, as later, workmen had to endure long hours, low wages, dishonest dealing, and payment in truck. The lowly miners, keelmen, and coal-heavers could easily be oppressed. Frequently they protested, but they could accomplish little. Government attempted to intervene in their behalf, but it also forbade them to strike, and it broke up their combinations. The day of these laborers had not yet come. The eighteenth century was to bring them no amelioration, but in the nineteenth an enlightened public opinion would improve their condition while they and their fellows slowly got more and more control of the government itself, until the beginning of the twentieth was to find them more powerful than the capitalists who opposed them, and able, when they rose now, to shake the foundations of industrial society in their country.

RAYMOND TURNER.

[138] 31 George II. c. 76; *Commons' Journals*, XXVIII. 73, 222, 259, 264, 265.

[139] *The Coal-Heavers Case*, pp. 2, 3; *The Case of the Coal-Heavers, Respecting the Behaviour of the Coal-Undertakers*, etc. (1769?), pp. 1, 2.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

A LETTER FROM DANTON TO MARIE ANTOINETTE

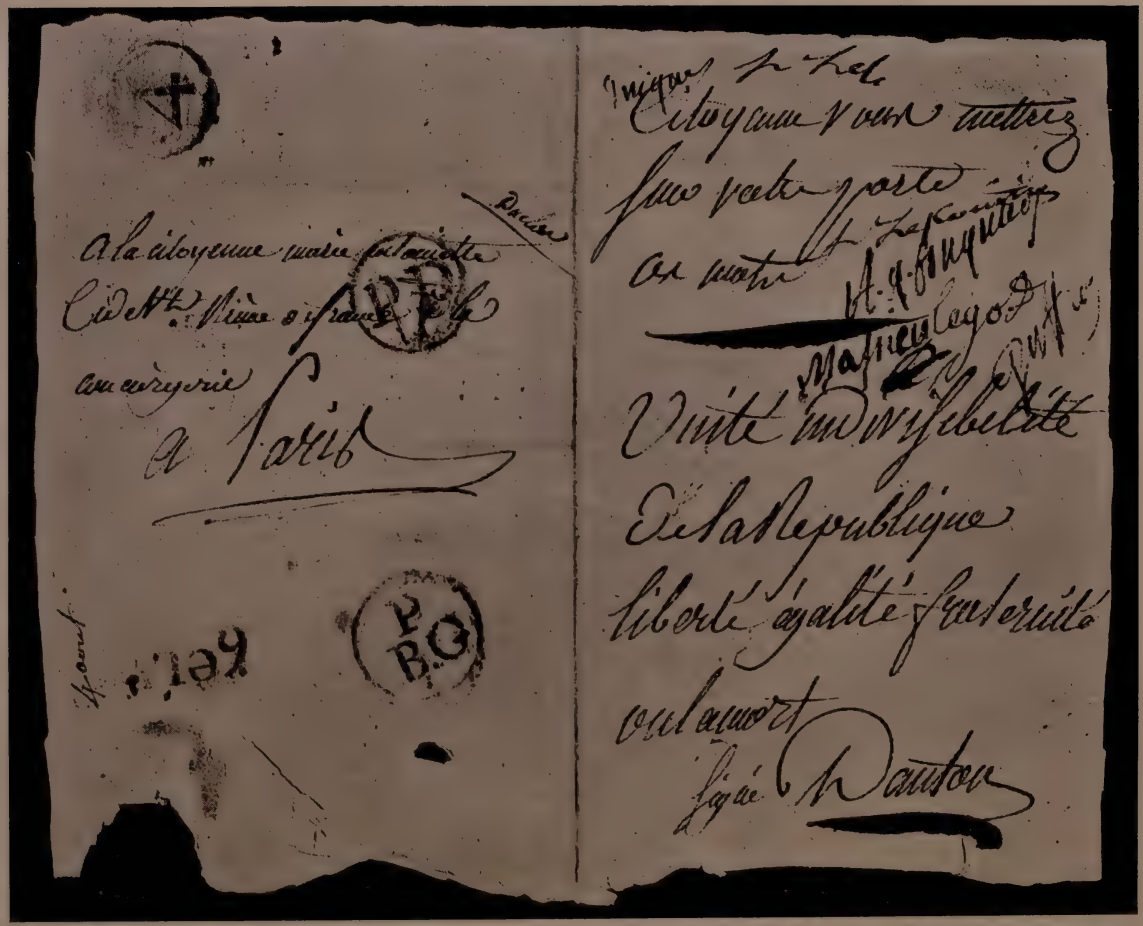
Among the papers of the late Andrew D. White, Professor George L. Burr found a photographic reproduction of a letter, which seems to be in the hand of Danton, addressed to Marie Antoinette at the Conciergerie. This brief and curious letter reads as follows:

A la citoyenne Marie Antoinette Ci-devt Reine de France à la Conciergerie a Paris Citoyenne vous mettrez sur votre porte ces mots— Unité indivisibilité de la Republique liberté égalité fraternité ou la mort Signé Danton.

Marie Antoinette was confined in the Conciergerie from August 2 to October 16, 1793. The words "4 aout", written by another hand in the margin, give the probable approximate date of the letter. At that time Danton was president of the Convention; and the recent transfer of the queen from the Temple to the Conciergerie meant that the Convention had decided to bring her to trial, which in turn meant that her execution within a short time was practically a foregone conclusion. Under these circumstances, why should Danton write to Marie Antoinette? Why should he wish her to place this symbol of the Republic on her door? Were these words on the door intended to serve in some conspiracy to rescue the queen? Were they intended to serve as a protection against outrage or assassination at the hands of the mob? Was the letter forged by the enemies of Danton for the purpose of ruining him? What, in any case, became of the letter? Did the queen receive it? Was it used against Danton at his trial? Is the original still in existence? Is it well known to collectors and historians?

I.

It may be said at once that the letter was practically unknown to contemporaries of the Revolution. It was apparently unknown to modern historians until 1891, when Eugène Welvert printed it in his *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois*. Since then only three writers, so far as I can find, have quoted the letter, all of them taking it from Welvert. All four of these printed reproductions of the letter are inaccurate. The history of the letter is interesting, therefore, because it will show why so little is known about it, besides furnishing some preliminary data for its further explanation.



LETTER FROM DANTON TO MARIE ANTOINETTE

From the Thacher Collection, presented to the Library of Congress by Mrs. John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, New York.

The letter was a single small sheet, folded and sealed, and apparently sent by post. It bears three circular red stamps. One is composed of the letters P. B. G., a second of the letters P. D., and the third of the number 4. Upon the stamp P. D. is superimposed a black triangular stamp P. The organization of the Post Office at that time included a Bureau Général, and several subordinate bureaus, one of which was the "Bureau pour la Distribution des Lettres Chargées, Adressées à Paris".[1] Gallois, discussing the organization of the Post Office at an earlier date, says that "letters were stamped with a printed stamp peculiar to each bureau from which they were sent. Each of these bureaus was designated by a letter of the alphabet represented on the special stamp which it used."[2] It seems reasonable to conclude that the P. B. G. stood for "Poste: Bureau Général", the P. D. for "Pour Distribution", and the superimposed P. for "Paris". The number 4 probably indicates the charge, which was four sous for simple letters of one quarter-ounce or less, within the limits of a single department.[3] A fifth stamp on the letter, somewhat illegible, appears to be "6^{e} ^{LVE}." *Sixième Levée* suggests itself; but, unfortunately for this reading, there were at most only three collections daily at the time.[4]

Although it seems evident, from these marks, that the letter went through the Post Office, this very fact, if it be one, raises a significant question. If the letter was a forgery, intended to ruin Danton, one can well understand that it should have been sent by post. But if the letter is genuine, if Danton wrote the letter and wished to convey it to the queen, one asks why he should have intrusted it to the post. Marie Antoinette was carefully guarded at the Conciergerie; so much so that in September a note smuggled in, concealed in a bouquet of flowers, was nevertheless discovered by the guards.[5] It might seemingly be taken for granted by anyone, certainly by Danton, that all letters sent through the Post Office addressed to the

[1] *Almanac National* (1793), p. 483.

[2] *La Poste et les Moyens de Communication* (Paris, 1894), p. 120.

[3] Decree of August, 1791. *Collection Générale des Lois*, etc. (Paris, 1792), V. 934. "Seront taxées comme lettres simples celles sans enveloppes et dont le poids n'excédera un quart d'once." Decree of July 23, 1793. *Collection Générale des Lois*, etc. (Paris, An II.), XV. 180.

[4] *Almanac Royal* (1792), p. 631. Of the two words at the top of the second half of the sheet, one, which I take to be *inique*, seems to be in the hand of Fouquier; the other may be *perfide*, or, what seems to me more likely, the first four letters of the signature of L. Lecointre.

[5] The incident was known as "La Conspiration de l'Oeillet". *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXXIX. 548; Campardon, *Marie Antoinette à la Conciergerie*, p. 3; Tuetey, *Sources de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. IX. p. 393, no. 1303.

queen would as a matter of course be intercepted and turned over to the government.[6]

Such in fact seems to have been the fate of this letter. In the first place there is no evidence that the queen ever received it. There are several contemporary accounts of the queen's life at the Conciergerie written by people whose duty it was to guard or serve her, and the subject has been minutely investigated by historians since.[7] None of these accounts, contemporary or secondary, mentions this letter, or any letter which might have been this one, as having been either received by the queen or later discovered among her effects. In the second place, evidence that the letter was turned over to the government is contained in the letter itself; for across the face of the letter we find the personal signatures of five men: A. Q. Fouquier, Massieu, Legot, Guffroy, L. Lecointre. The signature of Fouquier indicates that the letter was turned over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Besides, the last letter written by Marie Antoinette, the famous "testament" addressed to her sister Madame Elizabeth, which also bears the signature of Fouquier, we know to have been turned over to the Tribunal.[8] This letter the queen entrusted to Bault, the concierge, to deliver. That evening Bault said to his wife: "Your poor Queen has written; she gave me her letter, but I cannot send it to its address. It is necessary to carry it to Fouquier."[9] It thus seems to have been an understood thing that letters written by the queen were to be carried to Fouquier. The presumption is that it was equally understood that all letters written to her were to be disposed of in the same way.

Fouquier-Tinville thus came into possession of the letter, in all probability before the trial of Danton, since the death of Marie Antoinette fell on October 16, 1793, and the trial of Danton was not until April 2–5, 1794. If this may be assumed, it is difficult to

[6] A decree of May 9, 1793, provided for the examination by agents of the Commune of all letters at the Post Office addressed to persons whose names appeared on the list of émigrés. This list included most suspects, whether they had actually emigrated or not. *Collection Générale des Lois*, etc. (Paris, An II.), XV. 307.

[7] *Cf.* contemporary narratives given by Lenôtre, *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette*, pp. 215 ff; and the documents used by Campardon in his careful study, *Marie Antoinette à la Conciergerie*. For the bibliography of works dealing with Marie Antoinette at the Conciergerie, see Tourneux, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Paris*, vol. IV., nos. 21209–21254.

[8] Dunoyer, *Fouquier-Tinville*, p. 4; Lenôtre, *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette*, pp. 386, 387.

[9] *Récit Exact des Derniers Momens de . . . la Reine . . . par la Dame Bault* (Paris, 1817), p. 15. Printed in full in Lenôtre, *La Captivité*, etc., pp. 277, 290. Quoted in Pallet, *La Conciergerie*, p. 196.

suppose that he did not make use of it as evidence against Danton. It was no easy matter to bring the jury to the point of convicting Danton; and in the absence of definite evidence of guilt, this letter would have been precisely suited to the purpose of convincing the jury. The trial of Danton has been exhaustively studied by historians having access to all the available evidence;[10] but no one has thus far found in the sources any explicit reference to the Danton letter. In fact, of all those who have written about the trial of Danton, no one except Mathiez appears to be aware that such a letter is, or ever was, in existence. Mathiez quotes the letter, although inaccurately, and says it was "perhaps" one of the "secret documents" which were shown to the jury on the last day of the trial.[11] Our knowledge of these "secret documents" rests upon the statement of one of the clerks of the Tribunal, N. J. Paris, who afterwards, at the trial of Fouquier-Tinville, deposed that on the last day of Danton's trial one of the jurors, Topino-Lebrun, "me dit qu'Herman et Fouquier les avaient engagés à declarer qu'ils étaient suffisamment instruits et que, pour les déterminer, ils avaient peint les accusés comme des scélérats, des conspirateurs, et leur avaient présenté une lettre qu'ils disaient venir de l'étranger et qu'était adressée à Danton".[12] Such a letter as this has never been discovered; and it may be that the letter which Herman and Fouquier showed to the jury was this one of Danton to Marie Antoinette, which Paris later, at the trial of Fouquier, remembered as having been, or as having been reported to him as being (there is no evidence that Paris saw the letter, whatever it was), a letter from "abroad addressed to Danton".

However that may be (I shall return to this point presently), it is certain that Fouquier had the letter before or after the trial of Danton, since it bears his signature. It will be remembered that there are four other signatures on the letter: Massieu, Legot, Guf-

[10] *Cf.* the careful study of Robinet, *Le Procès des Dantonistes* (Paris, 1879), based upon the documents, most of which are printed in the appendix; Beesley, *Life of Danton* (London, 1899); Belloc, *Danton* (London, 1899); Madelin, *Danton* (Paris, 1914); Claretie, *Camille Desmoulins, Lucile Desmoulins, Étude sur les Dantonistes* (Paris, 1875); Mathiez, *Danton et la Paix* (Paris, 1919). For the literature of the Danton trial, see Tuetey, *Sources*, vol. XI., p. 126, nos. 249–877.

[11] *Danton et la Paix*, p. 247.

[12] "Déclaration de Nicolas-Joseph Paris, dit Fabricius, au Procès de Fouquier-Tinville." Printed in full in Dunoyer, *Fouquier-Tinville*, pp. 322, 330; and also, with slight verbal differences, in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, pp. 590, 593. See especially, on this matter, Joseph Reinach, "La Pièce Secrète du Procès Danton", in his *Essais de Politique et d'Histoire*, p. 333.

froy, L. Lecointre. These four men were members of the Convention; and three of them were appointed, 23 Thermidor, members of a commission to examine the "papiers de Robespierre, Saint-Just, Lebas . . . et autre complices . . . et en faire un rapport à la Convention Nationale".[13] Fouquier-Tinville was arrested on the 14 Thermidor, at which time his papers were placed under seals;[14] and it is probable that the commission appointed on the 23d to examine the papers of Robespierre "et autre complices" took over those of Fouquier also. Thus the Danton letter, found among the papers either of Robespierre or of Fouquier, passed into the hands of the commission. Of this commission, the secretary or recorder was E. B. Courtois, to whom the commission turned over the papers that came into its possession, in order that he might prepare a report to the Convention. Courtois spent some months in preparing his report, which was finally presented January 5, 1795.[15] The report quotes at length from the papers in Courtois's possession, but it does not mention the Danton letter. The reason is obvious. Courtois was a friend of Danton, and the purpose of the report was to make

[13] *Moniteur,* 24 Thermidor, An II., no. 324, vol. X., p. 1323. The full commission appointed on the 23d was made up of L. Lecointre, Bourdon de l'Oise, Charlier, Guffroy, Calès, Beaupré, Perrin des Vosges, Massieu, Clausel, Gauthier, Ch. Duval, Audonin. The name of Legot, one of the four whose names are on the Danton letter, is not in the list; but it is probable that some changes in the personnel of the commission were made. E. B. Courtois, the secretary of the commission, said in 1816 that "après la mort de Robespierre, il y eut successivement deux Commissions de nommés. . . . La première, n'ayant pas, par esprit de parti, répondu à la confiance de l'Assemblée il en fut nommé une seconde dont je fis partie." Lenôtre, *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette,* p. 391; Welvert, *Lendemains Révolutionnaires,* p. 282. I have not found any record of the appointment of two commissions; but that there were changes in personnel is confirmed by the pamphlet, *Discours Prononcé par Robespierre à la Convention dans la Séance du 8 Thermidor.* In this pamphlet it is stated that the manuscript was found among the papers of Robespierre, by the commission, and that it was ordered printed by the commission. This statement is signed: Guffroy, president; Lecointre, Clausel, Calès, Massieu, J. Espert. The last name, Espert, like that of Legot on the Danton letter, is not among the list of commissioners appointed on the 23d. That Legot became a member of the commission some time after its original creation is evident enough, since his signature appears not only on the Danton letter, but also on a number of other documents found among the papers of Robespierre or Fouquier. *Cf.* Lenôtre, *op. cit.,* p. 384.

[14] Dunoyer, *op. cit.,* pp. 149, 155. *Moniteur,* 15 Thermidor, An II. (Aug. 2, 1794), no. 315.

[15] *Moniteur,* An III., no. 108. The report is printed in nos. 150–152, 154–162. It was also printed separately as a pamphlet: *Rapport fait au Nom de la Commission chargée de l'Examen des Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre et ses Complices,* par E. B. Courtois (Paris, Nivôse, An III.); printed also as the introduction to *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre,* etc. (Paris, 1828, 3 vols.).

a strong case against Robespierre and his associates, whereas the Danton letter would rather have been a point in Robespierre's favor. In fact, after the death of Robespierre, all of those who are known to have seen the Danton letter, with the one exception of Fouquier-Tinville,[16] had sufficient reasons for saying nothing about it, with the result that there seems to be no mention of the letter in all the contemporary literature of the Revolution.

Not until 1816 do I find any mention of it. On January 25 of that year, E. B. Courtois, finding himself, as one of the regicides, in imminent danger of exile, wrote to Councillor of State Becquey a letter in which he tried to make his peace with the restored Bour-

[16] Why Fouquier did not call for the Danton letter in his own defense is an interesting question. One of the chief charges against him at his trial was that of having forced the condemnation of Danton without evidence. One would expect him to make some reference to the Danton letter. Perhaps he had forgotten it. In general, his defense consisted mainly in saying that he had obeyed orders, and was not responsible. For a full account of Fouquier's trial, see Dunoyer, *Fouquier-Tinville*. Other men whose interest it was to make known the Danton letter were Barère, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varenne. In their long and losing fight after the fall of Robespierre, particularly in connection with the denunciation of Lecointre, and the subsequent rehabilitation of Lecointre's charges by the Commission of Twenty-One, they had need of every fact which would help to justify the execution of Danton, which was a capital point in the charges against the members of the old committee. All three men defended themselves repeatedly, both in the Convention and in printed pamphlets. Their defense, in respect to the execution of Danton, was essentially that Danton was a traitor. "If the execution of Danton is a crime", said Billaud, "I accuse myself of it; for I was the first to denounce him. I saw that if this man existed, liberty would perish. If he were alive he would be the rallying point for all the counter-revolutionists." *Les Crimes de Sept Membres des Anciens Comités*, p. 25. Here was the obvious opportunity to refer to the Danton letter, if Billaud knew of its existence. He does not refer to it, nor do any of the others, so far as I can find. For the Lecointre denunciation and debate, see *Moniteur*, 14–15 Fructidor, An II. (Aug. 29–30, 1794), nos. 344, 345. The Commission of Twenty-One was appointed Dec. 27, 1794, to examine the conduct of Billaud, Collot, Barère, and Vadier. *Id.*, 9 Nivôse, An III. Saladin reported for the commission on the 12 Ventôse (Mar. 2, 1795). *Id.*, 14 Ventôse, An III., no. 164. The charges were discussed in the Convention on 4–8 Germinal. *Id.*, 7–12 Germinal, An III., nos. 187–192. There is also considerable pamphlet literature on this matter: *Rapport au nom de la Commission des Vingt-un* (Paris, 28 Ventôse, An III.); *Réponse des Membres des Deux Anciens Comités aux Pièces communiquées par la Commission des Vingt-un*; *Réponse de J. N. Billaud à Laurent Lecointre*; *J. M. Collot à ses Collègues, Reflexions rapides sur l'Imprimé Publié par Lecointre contre Sept Membres des Anciens Comités*; *Défense de J. M. Collot Représentant du Peuple*; *Seconde Suite aux Éclaircissemens Nécessaires, donnés par J. M. Collot*; *Discours fait à la Convention Nationale par J. M. Collot . . . 4 Germinal, An III.*; *Discours prononcé par Robert Lindet . . . sur les Dénonciations portées contre l'Ancient Comité de Salut Public et le Rapport de la Commission des 21.*

bon government. In this letter he asserted that he had in his possession certain documents and articles of peculiar interest to the royal family; documents which, he says, he extracted from the Robespierre papers in his possession in 1794, and which he had secretly and carefully kept ever since with the intention, at the proper time, of restoring them to the Bourbon family. These documents and articles, of which there were ten, he enumerated and described in his letter to Becquey. The first and most important was the famous last letter of Marie Antoinette to her sister Madame Elizabeth. The last one, number 10, Courtois describes as "'une petite lettre, avec la prétendue signature de Danton, adressée à la Reine, ainsi conçue: '*Citoyenne, Mettez sur votre porte ces mots: Unité, indivisibilité de la République, liberté, égalité, fraternité ou la mort.* Signé Danton.' "[17] Courtois did not have the letter before him when he wrote. He quoted the Danton letter from memory, or from a copy; and it is important to note that he quoted it incorrectly: he makes it read *mettez sur votre porte,* instead of *vous mettrez sur votre porte.*

Courtois did not succeed in saving himself from exile; and meantime his residence was raided by the police, who carried off all his papers, a great mass of documents which he had used in 1794 for preparing his report to the Convention, including the ten pieces he had enumerated in his communication to the Councillor Becquey. These ten pieces, all relating to Marie Antoinette, were turned over to Louis XVIII. The king at once made known the discovery of the last letter of Marie Antoinette to her sister, which was ordered read in all the churches, and of which engraved copies were made and presented to the members of the Chamber of Peers.[18] But the Danton letter was not published or made known. No member of the Bourbon family would wish to have it known that Marie Antoinette had been, or might be supposed to have been, under obligation to Danton. The letter was a curiosity, no doubt, and one which might well be given, as such, to some friend who cared for that kind of thing; and in fact it seems that the king gave the letter to one of the peers, in whose family archives it remained until it was

[17] This letter from Courtois to Becquey remained in the archives, apparently unknown to historians, until printed in 1891 by Eugène Welvert in his book *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois,* p. 17. It is given in full by Lenôtre, who took it from Welvert, in his *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette,* p. 384; and in Welvert, *Lendemains Révolutionnaires,* p. 268.

[18] Welvert, *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois,* pp. 21, 27; Lenôtre, *op. cit.,* p. 393; Campardon, *op. cit.,* p. 251. The Cornell University Library has the letter in a printed broadside of 1816, and also one of the engraved copies of the original.

purchased for an American collector, the late John Boyd Thacher. As part of the Thacher Collection it was exhibited in 1905 at the Lenox branch of the New York Public Library, and is described and accurately quoted in the printed catalogue of that exhibition.[19] It was Mr. Thacher who had the photographic reproduction made which Professor Burr found among the papers of Mr. White. The original is now in Washington, the Thacher Collection having been presented recently to the Library of Congress.

Under these circumstances it is not astonishing that the Danton letter should have long remained practically unknown. So far as I can learn few historians have seen the original. Apparently, no French historian knew of the existence of such a letter until 1891, when Eugène Welvert printed the inaccurate copy of it which Courtois made in 1816 in his letter to the Councillor of State Becquey.[20] Since then the letter has been quoted by three different historians, Lenôtre,[21] Blottière,[22] and Albert Mathiez.[23] Blottière assures his readers that the original still exists and that facsimiles of it have been circulated. Mathiez says that he has seen a facsimile. However that may be, all three writers, including Mathiez, have evidently taken the letter from Welvert, for they quote it in part only, without the address; they quote it inaccurately, making it read *mettez* instead of *vous mettrez*; and they quote it with certain punctuation-marks although the original is without punctuation: that is to say, they all quote the letter exactly as they found it given in Welvert, who in turn gave it as he found it in the Courtois letter of 1816.

II

Such briefly is the history of the Danton letter. What was its purpose? Was Danton involved in some plot to rescue the Queen

[19] *Outlines of the French Revolution told in Autographs exhibited at the Lenox Branch of the New York Public Library, March 20, 1905.* No. 280. The Danton letter, according to the description here given, "came into the present collection from a Ducal house in France, the first Duke receiving it from the hands of Louis XVIII. in 1816". Mrs. Thacher does not remember anything more than is related above about the circumstances under which her husband came into possession of the letter. To Mr. W. G. Leland, who has compared the photographic reproduction with the original, and read the proofs of this article, I am under obligations for many valuable suggestions.

[20] *La Saisie des Papiers du Conventionnel Courtois* (Paris, 1891), p. 17. Welvert printed the letter of Courtois again in 1907, in his *Lendemains Révolutionnaires*, p. 268.

[21] *La Captivité et la Mort de Marie Antoinette* (Paris, 1897), p. 384.

[22] In an article on "Courtois et la Duchesse de Choiseul", *Annales Révolutionnaires*, V. 33.

[23] *Danton et la Paix* (Paris, 1919), p. 247.

from the Conciergerie? Or was his purpose merely to guard her against anticipated assassination at the hands of the mob? Let us consider the first of these suppositions.

That there were royalist plots to rescue the queen is well known. In July, 1793, there was a carefully worked-out plot known to have been directed by Baron Batz, and involving among others a certain Michonis, a police commissioner on guard at the Temple. On the evening of the day fixed for executing the plot, a note was found at the door of the Temple in these words: "Michonis trahira cette nuit. Veillez." Michonis was at once replaced by Simon, and the scheme had to be abandoned. It was partly as a consequence of this discovery that Marie Antoinette was removed from the Temple to the Conciergerie on August 2. In September and October various schemes were in hand, under the direction of Count Rougeville, for removing the queen from the Conciergerie. All these efforts have been subject to a good deal of special investigation; but no one has brought to light anything in the nature of specific contemporary evidence which implicates Danton in the Batz plot or in the schemes of Rougeville.[24] At the time of his trial Danton was of course charged with "royalism". This was the stock charge; but in the case of Danton the only specific evidence publicly brought forward was a passage in a letter from the Spanish ambassador at Venice to Godoy, dated July 31, 1793. The passage is as follows: "The Commune of Paris pretends that an agent of the Prince of Coburg has communicated with the Queen, that Danton and Lacroix, who

[24] For a careful study of these plots, see Lecestre, "Les Tentatives d'Evasion de Marie Antoinette au Temple et à la Conciergerie", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXXIX. 510–568; *cf.* Campardon, *Marie Antoinette à la Conciergerie*, ch. I., pp. 139–161, 181–207; Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, p. 311 ff. Élie Lacoste, in his report to the Convention, June 13, 1794, on the Batz conspiracy, gave a list of some thirty-five people supposed to be implicated with Batz. He mentions the Danton-Lacroix faction as one of the "branches de celle dont nous venons vous dévoiler les forfaits". No proof of this is offered except the statement that Danton was known to have met Batz frequently. *Rapport sur la Conspiration de Batz*, pp. 6, 9. *Moniteur*, 27 Prairial, An II., no. 267. Baron Batz denied ever having seen Danton. "Je n'ai vu de ma vie la figure de Danton, ni celle de Lacroix. Je n'ai eu relations quelconques, directes ni indirectes avec eux." *La Conjuration de l'Étranger et le Baron Batz*, quoted in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, p. 325. In recent years Albert Mathiez, the valiant defender of Robespierre, has had a sharp eye out for every kind of evidence which might discredit Danton's loyalty to the Revolution. In two recent books he has gathered together all this fragmentary evidence; but it seems to me that his conclusions reach farther than the facts, and in any case he does not seem to have advanced any specific evidence to prove that Danton was implicated in the Batz or Rougeville plots. *Cf. La Révolution et les Étrangers*, ch. XI.; *Danton et la Paix*, chs. VII., VIII.

were of the Mountain party, have become Girondins and have had conferences with her Majesty."[25] Saint-Just, in his denunciation of Danton before the Convention at the time of the latter's arrest, refers to this letter;[26] but if the Revolutionary Tribunal had further evidence of Danton's complicity in the royalist plots it did not produce it.

It was not until after the Revolution that we find this charge of "royalism" in its most circumstantial form. The unprinted "Memoirs" of Boissy d'Anglas, written probably about 1798 during the period of his exile after the 18 Fructidor, contain this passage:

> It is very true that when Danton was arrested he had in hand the project of forcing the Temple, of seizing the son of Louis XVI., of proclaiming him king and of presenting him to the people throughout the city. They were to name a council of regency of which Danton was to be the chief, and the principles of humanity which have reigned since the 9 Thermidor would have obtained from this period. . . . Fabre d'Eglantine, Heraut [Hérault], Danton, Lacroix, and Camille Desmoulins were the authors of this project. Danton was to have presented the child to the people and to the army. The Committee of Public Safety learned of the project, and Saint-Just said a few words about it in his report without, however, entering into details. Before this period it was the Duke of Orléans whom these same men wished to place on the throne.[27]

The "Memoirs" of Boissy d'Anglas were written from memory at a time when he had become an advocate of moderate constitutional government; and the passage quoted is obviously inspired by the desire to throw on Robespierre the odium of the Terror and the responsibility for delaying the establishment of a more moderate system. His version of Danton's royalism is no more than the old charge which was current at the time of Danton's arrest—the story which Boissy, like every one else, was familiar with at the time. A brief history of this story will show, I think, that the charge of "royalism" which was current at the time of Danton's execution, and which Boissy revived in 1798, rested upon fragile foundations.

The origin of this story takes us back to the insurrection of August 10, 1792. Gouverneur Morris, writing to Jefferson, December 21, 1792, says: "Shortly after the 10th of August, I had infor-

[25] The original, in Spanish, was found among the papers of Robespierre. The letter is printed, in Spanish and French, in *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre* (Paris, 1828), III. 388. The extract is quoted in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, p. 312.

[26] *Moniteur*, 12 Germinal, An II. (Apr. 1, 1794), no. 192, p. 779. Given also in Robinet, *Procès des Dantonistes*, p. 488.

[27] *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, Mar. 30, 1901, p. 529; *La Révolution Française*, XL. 460.

mation on which you may rely, that the plan of Danton was to obtain the resignation of the King, to get himself appointed Chief of a Council of Regency, composed of his creatures, during the minority of the Dauphin. This idea has never, I believe, been wholly abandoned."[28] All this, it will be remembered, relates to the tenth of August, 1792, before the Republic had been established, before the king had been executed, when everyone was asking what was to be done with him. The idea of a regency was not an uncommon one at that time; and it is quite possible that Danton was in favor of it. But a year later the situation had wholly changed. The Republic had been established, the king had been executed, the Terror was the order of the day. In August, 1792, a man might well be a patriot and still openly advocate a regency; but to do so in August, 1793, would have been regarded as the blackest of treasons. Yet the project of a regency, originally attributed to Danton in August, 1792, continued to be associated with his name throughout the Revolution.

On December 3, 1793, Robespierre throws a curious light on the status of the story at that time. That evening, at the Jacobin Club, Danton was attacked by Coupé, and Robespierre made a speech in his defense:

> I request that you consent to make these grievances against him [Danton] more specific. No one speaks? Well then, I will do it. Danton! You (*tu*) are accused of having emigrated; they say that you got away into Switzerland; that your illness was feigned in order to conceal your flight from the people; they say that your ambition was to be regent under Louis XVII.; that at a certain date everything had been prepared for proclaiming him; that you were the chief of the conspiracy; that neither Pitt, nor Coburg, nor England, nor Austria, nor Prussia was our real enemy, but that you alone were.[29]

The tone is ironical. The implication is that the charges are so many, so contradictory, and so absurd that they refute themselves; the implication is that these are commonplaces with which everyone is familiar and which no one believes. It may well be that Robespierre's speech had a hostile intent; that he wished to repeat once more these charges that they might be kept alive against the day when they could be used. But for our purpose the significance of the speech is the same in any case; and that significance is that in

[28] *Life and Correspondence of Gouverneur Morris,* II. 261. The queen appears to have relied upon Danton during the crisis of August 10. *Cf.* Beauchesne, *Louis XVII.,* I. 182; Lafayette, *Mémoires,* III. 376; Madelin, *Danton,* p. 99. See also the Courtois narrative given below, pp. 37–38.

[29] Aulard, *Jacobins,* V. 543.

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December, 1793, the story that Danton wished to be regent under Louis XVII. was a familiar commonplace which could not be taken seriously.

Six weeks later this old story of a project to proclaim the dauphin is related by Couthon as something recently unearthed. There has recently been discovered, he writes on January 18, "an infamous project, of which the object was to have been, at that time, to drive out the Mountain deputies, to deliver Marie Antoinette, who was then at the Conciergerie, and to proclaim at once the petit Capet king of France".[30] Danton is not yet connected with this newly discovered project; but by April Danton has been found to be the prime mover in it. On April 5, the last day of Danton's trial, Couthon writes that the plan was "to go to the Temple, take out the child Capet, and have him proclaimed, as had long since been decreed by Danton (the Chancellor), who, within a few hours, will be the guillotined".[31] Gouverneur Morris now recalled the letter he wrote in December, 1792, in which, he says, "I mentioned the plan of Danton, adding that I believed that it had never been wholly abandoned. His late execution will show that faith to have been well founded."[32] About the same time he writes:

> Danton always believed, and . . . always maintained, that a popular system of government for this country was absurd; that the people were too ignorant, too inconstant, and too corrupt to support a legal administration; that, habituated to obey, they required a master. . . . The Dantonists supposed, that in want of respect for the rulers, the people would readily turn on the little prisoner in the Temple, that enthusiastic sentiment so congenial to the heart of man, so essential to that which beats in a French bosom.[33]

Four months later the story is repeated, with variations, by Mallet-du-Pan. August 3, 1794, he writes, apropos of Billaud-Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, Robert Lindet, and the Conventionnels who overthrew Robespierre:

> I know that their ultimate thought tends to a counter-revolution, but made in their own manner, and not in that of the Émigrés and Mr. Burke. Their leaders were united with Danton, executed for having intrigued to proclaim the king Louis XVII. and M. Malesherbes regent. They would have nothing to do with Monsieur, or M. Count d'Artois. Probably they were leagued with the Constitutionals and Federalists.[34]

[30] *Correspondance de Georges Couthon*, p. 284.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

[32] *Life and Correspondence*, II. 427.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[34] Mallet-du-Pan to the Earl of Elgin. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourteenth Report*, App. V., p. 616.

It is no longer Danton alone who would have proclaimed the dauphin, but Collot and Billaud, the very men who were the first to denounce Danton for this crime; it is no longer Danton alone who allied himself with the Girondins, but the very men of the Convention who destroyed the Girondins.

It needs no great insight to detect in the history of this story the familiar operation of the revolutionary psychology which attributed in succession, to each faction as it was brought to the scaffold, the stock charge of royalism. Who indeed was not charged with royalism? If we are to believe official denunciators and the records of the Revolutionary Tribunal, the most prominent royalists are to be found among the leaders of the Revolution: Barnave, Dumouriez, Lafayette, Philippe Égalité, Brissot, Roland, Madame Roland, Hébert, Danton, Robespierre—all good patriots in their day. "As for the proclamation of the young Capet king of France", Lenôtre very justly says, "it was, in this terrible epoch, an accusation so banal and so current that it had come to be a commonplace."[35] If the charge against Danton is more precise than it is against others, the explanation is doubtless that in August, 1792, he had perhaps actually proposed a regency in behalf of the dauphin; a proposal which, legitimate enough at the time it was made, was remembered against him throughout the Revolution, being, so to speak, redated to suit any desired occasion. It is this charge, which in December, 1793, was so banal that no one believed it, and which in April, 1794, was without further proof sufficiently convincing to send Danton to the guillotine—it is this old story, and no more than this, that Boissy d'Anglas related in his memoirs, with the addition of a few details which the passage of time perhaps had enabled him to recall.

In the course of years another story, somewhat related to the old one, made its appearance. The source of this new story is E. B. Courtois. It will be remembered that in 1816 Courtois tried to make his peace with the Bourbon government, and that the government, instead of granting him the amnesty he desired, seized and carried off his papers. In 1833, his son, Henri Courtois, having failed to induce the government to return to him his father's papers, brought suit to compel their restoration. The suit failed; and in 1834 Henri Courtois published a curious brochure, now rather rare, entitled *L'Affaire de l'ex-Conventionnel Courtois*. In this work, as in his previous correspondence with the government, he endeavored to make out that his father—his father, who had voted for the

[35] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1920, p. 132.

death of Louis XVI.—was a royalist sympathizer even during the Revolution. Referring to the fact that his father had carefully preserved the documents relating to Marie Antoinette, he says:

> One can the better understand this conduct when one knows that an audacious project for carrying away the queen was to have been attempted by Danton and my father, who was the soul of the affair. Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth were to have been carried off by main force from the Temple, and transported to a foreign country. The proof of this fact is in one of the Danton letters which was seized by the police. The means of execution are there described, and they reveal that characteristic audacity which distinguished that energetic man.[36]

This version rests on the word of Henri Courtois, which is, it seems, to be taken with caution.[37] He refers to a letter of Danton among his father's papers which were seized by the police in 1816. This letter is probably not now in existence;[38] but in some rough manuscript "notes" which the elder Courtois prepared from the papers in his possession we find the following account of a plan which is undoubtedly the one referred to by Henri Courtois:

> A short time before the 10th of August [1792] Danton was admitted, with the knowledge of the king, to the Tuileries, by the Queen Marie Antoinette, who seemed not to realize the perils that menaced her. The future appeared to her so far from alarming that in dismissing Danton she said to him gaily: "Ah, M. Danton, if we are not well-behaved it will be necessary to shut us up in some prison for a few months." . . . Danton, who was saddened by this dangerous security, assured the Queen, in taking leave of her, that whatever happened he and his friends would watch over her and her children. [He relates that the Duchesse de Choiseul, soon after the execution of the king, determined to rescue the queen on account of the menacing attitude of the Commune.] Without hesitating, I entered into her plans (*je m'associai à ses idées*), and

[36] I have not seen H. Courtois's book. The extract above is taken from the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, XXII. (1889) 195.

[37] *Cf.* Favret, "Procès des Papiers de Courtois", *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française*, VI. 212; and Welvert, *Lendemains Révolutionnaires*, p. 249 ff.

[38] It seems not entirely clear what became of the Courtois papers, but it is likely that many of them were destroyed in the Paris fire of 1871. *Cf. La Grande Encyclopédie* (art. Courtois); *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs*, May 30, 1904, p. 779. The so-called Robespierre papers taken over by the commission of which Courtois was secretary in 1794, and which presumably made a considerable part of the "Courtois papers", were published in three volumes in 1828: *Papiers Inédits trouvés chez Robespierre, Saint-Just, Payan, etc., supprimés ou omis par Courtois; précédés du Rapport de ce Député à la Convention Nationale* (Paris, 1828, 3 vols.). According to Tourneux, the editor was Denis-Alexandre Martin, who left a part of the original papers to Jacques Charavay. Tourneux, *Bib. de l'Hist. de Paris*, vol. I., p. 392, no. 4207.

Danton, to whom I recalled the promise he had made to this unhappy princess, promised to aid us. The entire Convention was averse to the projects of the Commune, but from fear they left the way clear to the encroachments of this power. . . . We attempted for some time to arouse certain members to make a resistance; not being able to attain this end, the project of carrying away the Queen was definitely arranged. . . . The interior of the Temple was won over, and in spite of the surveillance of the Commune, two of its members aided us. The dispositions were so well made that the alarm would not have been given until twenty-four hours after the flight. A few days only were wanting for the realization of our wishes, when the Duchesse de Choiseul . . . conceived the design of carrying the Dauphin away with his mother. This was adding much to the difficulties and perils of the enterprise, since the child had already been separated from his mother; but I at once put my hand to the task. Danton . . . rejected this idea emphatically, and said to me that we were undoubtedly being made the instruments of some dynastic machination or other. "I will no longer meddle with it", he added; "do not speak to me again of this affair." I allowed this flurry (*bourasque*) to pass, and shortly after returned to the charge by recalling to him his promise made to the Queen, and by saying that it would be casting reflections on the Duchesse de Choiseul to suppose that she entertained some ulterior idea of a compromising intrigue. Danton, greatly agitated, strode up and down the room; after half an hour he said to me: "Make my excuses to Madame de Choiseul and continue the preparations. This is a question of preventing useless, atrocious crimes: count on me."

He was so completely freed from his suspicions, so decided to dare all, that the next day but one he wrote to me: "My dear Courtois, I dined today with some colleagues whom I found indifferent, or prepared to submit to the insolence of the Commune. We must therefore hasten the *dénouement*. The bearer of this is the trustworthy fellow (*brave*) who will accompany the fugitives; put him in touch with the one you have chosen, and let them get acquainted like boon companions (*et qu'ils fassent connaissance le verre à la main*). No luxury, none of that baggage which betrayed them at Varennes, and all will go well. The Commune will roar, but this will be the occasion to chastise it and to renew the unity of power. Once successful, every one will be for us; if we slip up the contrary will be true, we shall have to defend ourselves then and God knows what will happen. We must be ready for anything. Your friend Danton."

Everything seemed to favor this project, which was on the point of execution when, during the first days of August, the Commune . . . became suspicious and suddenly transferred Marie Antoinette to the Conciergerie, where the most careful surveillance was exercised. From this moment all hope vanished; rescue was henceforth impossible.[39]

The story is very circumstantial. It is known that Courtois was on good terms with the Duchesse de Choiseul; and there are letters

[39] *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs,* Apr. 15, 1901, p. 642; *La Révolution Française,* XL. 462. For the character of the Courtois "notes", see *La Grande Encyclopédie* (art. Courtois); *Annales Révolutionnaires,* V. 29; *La Révolution Française,* XII. 806 ff.

extant from the duchess to Courtois in which she declares herself to be under great obligations to him for the most signal services.[40] Undoubtedly no one ever suspected Courtois of royalist sympathies before 1814, and the obvious desire of the man after that date to curry favor with the Bourbons does a good deal to discredit his statements. Yet the story can scarcely be dismissed as an exaggeration due to faulty memory or the desire to present himself in the light of a royalist sympathizer. If his story is not substantially true it must have been in the main deliberately invented. If true, the plot obviously belongs to late July, 1793, just before the removal of the queen to the Conciergerie. This was also the exact date of the Batz plot. Was the Courtois scheme, then, a part of the Batz plot? There are some difficulties in thinking so. We know that the Batz plot was betrayed, and that this betrayal was a cause of removing Marie Antoinette to the Conciergerie; whereas Courtois says it was the removal of the queen to the Conciergerie that caused the failure of the plot in which he and Danton were involved. Furthermore, Courtois does not mention Batz, or Michonis, or anyone else known to have been connected with the Batz plot; and, on the other hand, none of the evidence on which our knowledge of the Batz plot rests mentions Danton or Courtois, either as leaders or as accessories. Were there then two separate plots scheduled to come off at the same time?

It is quite possible, but for our purpose the point need not be determined. It is sufficient to say that even if Danton were engaged in a scheme to rescue Marie Antoinette (a supposition not at all difficult to entertain), his motive was, by Courtois's account of it, not to restore the monarchy, but to prevent "useless, atrocious crimes"—a very different matter indeed. In any case, the Danton letter to the queen, with which we are chiefly concerned, seems not to be connected with the Batz plot or the Courtois-Danton plot. The Batz plot fell through before the queen was removed from the Temple; the Courtois-Danton plot, according to Courtois, became impossible of execution from the moment of her removal; yet the Danton letter is addressed to the queen at the Conciergerie and was written, to the best of our knowledge, two days after her arrival there. It is too much to suppose that a third plot could have been devised within two days after the event which, according to Courtois, destroyed all hope of attaining their ends.

On the whole, therefore, although we may accept the hypothesis that Danton was involved in a plot to rescue the queen in order to

[40] *Annales Révolutionnaires*, V. 23 ff.

preserve her life, there is no evidence which would lead us to suppose that the letter in question was in any way connected with that plot. Let us then seek an explanation of the letter on the assumption that, the project of a rescue having failed, Danton was still endeavoring to preserve the queen's life by other methods.

III.

It is important to note that the date of the letter was probably August 4, 1793. Was there at that time any special reason to suppose the queen might be in danger of assassination? That such danger was commonly supposed to exist can be easily shown. The period from the middle of July to the middle of August was one of very high nervous tension at Paris. Generally speaking, this was the most critical stage in the fortunes of the Revolution. France was being invaded on every side by the armed coalition of Europe, while serious royalist and federalist insurrections existed in the north, west, and south. But aside from the general situation, there were two special causes of excitement and alarm. One of these was the assassination of Marat on July 13; the other was the approaching fête of August 10, designed as a solemn celebration of the first anniversary of the fall of the monarchy.

The assassination of Marat was planned and carried out by Charlotte Corday alone; but in the public mind it figured as clear and ominous evidence of the presence everywhere in France of spies in the pay of England, whose object was the overthrow of the Convention and the restoration of the monarchy. The malevolent influence at the centre of this wide-spread conspiracy was thought to be the queen; and the popular fury aroused by the death of Marat was turned toward her as the ultimate cause of counter-revolutionary intrigue in all its forms. The popular cry, therefore, was for the immediate execution of the queen. On the evening of July 14 the Committee of Public Safety was informed by the Commune "of the existence of groups in which so-called patriots had bound themselves, by their declarations, to revenge the death of Marat by assassinating the widow Capet and her son."[41] On July 16 some men came before the Convention demanding, what Marat had formerly demanded, "that you take steps against the prisoners in the Temple".[42] Throughout this period the popular

[41] Tuetey, *op. cit.*, vol. IX., p. 311, no. 1081.

[42] *Courier de l'Égalité*, July 17, 1793.

hatred of the queen was voiced and inflamed by the scurrilous diatribes of Hébert in *Le Père Duchesne.*[43]

The high tension occasioned by the death of Marat increased with the approach of the proposed fête of August 10. This was to be a great day, not only because it was the anniversary of the fall of the monarchy, but more especially because on that day representatives from the departments were coming to Paris to lay before the National Convention the official returns of the vote recently cast in favor of the new republican constitution. On this day they would therefore celebrate, not only the fall of the monarchy, but also the formal proclamation of the Republic. It was ardently desired that the fête should be a great success; but there was much uneasiness lest the enemies of the Republic, royalists in disguise and spies in the pay of England, should make use of the popular excitement to raise disturbance, organize a massacre of prisoners, and under cover of the confusion rescue the queen and the dauphin. The newspapers reflect this feeling of apprehension. "Some feeble minds", says the *Révolutions de Paris,* "seem to fear this day, and consider whether they should not get away from it."[44] The *Journal de la Montagne* was filled with forebodings: "Let us repeat that August 10 approaches; that scoundrels wish to prevent it."[45] In the scarcity of bread the *Journal* saw a royalist intrigue, the work of those who wished to "precipitate popular movements, and to prevent the fête of the 10th of August. Scoundrels whom nothing teaches say under their breath that there will be a *coup* before the 10th; others, more adroit but not less dangerous, content themselves with spreading the rumor of this *coup,* with feigning to fear that it may come to pass, and this precisely in order to bring it about."[46] The *Moniteur* speaks of the "unfortunate inscriptions along the roads, designed to create terror and spread the most alarming rumors".[47] On August 6, Robespierre, at the Jacobins, spoke at length of the English

[43] Characteristic of Hébert's method of working on the passions of the populace is his account, real or imaginary, of a visit to the prisons. "Je trouvai la Garce aussi insolente que coutume." He says she told him: "J'ai des amis par-tout et dans la Convention; ils ont la patte bien graissée pour allonger la courroie et pour m'ouvrir, un beau matin, les portes de cette prison. Oh, je n'en doute pas, coquine, mais le peuple est là", etc. *Père Duchesne,* no. 287, p. 7. To the queen he attributes the most bloodthirsty purposes, and he makes her chiefly responsible for all counter-revolutionary activities. *Cf.* nos. 259, 268, 269, 293, 298, 299.

[44] XVII. 42.

[45] July 25, 1793.

[46] July 23, 1793.

[47] Aug. 7, 1793.

plots, which he said had three objects, one of which was to start the people to pillaging the stores, another to "lead the people against the prisons and to renew the horrors of September".[48] The apprehension of a new massacre of prisoners was so general that even Madame Roland, herself a prisoner at Sainte-Pélagie, heard of it: "The tenth of August approached; they feared, for the prisons, a repetition of the 2 September."[49]

The republican leaders not only feared an uprising, a new massacre of prisoners, they wished to prevent it; not because of any special sympathy with the prisoners, but partly because such an uprising would be the opportunity of royalist intriguers, and partly because they wished the celebration of August 10 to demonstrate to the world that the Republic meant stability, restraint, fraternity, and good-will. They wished to demonstrate to the world, and perhaps to themselves, that the morale of the people of Paris was perfect even in this crisis of the Republic. Couthon, who can scarcely be suspected of any sympathy with the prisoners, certainly not with Marie Antoinette, assured his friends that "in spite of all the manoeuvres of the evil-minded, Paris is tranquil and the fête of the 10th will pass off joyously".[50] On the 13th he congratulates them that such was in fact the case: "The fête of the 10th of August passed off as I predicted, without any misfortune. The men of blood, who had unsheathed their poniards against this great day, were so effectively restrained that they were unable to execute any of their frightful projects."[51] With respect to this day, the *Courier de l'Égalité* expressed the general desire by saying that "the 10th of August should be the pledge of peace, concord, fraternity, and the epoch of general felicity."[52]

In these days of high excitement, when a massacre of prisoners was feared by the leaders of the Republic, and when the leaders wished for the good name of the Republic to prevent it, we may suppose that Danton was no less keen to prevent it than others. If Courtois's story is true we may suppose that he was even more keen

[48] *Journal des Débats . . . des Jacobins,* Aug. 9, 1793, no. 467.

[49] *Mémoires* (ed. Perroud), I. 311. The prevailing idea of the danger was expressed by Hébert: "Plus de dix-mille ehappés [échappés] de la Vendée sont au milieu de nous pour nous diviser, afin d'empêcher la réunion fraternelle qui aura lieu le 10 août; je sais que l'on médite encore un pillage, afin d'allumer la guerre civile dans Paris. Tous les contre-révolutionnaires doivent profiter de ce moment, pour forcer la garde du Temple et enlever le petit avorton royal." *Père Duchesne,* no. 259, p. 7.

[50] *Correspondance de Georges Couthon,* p. 258.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 261.

[52] Aug. 6, 1793.

to prevent it than others. It is Courtois who tells us that his desire to rescue the queen was due precisely to the wish to prevent "useless, atrocious crimes". But apart from Courtois's story, we know that of all the chief leaders of the Revolution Danton was more solicitous than any other for the safety of the queen. From as early a date as May, 1793, he felt that the Jacobins were being carried away by a dangerous frenzy. His leading idea was that the factional struggles would end by destroying the Revolution; and he endeavored to bring about an abandonment of these struggles in order that all might unite solidly against the foreign coalition. "The enemy is at our gates also", he cried, "and we are destroying each other! Do all of our altercations kill a single Prussian?"[53] He would have saved the Girondins if he could. He was opposed to the senseless execution of men on suspicion only, without substantial proof. The blind fury of the *enragés,* who saw treason everywhere and who abandoned political methods for those of the crusader, left him cold. To drive the Coalition from France, to obtain from European governments a recognition of the Republic—these were the two cardinal points of his policy; and to attain these objects he would have brought diplomacy to the aid of arms. But for the diplomatist seeking concessions from the Coalition, the strongest card in the hands of the Republic was Marie Antoinette. Marie Antoinette alive was a hostage to buy recognition with; Marie Antoinette dead was but an added incentive to the Coalition to persist in the war until the Republic was destroyed. "In sending Marie Antoinette to the scaffold", Danton said, "they have destroyed the last hope of treating with foreign powers."[54]

Thus, in the early days of August, when there was wide-spread fear of a new massacre of prisoners, and when all the revolutionary leaders wished to prevent it, Danton had particular political as well as humanitarian reasons for wishing to protect the queen. But why, in order to protect her, should he say to her: "You will place on your door these words: Unity, indivisibility of the Republic, liberty, equality, fraternity, or death"? The reason becomes more apparent when we discover that these words, which constituted the symbol of the Republic, were words which all good patriots were requested to place over their doors. On June 29 the Directory of Paris passed a decree to the effect that, "during the month of July at latest, the proprietors or principal inhabitants shall be invited, in the name of patriotism, in the name of liberty, to have painted on

[53] Fribourg, *Discours de Danton,* p. 626.

[54] Madelin, *Danton,* p. 251.

the façades of their houses, in large characters, these words: *Unity, Indivisibility of the Republic, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death.*"[55] At the end of July this request had apparently not been generally complied with; and early in August the newspapers carried a special request, coming from the Commune, to all inhabitants to see to it that the decree of the Department be carried into effect.[56]

Nevertheless, it may be said, this was a device for patriots, to stand as a symbol of patriotism. Could it be supposed that this device, placed on the door of the queen's prison cell, would demonstrate her patriotism, or serve to protect her against assassins? Undoubtedly not, if the queen were herself to write these words, and these words only, on her door. But I think it was not Danton's intention that she should write these words only on her door. It will be remembered that the letter closes thus: "Signé Danton". What is the significance of the word "Signé"? It is not customary for a person, signing his own letters, to place the word "signed" before his signature. It is a word used by copyists, where the signature as well as the letter is copied. I think the significance of this word in the present letter is this: Danton wished to convey to the queen that she was to "place" on her door the words indicated, and that she was also to place under them, in order to give them authority, these other two words, *Signé Danton*. It may be of some significance that Danton did not say "you will write on your door"; he said "you will place on your door", as if what she was to put on the door were some material object. In any case, that part of the letter beginning with the word "Unité" is distinctly separated from what precedes it by a long heavy dash, while at the bottom, below the signature, is another heavy dash. It is almost as if Danton had wished to say to the queen: This is what you are to place on your door, this which I have so clearly, by these heavy lines, set off by itself. Certainly the queen could have carried out the instructions given in the first part of the letter quite literally by cutting out the lower right-hand quarter of the sheet and "placing" that on her door. If she had done so, anyone approaching her door would have been confronted with the following, in Danton's well-known handwriting, and with Danton's signature attached:

Unité indivisibilité
de la Republique
liberté égalité fraternité
ou la mort
Signé Danton

[55] Lacroix, *Département de Paris*, p. 177.
[56] *Journal de Perlet*, Aug. 5, 1793, p. 37.

Perhaps it was the intention of Danton that she should do just this. In that case the device on the door, with Danton's signature attached, would have had the force of an official order; and the meaning of the order could not have been mistaken by anyone.

This interpretation not only enables us to understand how these words on the door might have been thought to furnish protection to the queen; it also helps to clear up two other points that otherwise present some difficulty. I have already said that it is difficult to understand why Danton should have expected such a letter to pass through the Post Office without being intercepted. But if his intention was that his own name should be used to give a semi-official authority to the words, it is not unlikely that he sent the letter with the knowledge and consent of Robespierre or other members of the Committee of Safety; in which case the postal officials would naturally have been instructed to pass the letter. Why, in that case, the letter did not reach the queen, as it apparently did not, remains a question to which no answer is at hand. Some light would perhaps be thrown on these questions if one could determine the significance of the word which appears above and to the right of the address. It is apparently a signature, possibly *Duclos*. Whatever the word, it may, I should think, have been placed there to indicate either that the letter was to be passed without question or that it was to be intercepted. A more relevant question is why, if the placing of this device on the queen's door was an understood thing, regarded as in some measure a semi-official business, the Post Office should have been used at all. Why did Danton not go directly to the Conciergerie and place these words on the door himself, or send someone to do it? To this I find no answer.

The other question which this interpretation helps to clear up is the question already raised of why Fouquier, if he had this letter at the time of Danton's trial, did not bring it forward publicly as an effective piece of evidence. It will be recalled that N. J. Paris, some months later, at the trial of Fouquier, deposed that Topino-Lebrun told him that on the last day of Danton's trial Fouquier and Herman showed secretly to the jury a letter "from abroad addressed to Danton". Since no such letter has been produced, and since Paris testified, months after the event, not to what he knew but to what someone told him, it is at least a tenable hypothesis that the letter which was shown secretly to the jury was this letter from Danton to Marie Antoinette instead of a letter "from abroad addressed to Danton". Now, if the letter in question was such a letter as Paris describes there seems to be no very good reason for

showing it to the jury secretly. But if the letter shown to the jury was the Danton letter, and if the Danton letter was, as I have suggested, prepared and sent with the knowledge and consent of Robespierre or other prominent leaders on the Committee of Safety, then there was a very good reason for showing it to the jury secretly. In that case, to present the letter in open trial would give Danton an opportunity to explain it, which he could very well do. If Robespierre and Fouquier, for example, knew that the letter had been sent to the queen with the sanction of the committees of government, they would know that the only effective use that could be made of it against Danton would be to use it secretly; shown secretly to the jury, without explanation, it could be made to seem conclusive proof that Danton had had secret dealings with the queen. All this is hypothesis; but it is an hypothesis in the light of which a good many facts are made somewhat more intelligible.

The question of the genuineness of the letter is one which I feel incompetent to decide. To the untrained eye the handwriting seems to be that of Danton; and Professor Burr, whose wide knowledge and critical competence have been a constant resource in the preparation of this paper, sees no reason to doubt the genuineness of the letter on that score. If the letter was forged, the assumption must be that it was forged for the purpose of ruining Danton. But on this assumption the substance of the letter is too odd, too unusual. A forger would have written a letter more specific in its implications, more obviously treasonable. If the letter is false, it is, in point of form, extremely clever; in point of content, too clever by half. Forged letters are usually commonplace enough; this one is so nearly unique that it is difficult to believe it could have been invented.

CARL BECKER.

ARCHITECTURE IN THE HISTORY OF THE COLONIES AND OF THE REPUBLIC[1]

THE artistic aspects of American history have received but scant attention from professional historians, and consideration of them occupies little space in general histories of the United States. In this respect they only share the neglect formerly suffered by other aspects than the political and military: by constitutional and institutional history, by economic history and the history of religions, the study of which has given great enrichment and truer perspective to the picture of historical evolution. For certain periods of the past even the part of artistic developments in this evolution is now well recognized as vital and significant: for ancient Greece, for the thirteenth century, for the Italian Renaissance. Appreciation of its importance in other periods, with exact study of its character, has increased so rapidly also during recent years that in 1909 Max Dvořák could suggest in seriousness that the history of art had assumed a leading position, such as had been held by the history of religions ten years earlier, by cultural and political history in the first half of the nineteenth century, and by economic and social history in the second half.[2]

In America it has been felt that the arts were of specially small historical importance, both because of the magnitude of the material problem of harnessing the new continent and because of the supposedly imitative and secondary character of artistic manifestations here in relation to those of Europe. Such a generalization, although it contains some elements of truth, has been derived chiefly *a priori*, with the most superficial examination of the artistic developments themselves. It is only in the last score of years, indeed, that any great beginning has been made even to provide the tools for serious study of the arts in America. Already it is becoming evident, however, that, down at least to 1830, the arts, especially architecture, occupied a place of much importance in American life, and that the relationship of American architecture to that of England and of Europe was by no means always backward and imitative.

Under the division of historical sources customary since the time of Droysen—*Überreste* and *Tradition*—none of the *Überreste* from

[1] A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1920.

[2] *Bericht des Kunsthistorischen Kongresses*, 1909 (Munich), p. 64.

the colonial period of an institutional nature is more conspicuous than the physical remains of colonial architecture. Even as an economic matter colonial housebuilding was of serious consequence. The first settlers of New Haven, founded 1636, were reproached for having "laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses".[3] The cost of the Miles Brewton house in Charleston, built 1765 to 1769, is given by Josiah Quincy, jr., as £8000 sterling.[4] Elias Hasket Derby, the great merchant of Salem after the Revolution, with his wife, Elizabeth Crowninshield, had a passion for building not surpassed in degree—extravagant as this may sound—by earlier merchant princes like the Medici themselves. Besides the fine house built for him by his father, he undertook in succession three other splendid town houses. Many instances of similar enthusiasm for building could readily be cited, both in the North and in the South.

It is the historical relationships between early American architecture and that of Europe, however, with which we shall here concern ourselves. The prevailing belief has been that our most worthy architecture was produced during the colonial period, and that conditions peculiar to America at that time gave it a character more nearly our own than that of any later phase of style. In the zone of pioneer settlement, frontier conditions are thought to have recalled primitive types into being, or caused borrowings from the Indians. In the buildings of more advanced communities, Puritanism is believed to have evoked a new type of religious edifice, and adaptation to wood as a building material is supposed to have brought appropriate changes in the proportions of classic architectural forms. Close study of the evidence forces the conclusion, on the contrary, that the special effect of these factors in colonial architecture has been much exaggerated. Whether in the first primitive shelters, or in the later buildings of the colonies, there was little on this side of the Atlantic which did not find its origin or its counterpart in provincial England or other parts of Europe of the same day. A truly American movement in architectural style appeared only after the Revolution, and then it assumed an historical importance which has been little suspected.

In the manifesto of frontier significance there is a famous passage, which reads in part: "The wilderness masters the colonist. . . . It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs

[3] William Hubbard, *History of New England* (before 1682). Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, second ser., VI. (1815) 334.

[4] D. E. H. Smith, *Dwelling Houses of Charleston* (1917), pp. 372–375.

an Indian palisade around him."[5] Based primarily on an analysis of later Western conditions, this formula is applied also to the first colonial settlements. There it appears, however, that neither the first settlers nor the Indians of their day lived in log cabins at all. In some papers read at the Metropolitan Museum last spring, shortly to be published, we have collected the contemporary evidences regarding the first shelters of the colonists, and have shown the idea that they lived in log houses to have been an assumption of the middle of the last century. Contemporary descriptions also reveal that the Indian dwellings of the time, including the "long-house" of the Iroquois, bore no resemblance to the log cabin. In the case of the Creek, who did occasionally employ the log house in the later eighteenth century, we find that, like so many other things, it was borrowed from the colonists. Moreover, the log house itself was no invention of necessity in the wilderness. It was brought from Europe by the Swedes and Finns of the Delaware, in whose country it was then the ordinary form of rural dwelling, and was gradually adopted by later English settlers as superior, in view of the cheapness of timber, to their own lighter forms of construction—huts of branches and turf in conical form, of wattle and clay, or of slabs stood vertically in the ground.

The fundamental conception that the essence of American development lies in the return to primitive conditions along a frontier line might, of course, remain unaffected by these corrections of detail. So far as it has been held to apply to the original colonies, however, it involves a misconception of contemporary English conditions which deprives it of its supposed significance. For the colonial leaders, it is true, the primitive conditions were unaccustomed, but for the mass, the men who in England had been copyholders and agricultural laborers, they were not more than a continuation of conditions at home. The gloomy picture of English agricultural life in the seventeenth century drawn by Thorold Rogers[6] may be somewhat exaggerated, but in its main lines it is confirmed by the researches of Hasbach[7] and other scholars. As late as 1690, over five hundred thousand houses in England, more than five-twelfths the total number, had only a single hearth.[8] We

[5] F. J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1893, p. 201.

[6] *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, V. (1887), esp. 77–91.

[7] *A History of the English Agricultural Laborer*, Eng. tr. (1908), esp. pp. 77 ff.

[8] The returns of the Hearth Books, Mar. 25, 1690, are given by Rogers, V. 120–121.

must take special note of the existence of large numbers of "borderers" or squatters on the commons, woods, and wastes, where they built themselves huts and perhaps cleared a little piece of land. Norden wrote, in his *Surveyors' Dialogues* in 1602: "in some parts where I have travelled, where great and spacious wastes, mountains, forests and heaths are, . . . many cottages are set up, the people . . . living very hardly with oaten bread and sour whey and goats' milk . . . as ignorant of God or of any civil course of life as the very savages."[9]

The natural focusing of attention on the more pretentious buildings abroad has prevented us from realizing the almost inconceivable primitiveness of the humbler dwellings there at the time. Recent English students have shown that few of the existing cottages were erected before the seventeenth century, representing a rise in the culture stage of the higher English yeomanry, and replacing huts of just such character as those which the colonists first built. Indeed, it is clear that primitive methods of construction persisted in remote districts of England long after they had vanished from the older colonial settlements. Edward Johnson is supported by much other evidence, when he writes in 1654, "The Lord hath been pleased to turn all the wigwams, huts, and hovels, the English dwelt in at their first coming, into orderly, fair and well built houses."[10] In England, on the other hand, in the huts of charcoal-burners and bark-peelers we see types, still persisting to the days of photography, which were used by the first comers at Jamestown and Charleston. It would seem that the theory of the frontier as distinctively American had been elaborated without sufficient regard for historical relationships; that the concept of the frontier must be carried back into England itself, and that it did not constitute a specific differentia of colonial life.

The key to early colonial development in architecture, indeed, would seem to be, not the handicaps, but rather the economic advantages of the common man in America. English students scarcely speak of emigration from economic motives as occurring before the later eighteenth century, or even before the nineteenth, attributing the earlier migrations to the colonies to religious or political motives. These were the motives of its leaders, to be sure, and of large numbers of freemen, but in the case of the great number of farm laborers, indented servants, and others whose passage money was paid for them, it was the prospect of better conditions of life which

[9] Cited by Hasbach, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[10] *Wonder-Working Providence* (reprint of 1867), p. 174.

brought them to the New World. That conditions were better in fact has been well brought out by Bruce, in his *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century.*[11] We are apt to set down all the claims made in early colonial tracts as the exaggerations of promotion, and this may be perhaps urged against the author of *Leah and Rachel* (1656), who speaks of "the dull stupidity of people necessitated in England, who rather then [than] they will remove themselves, live here a base, slavish, penurious life. . . . Their condition . . . far below the meanest servant in Virginia"; and of the buildings in Virginia, so contrived "that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome".[12] The most accurate and objective of observers in New England, however, William Wood, writes in 1634, "He that hath understanding and industry, with a stock of £100, shall live better than he shall do here [in England] of £20 per annum", and adds, "But many, I know, will say, If it be thus how comes it to pass then that they are so poor. To which I answer that they are poor but in comparison. Compare them with the rich merchants or great landed men in England, and then I know they will seem poor."[13] To all below the richer yeomen the free grant of virgin and wooded land in America meant a great improvement in their economic status, and even members of the lesser gentry who migrated soon found their means greatly increased.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find—in contrast with the impression generally held—that the more permanent houses, generally framed structures of wood, which superseded the first shelters were not inferior in construction to those of corresponding social grades in the Old World. Mr. S. O. Addy, a pioneer student of humbler English dwellings, writes, "In historic times the houses of the English peasantry were mostly built of wood, stone being only used where wood could not be obtained. . . . Houses were built of wood even in places where stone was most abundant, and this kind of building continued to the close of the sixteenth century."[14] Innocent fixes the seventeenth century as the time during which other materials tended to supplant wood.[15] The use of wood by the

[11] I. (1896) 575–589. *Cf.* also E. Channing, *History of the United States,* I. (1905), especially pp. 214, 227, note. Channing's account of conditions in Virginia is by no means rosy, yet he says, "the agricultural laborer was much better off in Virginia than he was in England."

[12] Force, *Tracts,* vol. III. (1844), no. 14, pp. 17–18.

[13] *New England's Prospect,* in Young, *Chronicles . . . of Massachusetts* (1846), p. 414.

[14] *The Evolution of the English House* (1898), pp. 106–107; Innocent, *English Building Construction* (1916), p. 119.

[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 76, 123, 150. *Cf.* also Thorold Rogers, *op. cit.,* V. 529.

colonists was thus not the adoption of an inferior material due to local conditions, but the perpetuation of English custom where the need for abandoning it was lacking. For the poorer man, indeed, it was even a step forward.

The walls in the frame, or "half-timber", houses of England were by no means always of burned brickwork beneath the plaster, as is commonly supposed in this country; wattle daubed with clay, laths with clay, clay alone, "cat and clay" rolled with straw, as well as sun-dried brick, were all in common use there in the seventeenth century. All these kinds of filling were also employed in the earliest American houses, but in the English colonies, at least after the very first years, were invariably covered with weather-boarding. This itself was not an American invention, but a feature early used in Kent and other English districts, even without any filling.[16] Its universal adoption in America was perhaps partly the result of greater severity of climate, but the inadequacy of uncovered half-timber houses was felt in England also, and later led to widespread use of tiles as a wall covering. The colonial covering of wood may thus represent primarily an improvement in the standard of construction, made possible by the greater cheapness of lumber.

The same certainty applies to the adoption of shingles for roofing. These, no new invention, were not so much a poor substitute for slate and tile as a better substitute for thatch, which continued to be the usual roofing for humbler dwellings in many districts of England until the later eighteenth century, and still remains in use there, whereas the last thatched roofs in the colonies vanished about 1670. Similarly, the wooden chimneys daubed with clay used in the early settlements were no mere makeshifts of the frontier. Instances may be multiplied where they remained in use in England in the nineteenth century,[17] long after their disappearance from the older settlements on this side of the ocean.

In the matter of style, at least, it will be supposed that the seventeenth-century houses of the colonies—which with their direct revelation of functional elements, their steep gables and leaded casements, represent in general a survival of medieval art—stood in arrears to England. It is true that Inigo Jones had introduced the academic style into England, with the Banqueting House at Whitehall, as early as 1619; but it is not so often observed how few and isolated were the works in this style there, down to the Great Fire.

[16] Innocent, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–118. He also writes us, coupling with his opinion that of Mr. J. Kenworthy: "We feel sure that such boarding was in use here long before the settlement of America."

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 269; Addy, *Evolution of the English House*, p. 115.

The number of country houses in the new manner before the Restoration may almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. The infiltration of the academic forms in the architecture of the provincial towns and small manor-houses, to say nothing of ordinary cottages, was slow.[18] The persistence of the leaded casement may be taken as an illustration of this. Many English examples of mullioned casements are as late as 1730. The introduction of sash windows into the English provinces was very gradual.[19] Thus the earlier houses of the colonies represented quite an equal stage of development in style with those of the same class in provincial England.

The same was true of the churches, whether Anglican or dissenting. The only American church of the Anglican faith remaining from the seventeenth century, St. Luke's, Smithfield, Virginia, is, to be sure, essentially Gothic in style, with projecting buttresses, and pointed mullioned arches; and the foundations of the church at Jamestown, built 1639–1647, show a plan wholly Gothic. This is no longer surprising, however, when we realize that the earliest academic church in England, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, by Inigo Jones, was built only in 1631, and that it remained unique until after the Great Fire of 1666, when Wren began his London churches. Among students of English architecture[20] it is a commonplace that Gothic remained the prevailing style for churches outside the capital throughout the century.

The Puritan meeting-house of the colonies, as one sees it in the "Old Ship" at Hingham, Massachusetts, built 1680–1682—a squarish, barn-like structure, with the pulpit on one of the longer sides and galleries around the other three—has been represented in the chief discussions of American churches as a purely native creation: "In New England the earliest [church] buildings resembled no English buildings at all, either of the earlier or later type, but a style was evolved which was peculiar to the period."[21] "The meeting-house . . . knew no architectural tradition . . . for any existing tradition was inseparable from the religious persecution from which the early settlers had fled."[22] Such statements ignore com-

[18] *Cf.* Gotch, *The English House from Charles I. to George IV.* (1918), pp. 99 ff.; Field and Bunney, *English Domestic Architecture of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1905), pp. 2, 9–10.

[19] Innocent, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[20] *E. g.*, R. Blomfield, *Renaissance Architecture in England* (1897), I. 136–148.

[21] A. Embury, *Early American Churches* (1914), p. 35.

[22] R. F. Bach, "Church Planning in the United States", *Architectural Record*, XL. (1916) 15.

pletely the existence in Europe for a century of a specifically Protestant type of house of worship, with galleries focussing on the pulpit. It had its beginnings in Luther's chapel at Torgau, 1544, and was widely diffused in France after the Edict of Nantes, the most notable example there being the "Temple" at Charenton, built in 1623. In England the erection of such buildings was rarer down to 1689, first because of the capture of the official church by Protestantism and Puritanism, then, from the Restoration to the Toleration Act, because of prohibitions and persecutions. Examples still exist there, however, such as the Friar's Street Chapel at Ipswich,[23] with its Gothic casements, which reveal that the type was familiar there from an early time. Non-conformist houses of worship in America and in England were thus identical in scheme.

The change to the academic style in the eighteenth century did not affect the essential parity between the architecture of the colonies and that of provincial England. The means of its adoption, as any widespread matter, and of its subsequent transformations, were the same in both—the books, so characteristic of the period, which made its forms universally accessible to intelligent workmen and even laymen. Whereas prior to 1700 little had been available in English works except the forms of the "five orders", soon after that date there began to pour forth publications of contemporary designs both great and small. James Gibbs, in his folio *Book of Architecture* (1728), expressed the hope that it might be useful to gentlemen building in remote parts of the country, "where little assistance in design is to be secured"; and this was the special purpose of a multitude of smaller works, which supplied owners of less means with details of doorways, chimney-pieces, staircases, ceilings, and, after 1740, plans and elevations of whole houses in great variety. In the phase of style represented, these follow the changes which brought the lavish ornament of the rococo to England, and then replaced it by the ever-cooling chasteness of classicism. Such books were imported into America in great abundance, at dates very shortly after their publication.[24] Comparison shows that in a large number of specific instances details of colonial buildings were copied directly from their plates. Every new English fashion had thus its reflection in the colonies.

The success and rapidity with which these fashions were assimilated in the colonies was not substantially less than in provincial England, for buildings representing the same social grade. Many

[23] R. P. Jones, *Non-Conformist Church Architecture* (1914), p. 17 ff.

[24] *Cf.* Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect* (1916), pp. 20, 34–35, 90–101.

colonial buildings have details of the classic orders applied in an isolated and ungrammatical way, but English buildings from the same period showing similar traits may readily be instanced. On the other hand American houses like Mount Airy, 1758—entirely of stone, closely akin in its design to a plate of Gibbs's book—stand on the same artistic level with their true congeners, the best houses of the smaller English gentry of the day. For the churches, analogous relationships prevail. Thus St. Philip's, Charleston, built in 1723, as shown in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1753, was spoken of by an English contemporary as "a grand church resembling one of the new churches of London",[25] and its three tall porticoes, of a type adopted there only about 1720, give this much justification.

Difference of material is generally supposed to have brought modification of the academic style in the colonies, the use of wood giving the orders more slender proportions and the detail a special delicacy. This idea, an outgrowth of nineteenth-century biologic theory, developed at a time when attention was focused chiefly on the colonial buildings of New England, and when the later history of English architecture was little known. It is true that the increasing cost of wood rendered frame-houses a rarity in England soon after the adoption of the academic style, whereas they continued in common use in America. Outside New England, however, the great majority of the finest colonial houses are of masonry, and in a number of these, such as Stratford, Carter's Grove, and the Nelson house at Yorktown, doorways and other details, in some cases even cornices, are of brick and stone. On the other hand many Georgian houses in England have doorways and cornices of wood. In neither country are the forms and proportions of wooden details modified in the direction of slenderness prior to the advent of the Adam style. This attenuated version of the classic, based on Pompeian decoration, which had its beginnings only about 1760, appeared in the popular handbooks after 1780, and in America thus after the Revolution. The change of proportions which then first took place was English in its origin and independent of material.

It is scarcely necessary to refute the suggestion of a reverse influence of colonial architecture on that of England, recently put forward by an English writer.[26] The similarity of the small houses of the later Georgian period in England with contemporary buildings in America, which he remarks, is sufficiently explained by the

[25] J. Gillies, *Memoirs of Whitefield* (1772), cited by Smith, *Dwelling Houses of Charleston*, p. 32.

[26] S. C. Ramsey, *Small Houses of the Late Georgian Period* (1919), p. 7.

derivation of both from English handbooks. Such a theory arises merely because appreciation of these smaller English houses, which have been eclipsed by their great neighbors, has only come after the colonial work has long been familiar.

Despite minor local traditions, dialects, which existed in the colonies as in different English districts, the colonial style had thus always as its ideal, conformity to current English usage. It does not constitute America's characteristic achievement in architecture.

A true contribution to artistic development in the world at large is to be found rather in the classical style of the early republic. The Declaration of Independence was felt by its authors to apply in artistic matters also. Thus while minor craftsmen for a time continued traditions essentially colonial and English, the leaders sought to establish an architecture which should not be borrowed from contemporary European styles, but should be founded on the authority of the ancients, in whose republics the new states were felt to have their closest analogy. The initiative of amateurs and laymen such as Jefferson and Nicholas Biddle established the form of the classic temple as a single unconditional ideal for all classes of buildings. The Capitol at Richmond was modelled on the Maison Carrée, the Library of the University of Virginia on the Pantheon in Rome, the second Bank of the United States on the Parthenon at Athens. Jefferson even housed the professors at the university in little temples, and Biddle built himself a residence on the pattern of the "Theseum".

The classical revival was, to be sure, a movement which had its beginnings abroad, and which there also had the same ultimate ideal, the temple. By priority in embodiment of this ideal, however, and by greater literalness and universality in its realization, America reveals an independent initiative. The origin and antecedents of American classic buildings we have discussed in detail elsewhere.[27] It will suffice here to recall that the Virginia Capitol, designed in 1785, preceded the Madeleine in Paris, first of the great European temple-reproductions, by twenty-two years; and that the Bank of the United States, built 1819 to 1826, antedated the corresponding foreign versions of the Parthenon, the National Monument at Edinburgh, and the Walhalla at Regensburg, by ten years or more. The adoption of the temple form there for buildings devoted to practical use came later, in the Birmingham Town Hall (1831). Belief that

[27] *Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classic Revival in America* (1915), esp. p. 48; *Thomas Jefferson, Architect,* esp. p. 42; "The Bank of Pennsylvania", *Architectural Record,* XLIV. (1918), esp. 135–137.

American example was influential in England is justified by a reference to the Bank of the United States in a London newspaper of 1837, which states that it "excels in elegance, and equals in utility, the edifice, not only of the Bank of England, but that of any banking house in the world".[28] American domestic buildings of the second quarter of the century, from "Arlington" and "Andalusia" to obscure houses of the Northwest, represent an extreme of classicism which has no parallel elsewhere.

Criticism of such buildings from a functional viewpoint is irrelevant to historical consideration, which is concerned only with determining and understanding the actual course of evolution. Whatever be thought of them, there can be no doubt that they endowed America with an architectural tradition unsurpassed in the qualities of monumentality and dignity.

It is only this unequalled heritage of classical monuments from the formative period of the nation which can explain America's leadership in the new classical revival of the present. When this began in the 'nineties, the characteristic striving elsewhere was toward differentiation, toward original forms expressive of the novel elements in modern life, rather than toward unity, and emphasis on the elements of continuity with the past. The influence of the Chicago Exposition, to which the revival is usually ascribed, is not enough to account for its native vitality, or for the distinguishing austerity of its work. These are due to familiarity with, and to the special character of, the early buildings of the republic—factors which have given the classical revival a nationalistic sanction.

Abroad, this modern architecture of America has made a deep impression and, at least in England, it has already had a marked effect. Many of the most gifted of the younger English architects have visited this country, and are actively engaged in promoting at home a similar return to the classic style of the early nineteenth century. The "balance of trade" with England is now favorable to America in artistic influence also.

Thus it is not the colonial style, but the classic architecture of the republic, in its two incarnations, old and new, which is a true contribution of America to universal development, a contribution well deserving to be recognized, even by the general historian.

FISKE KIMBALL.

[28] *Morning Chronicle*, July 11, 1837, reprinted in Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, IV. (1837) 544.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

The Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History

The extraordinary increase in the amount of graduate instruction in history given in the American universities, in the last thirty or forty years, and the great improvement in its quality and in the means for conducting it, have had one ill effect, in the striking diminution of the number of students who go to Europe in its pursuit. Forty years ago, the student who desired to carry his education in history beyond the meagre acquirements which he had obtained as an undergraduate, seldom had any other thought than to resort to a German university. Twenty years later, graduate instruction in the universities of the United States had developed to such a point that only an ambitious minority went to Europe for additional study—and these more often to Paris than to Germany. At the present time, only a very small percentage of the American graduate students of history have worked in a European university before beginning to teach.

The reasons for this state of things are two. One is that most students cannot afford a period of European residence and study; in too many cases they feel obliged to pursue their education with a minimum of expenditure, and even to seek the doctor's degree with a thesis which can be composed without leaving their immediate locality. The other reason is, the greatly improved opportunities open to the student in America. It is not too much to say that, for the first year of graduate work, the American student of history had better go to one of the best American universities than go to Europe. Such is the general testimony of those qualified to make the comparison with full knowledge. Besides courses appropriately supplementing undergraduate knowledge, the best American universities afford in that year rather more of systematic instruction in historical method, or of what may be called pro-seminar training, than the migrating student is likely to find concentrated, at what is for him the most advantageous stage, in his first year at a university in Europe. Making no comparison of the talents or acquirements of teachers, it can reasonably be maintained that the student will learn the tools and elements of his trade more quickly in familiar surroundings, and should not go to Europe without them, and also that a considerable advantage lies for him in the superior physical

facilities which Yankee inventiveness and resourcefulness have known how to give to American libraries and seminar-rooms.

But if, assuming this preliminary training to have been secured, the effect of our improvement is to be that few of our students of history pursue it outside the borders of their own country, the result will be disastrous indeed. The young man who aspires to be a professor of European history and has never been east of Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, is as defective a creature as the one who wishes to be a professor of American history and has never resided west of those estimable cities. To say nothing of the eminent European teachers, there are elements in European thought and civilization which the young man will never learn rightly to understand except through contact; and without such understanding (since he cannot teach what he does not know) his teaching will lack one of its best traits of usefulness, the power to make young Americans into intelligent citizens of the world.

Probably it will still remain true that the student will gain the greatest educational benefit by going to the schools of Paris, or to some other place where the speech is not his own, and the civilization and the ways of thinking are radically different from those to which he has been accustomed. Yet for many a young man or young woman, either by reason of the subject on which he is embarked and the materials for its pursuit, or by reason of the rich learning and stimulating thought which British professors place at the service of their special pupils, the expedient course will be either to settle down for a period of study in the University of London, where historical study has advanced with such rapidity in recent years, with the vast resources of the British Museum and the Public Record Office near at hand, or to attach himself to Professor Tout's flourishing school of medieval studies at Manchester, or to place himself under the influence of the ripe scholarship of Oxford or Cambridge. At all events, it is an important duty of those already occupied in teaching, and especially in the teaching of graduate students, to foster close relations between the American and the British universities, and to welcome all occasions that bring together those responsible for the teaching of history in the universities of Great Britain and the United States. It is therefore a duty, and certainly it is a great pleasure, to lay before the readers of this journal some account of the first Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History, held under the auspices of the University of London in the second week of July last, July 11–16.

The immediate occasion for the conference was connected with

the opening of the Institute of Historical Research established by the University of London. The building, in Malet Street, is near University College, and seven or eight hundred yards from the entrance to the British Museum. It is a temporary building, of somewhat the aspect of our Y. M. C. A. "huts", but of more substantial construction (urolite), and comprises a dozen rooms, of varying sizes, devoted to working libraries of sources and the conduct of seminars in English, Continental, London, diplomatic, naval, military, colonial, and American history, but with flexible and provisional arrangements. Besides being a workshop for historical research, it is intended that the establishment, for the inception of which the chief credit is understood to belong to Professor A. F. Pollard, Professor A. P. Newton, Miss E. Jeffries Davis, and an anonymous donor, shall be a clearing-house of historical information, open to students of all universities and all nations. Of its special possibilities of usefulness to the younger sort of American students, there can be no doubt in the minds of those who have been familiar with the defective conditions under which such students have hitherto done their work in London.

The formal opening of the Institute took place on July 8, when an admirable address was delivered by that notable historical scholar, the Minister of Education, Mr. Herbert A. L. Fisher, followed by Lord Bryce in a speech which left one doubtful whether to admire most his learning and kindly wisdom, or his physical vigor at an age of which the only evidence is to be found in books of reference. Most of the exercises of the ensuing week's conference were held in the rooms of the new building.

In general, the programme of those exercises was of a highly practical nature. No provision was made for rhetoric. After the formal opening meeting, all the sessions were genuine conferences, in which British and American members joined in the informal discussion of points of method or of questions as to the most profitable directions for research in the near future. In that opening meeting, the Minister of Education made another impressive address, emphasizing the need of sympathetic co-operation between American and British teachers in the work of historical education, and arguing in favor of the exchange of students, not of mediocre but of superior quality, after the undergraduate stage.[1] According to British custom, one of the American delegates responded; interesting remarks were made by Cardinal Gasquet, prefect of the Vati-

[1] A considerable part of Mr. Fisher's address is printed in *Education* for July 15.

can library and archives, concerning those collections and the work which he has set on foot in them; and Professor W. R. Shepherd, of Columbia University, spoke in support of the vote of thanks to Mr. Fisher, proposed by Cardinal Gasquet.

The meetings which followed, on each of the four ensuing mornings, were devoted respectively to the following topics: the Objects of the Institute of Historical Research, Anglo-American Co-operation in Publication of Documents and Results of Research, How to Conduct a Seminar in History, and Methods of Editing Original Sources. The first, after a general exposition by Professor Pollard, resolved itself into sectional meetings for the consideration of unexplored fields, in medieval administration, in English ecclesiastical history, in colonial history, and in that of Eastern Europe. The second, similarly, after some general proceedings, divided into sections discussing what might be done in the fields of legal records, of medieval science and thought, of diplomatic documents, of colonial and Indian records, and of naval records. A permanent committee, composed of members from Great Britain, the United States, and Canada, was formed to give effect to the notions of Anglo-American co-operation which had emerged from the discussions of this latter occasion.

Successful as the conference was in professional respects, nothing produced a more gratifying impression on the American minds than its social aspect. No doubt, too, this counted for much with the Britons, for such gatherings of British men and women occupied with historical studies have not been frequent, and it was remarked that never before had so many of them been brought together, unless at the time of the International Congress of Historical Studies held at London in 1913. In large degree the conference was composed of delegates formally appointed by the various British universities and university colleges, and by Canadian and American universities and colleges, and each of the universities of the United Kingdom had sent representatives whose fame is abundant on the other side of the Atlantic, and whom it was a pleasure to Americans to meet. In all, nearly two hundred members of the conference were present. The thirty or forty Americans and Canadians had probably in no case come across the water especially to attend the conference; they were already in Europe, or had lately come to Europe, for purposes of research or travel, but they formed a good representation, mostly of the middle and younger elements in our profession, and endeavored to contribute their part to the discussions.

Nothing impressed them more, it may safely be said, than the

abounding hospitality with which they were entertained. On occasions open to British and American delegates alike, but from the nature of the case planned especially for the pleasure of the Americans, the custodians of famous collections not only threw them open to the inspection of the visitors, but were at much pains to show and explain unusual possessions. Thus, there was a visit to the Public Record Office by invitation of the Master of the Rolls, another to the manuscripts department of the British Museum by invitation of the director, Sir Frederic Kenyon, and a third to the Guildhall, where members were received by the library committee and shown the records of the corporation of London. On another afternoon the Royal Historical Society invited the members to a very agreeable *conversazione* in its building and in the gardens of Russell Square opposite. Another afternoon was made memorable by a visit to the library of Lambeth Palace, where the librarian, Rev. Claude Jenkins, gave an interesting description of the collections, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Mrs. Davidson entertained the visitors at tea. Finally, there was a post-conference excursion to Windsor Castle, where the King's Librarian, Hon. John W. Fortescue, with unwearied kindness, conducted members all about the castle and gave full and interesting explanations of rooms and treasures artistic and historical.

There was also abundance of private hospitality, in the form of week-end entertainment, teas, and dinners, among which the dinner and the brilliant reception given by Lady Astor, and specially honored by the presence of the Duke of Connaught, calls for particularly grateful commemoration.

On the final evening of the conference the British government gave to the members a very handsome dinner at the Savoy Hotel, at which the Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Robert Munro, presided, and at which excellent speeches, striking precisely the right note, were made by him, by Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, and by Professor John L. Morison of Queen's University, Canada. The recent action of President Harding in calling the Disarmament Conference, announced in just those days, gave point to all that was said of fraternal relations between the three nations, and of that peace on earth which historical knowledge, properly pursued and diffused, can do so much to promote.

It is ardently to be hoped that before long a second Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History may in some form be brought about on our side of the ocean. Such will certainly be the wish of all those who attended the conference of last July.

though it must be confessed that British hospitality set on that occasion a standard which it will be difficult for us to maintain.

J. F. J.

The Philanthropists and the Genesis of Georgia

The benevolent activities initiated by the Rev. Thomas Bray, founder of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are familiar to students of eighteenth-century America. In the absence of records of the inception of the Georgia enterprise,[1] however, it has escaped notice that another philanthropic society, created by Bray *circa* 1724, and still in existence—the Associates of the Late Rev. Dr. Bray—became, shortly after his death (February 15, 1730), the parent organization of the Georgia Trust.

It is true that the original Associates, though they included the colonies within the scope of their benefactions, in no sense constituted a colonizing society. Their objects at the outset were two: the founding of parochial libraries in England and in the plantations, and the Christian education of negroes.[2] Both were philanthropies which had long interested Bray. For parochial libraries he had generously spent his own income as well as gifts; for negro education he controlled a legacy of about £900 from M. Abel Tassin, sieur d'Allone. But in 1723 ill-health had made Bray anxious for the perpetuation of these benevolences. He had therefore joined with himself four trustees, John Lord Viscount Percival, William Belitha, the Rev. Stephen Hales, and his brother Robert Hales, of whom the first three later became charter trustees of Georgia.[3]

[1] This lack has now been supplied, in part, by the publication of the *Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards First Earl of Egmont*, vol. I., 1730–1733. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1920.) The attention of students had previously been called to this valuable source for the early history of Georgia by Benjamin Rand, in the *Nation*, C. 107.

[2] On his work with respect to libraries, see Dr. B. C. Steiner's article in this journal, II. 59–75, and on his work in general, the same writer's monograph on Dr. Bray, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication* no. 37.

[3] The primary source for the life of Bray is a biography entitled "A Short Historical Account of Dr. Bray's Life and Designs" (Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian), printed by B. C. Steiner as Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication* no. 37 (1901), pp. 11–50. The manuscript, partly in the hand of Richard Rawlinson, partly in that of his amanuensis, was apparently press copy for the tract, *Publick Spirit illustrated in the Life and Designs of Thomas Bray*, London, 1746, of which a second edition appeared in 1808. The editor of the second edition, H. J. Todd, was probably correct in his ascription of the authorship to the Rev. Samuel Smith, who in 1730 became an Associate and one of the secretaries

Lord Percival was an Irish peer, a moderate supporter of Walpole, and a devoted friend of George Berkeley.[4] Friendship for Berkeley led him to accept the trusteeship: he expected to establish a fellowship for the instruction of negroes in Berkeley's projected Bermuda College.[5] The benevolent aspirations which underlay Berkeley's plan, Percival, with his strong religious bent, naturally shared. Though of practical temper he also shared some of the utopian zeal which was likewise an element in the Dean of Dromore's undertaking.[6] Berkeley's dream was soon dissipated, but its passing glamour had fixed the interest of Lord Percival in America. To Berkeley in Rhode Island he wrote: "almost you persuade me to be a Rhodian."[7] While he was still defending Berkeley's good faith against detractors, he was approached by James Oglethorpe in behalf of a design which appealed to the same mingled charitable and romantic sentiments, but which, "being entirely calculated for a secular interest",[8] held greater promise of governmental support.

A common interest in imprisoned debtors—possibly inspired in

of the group. From the journals of the Associates (apparently not now extant for the period before 1735) Todd cited this passage under date June 17, 1731: "An historical Account was laid by Mr. Smith before the Associates, of Dr. Bray's Life and Designs; and with some alterations the whole was approved." There is other evidence, internal and external, that 1731 was the date of original composition of the Life; and it is obvious that it was intended to be the official version of Bray's career as viewed by the Associates. Dr. Steiner's assumption that Richard Rawlinson was the author, and that he placed his manuscript in the hands of Smith, is not well substantiated. Smith was in a position to write intimately of Bray's life, but there is no evidence that the nonjuring Bishop Rawlinson had any personal contact with the latitudinarian Bray, or with the group which carried on his charities. Rawlinson produced few original works, but he was a frequent editor as well as a great collector (see article in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLVII. 331); he may have edited the Life for publication in 1746. While it was still in manuscript, borrowings from it appeared in early tracts issued by the society (*viz.*, statement of the Associates' designs appended to the sermon of the Rev. Samuel Smith, preached before the Associates Feb. 23, 1731, as published in 1733; below, note 20). "A Short Historical Account" as printed gives the date of Bray's illness as "Christmas 1725". This is probably a misprint for "Christmas 1723", the date which appears in *Publick Spirit illustrated*, and in all subsequent accounts; 1724 is the probable date of the establishment of the original group of Associates.

[4] For their correspondence, see Benjamin Rand, *Berkeley and Percival* (1914).

[5] Percival, *Diary*, I. 45. Lord Palmerston, in whose hands the d'Allone legacy had been placed, was likewise a patron of Berkeley, and used his influence to merge the two projects. Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 229.

[6] Rand, *Ibid.*, pp. 203–206, 223–225, 230–231, 245.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

[8] Percival to Berkeley, Dec. 23, 1730. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

both by Dr. Bray, a veteran prison reformer[9]—had brought Percival and Oglethorpe together in Parliament, despite political differences. It was a large committee which sat in 1729 to "enquire into the state of the gaols".[10] Oglethorpe was chairman ("a young gentleman of very public spirit", Percival described him to Berkeley);[11] among the members—a nucleus of earnest reformers—were Lord Percival, Robert Hucks, Rogers Holland, and John Laroche, all later joined as trustees of Georgia. The committee exposed flagrant abuses at the Fleet and Marshalsea prisons; it secured ameliorative legislation, and notably an act which released large numbers of debtors from confinement. But Oglethorpe was not satisfied, and pressed, successfully, for the revival of the committee. As restored and altered in 1730 it included, with one omission, the whole parliamentary group named in the charter as trustees.[12] While the reforming element in the committee was being strengthened by this reorganization, Oglethorpe and Percival were effecting a parallel reconstruction of the little charitable trust which Bray had established several years before.

For the punishment of brutal wardens and the releasing of unfortunates were only part of Oglethorpe's humanitarian programme. "The miserable wretches . . . let out of Gaol by last year's Act" he found "starving about the town for want of employment"; hundreds, he told Percival, had emigrated to Prussia to seek economic opportunities which England did not offer them.[13] In 1729 he had

[9] Bray's report to the S. P. C. K. on the prisons preceded Oglethorpe's investigation by more than a quarter-century. James S. Anderson, *History of the Colonial Church*, IV. 74–76. In 1727 Dr. Bray was again active in the relief of prisoners; this time he raised funds to supply the prisoners of Whitechapel and Borough Compter with provisions, and besides sent among them his apprentice missionaries. "On this occasion", declared his biographer, "the sore was first opened and that scene of inhumanity imperfectly discovered, which afterwards some worthy patriots of the House of Commons took so much pains to enquire into and redress. That zeal and compassion, which led them to carry on this inspection and regulate many gross abuses, could not but procure for them the largest measure of esteem of one distinguished by such an extensive benevolence as Dr. Bray." "A Short Historical Account" (ed. Steiner), Maryland Hist. Soc., *Fund Publ.*, no. 37, p. 46.

[10] *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 25, 1729.

[11] Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, p. 270.

[12] Percival, *Diary*, I. 46, 49, 50; *Commons' Journals*, Feb. 17, 1730. Of special interest for its bearing upon the strategic origins of Georgia is the fact that both committees included several members of the Board of Trade; the veteran Martin Bladen sat on each. Early in 1730 the Board was planning the extension of settlement in South Carolina as far as the Altamaha. The location of the debtor colony was probably suggested by the colonial administration; it was a logical step in a long-maturing imperial policy.

[13] Percival, *Diary*, I. 45, 90.

formulated a plan to plant a hundred or so beneficiaries of the recent act on land purchased or granted somewhere in the "West Indies".[14] In 1729, moreover, he had found a fund suited to his purpose, the legacy of one King, a haberdasher. For services to two of the executors, in preventing a fraud by the third, Oglethorpe had been promised £5000 from King's legacy of £15,000, for his charitable colony, provided it should be annexed to some trust already in existence.

It was at this juncture that Oglethorpe appealed to Lord Percival. King's executors had agreed that the Associates were "proper persons to be made trustees of this new affair". Apparently Dr. Bray had already consented to an enlargement of the group, if indeed he had not first proposed it independently.[15] But Dr. Bray was on his death-bed, and Lord Percival was planning to withdraw from his trusteeship, when Oglethorpe approached him in the House of Commons, February 13, 1730, proposing to augment the number of the original Associates and thus to merge three charities in the one society.[16] His object was to associate the reforming group in Parliament with philanthropists outside, in a constructive effort on behalf of the poor.

Percival's assent secured the desired organization for the project of a charitable colony. Until 1742, moreover, Percival, after Oglethorpe, was the most assiduous promoter of the plan. In April, 1730, he took legal counsel on the method of augmenting the trusteeship;[17] by July, apparently, the reorganization was completed.[18]

[14] *Diary*, I. 45. In Percival's usage "West Indies" was sometimes employed in a general sense, to mean America. Even after Carolina had been chosen as the site, he referred to the new colony "in the West Indies". *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[15] The author of "A Short Historical Account" credited Bray with the idea of enlarging the original trust; and declared that an interview occurred between Oglethorpe and Bray, occasioned by the parliamentary inquiry, in the course of which Bray proposed that Oglethorpe become one of the trustees; and that Oglethorpe consented "and engaged several others, some of the first distinction, to act with him and the former Associates in it". *Loc. cit.*, pp. 46–47. This is not to assert, however, that Bray first suggested the new charity. For a later tradition of Bray's active agency in the reorganization, see an extract from Edward Bentham's memoir of the Rev. John Burton, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLI. 307 (1771).

[16] Percival, *Diary*, I. 44–45.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[18] July 1 Percival "went to town to a meeting of the new Society for fulfilling Mr. Dalone's will in the conversion of negroes, and disposing of five thousand pounds . . . in settling some hundred of families in Carolina . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 98. An advertisement of "The Associates of the late Dr. Bray" in 1737 referred to their activities "since July, 1730". John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, II. 119.

During the first year Oglethorpe acted as chairman. In Percival's journal there is no uniformity in the naming of the conglomerate society;[19] the varying terminology may have indicated, to some extent, the character of the business under consideration. But it is evident that all three charities were regulated at a single meeting. Moreover, when Bray's anniversary sermons were preached before "the associates of Dr. Bray, deceased," at their annual meetings in 1731 and 1732, the discourses dealt with "charitable planting" as well as with Bray's older philanthropies.[20] At meetings of the Associates, between 1730 and 1732, the colonizing enterprise gradually took form; it was at a meeting of the Associates, notably, on July 30, 1730, that the petition to the crown for a grant of lands in Carolina was agreed upon and partly signed.[21]

Analysis of the personnel of the society strikingly confirms the other evidence that the enlarged Associates of the late Rev. Dr. Bray formed the nidus of the Georgia board.[22] The Associates included some eight individuals who never served as trustees of Georgia; but no one of the board as first named was chosen from outside that composite charitable society. At the head of its membership were three of the original group of Associates. There were fourteen members of Parliament, all of whom but Digby (and possibly Lowther) had served on at least the revived committee on the jails, though three of the least active were later omitted from the trust. There were seven clergymen (five of them trustees), and a fourth group of philanthropists, most of whom, with the

[19] See, for instance, *Diary*, I. 99, 273, 276.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 224–226; *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1731 (I. 80). Both sermons, by the Rev. Samuel Smith and by the Rev. John Burton, were published, in 1733, "at the desire of the trustees and associates". The title-pages, written after the separation of the trusts, obscure their earlier identity; but the phrasing of the sermons makes this very plain.

[21] Percival, *Diary*, I. 99.

[22] The list of the Associates, as published in *Biographia Britannica* (1748), II. 976 n., follows. With only a few omissions the list may be confirmed from references in Percival's journal. "John Lord Viscount Percival, now Earl of Egmont. The reverend Dr. Stephen Hales. William Belitha, Esq. The honourable Edward Digby, Esq. The Right Honourable George Lord Carpenter. Major-General Oglethorpe. Edward Harley, Esq. The Honourable James Vernon, Esq. Edward Hughes, Esq. Robert Hucks, Esq. Thomas Tower, Esq. John Laroche, Esq. Rogers Holland, Esq. Major Charles Selwyn. Robert More, Esq. William Sloper, Esq. Oliver St. John, Esq. Henry Hasting, Esq. George Heathcote, Esq. Francis Eyles, Esq. Mr. Adam Anderson. Sir James Lowther. Captain Thomas Coram. The Reverend Mr. Digby Cotes. The Reverend Mr. Arthur Bedford. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Smith. The Reverend Mr. Richard Bundy. The Reverend Mr. John Burton. The Reverend Mr. Daniel Somerscald", etc.

clergymen, represented the movement outside of Parliament. Captain Thomas Coram was one of these; already he was agitating for the great foundling hospital which became his monument.[23] The Hon. Edward Digby was probably drawn in as the nephew of that pious Lord Digby who had been a lifelong friend and patron of Dr. Bray.[24]

Even after the Georgia charter had passed the seals, for a time the business of the Associates and of the trustees was jointly transacted.[25] As late as May, 1733, the Associates, meeting separately at the Georgia Society office, were pressing for an accounting of funds, on the ground that "these trusts are to be separated from the care and management of the Georgia Trustees in general".[26] Apparently the formal separation occurred in that year.

In 1737 the Associates announced that since July, 1730, they had "erected in Great Britain and the Plantations, twenty-three libraries, larger and smaller".[27] One hundred and eighty-three years later the society was still maintaining over one hundred and fifty libraries in England and Wales, nearly one hundred and seventy over-seas, mostly scattered among the dioceses of the Empire, besides supporting negro schools in the Bahamas.[28] Despite this record of a trust

[23] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XII. 194. Coram was regarded also as an expert on America, where he had lived and traded. Percival said "he knew the West Indies well" (*Diary*, I. 261); while the elder Horace Walpole declared him "the honestest, the most disinterested, and the most knowing person about the plantations, I have ever talked with". Coxe, *Walpole* (1798), III. 243.

[24] John H. Overton, *Life in the English Church, 1660–1714*, p. 123. Edward Harley, brother of the Earl of Oxford, was a well-known philanthropist; in 1725 he had been named chairman of the trustees for the charity-schools of London. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXIV. 394. Adam Anderson had charitable interests, but he was probably selected because, as second accountant at the South Sea House, he was acquiring that reputation as a trade expert which his authorship of the *Origin of Commerce* (1764) has perpetuated. Among the clergymen the best known, besides the plant physiologist Hales, was John Burton, of Oxford. He and Oglethorpe had been of the same generation at Corpus Christi College, of which Burton was now a fellow. *Id.*, VIII. 8.

[25] July 20, 1732, "we presented them [Pury and his colonists] with a small library out of Dr. Bray's books, of which we are trustees." Record of meeting of Georgia board, in Percival, *Diary*, I. 286.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 382.

[27] Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, II. 119. The minute-books from 1735 to 1808 are preserved in the building of the S. P. G. in London. Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to Manuscript Materials for the History of the U. S., to 1783, in the British Museum*, etc., p. 334.

[28] *Report for the Year 1920 of the Association Established by the Late Rev. Dr. Bray and his Associates for Libraries for the Clergy, with an Account of a Trust for Supporting Negro Schools and Brief Notes on the Life of Dr. Bray.* 1921. See also article in the *New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia* (1908), II. 255.

so long executed in the spirit of the founder, the Associates of the Late Rev. Dr. Bray no doubt performed their most notable service between 1730 and 1732, when they laid the foundations of the last successful English enterprise of colonization within the limits of the United States.

Institutionally, as well as in its spirit of charity, Georgia was a product of the religious-philanthropic movement in the era of Walpole.

VERNER W. CRANE.

DOCUMENTS

Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II.

Sunday June the 9th [*1765*] from port Royal to hoes fery on Patowmak, 18 miles.[1] this is one of the finest rivers on the Continent: admiral Bradock went up it as far as alexandria with his whole fleet after his Defeat at fort william henery, in Canada. this river seperates the two provinces of Virginia and Maryland. it is about 3 miles broad here. I Crossed this fery and Dined at the maryland fery.[2] Set out from thence[3] for Mr. hunters, missionary, where I remain'd all next Day and night. Mr. hunter is a Jesuit and superior of the Mission in this part of the Country.[4] There are four Clergy men belongs and four houses like this in the province the fathers go about the Different parts to atend the Dispersed Catholiques. Charles County has more of the Cathol. religion than any other but are poor in general. Lord Baltimore when he had the grant of maryland was himself one, but his unworthy Desendants have abondoned his principles therefore the poor Catholiques have lost most of their privileges. they were very much treatend in the begining of the last war. father hunter tells me there are about 10,000 Catholiques still in the Colony. he has generally from 800 to a th'd at his Sundays mass.

June the 11th. from mr. hunters to portobacco town, 2 m. about 20 houses. from hence to Piscatoway[5] 16 m. much such another place as the last. Dined here. there are small Creeks from patowmak river to Each of these place on which small sloops Com to them. Some merchants have stores or shops here ful of all Sorts of Dry goods which they sell at an intolarable Dear rate. on my arival in maryland, I thought there was somthing pleasanter in the Country than in Virginia, it is not a Continual flat as the latter, there is a greater variety, and fine prospects from the riseings, which the other has not in the parts that I Came thorough. the land seems beter Cultivated and setled. the roads are not so sandy.

[1] Matthias Point. It is hardly necessary to point out the errors in the next sentence, respecting "Admiral" Braddock.

[2] Near the present Port Tobacco, Md.

[3] *I.e.*, from the Maryland end of the ferry over the Potomac, some eight miles below Port Tobacco, in Charles County.

[4] Father George Hunter, S. J. (1713–1779), "missionarius in Porto Baccha", had come out to Maryland in 1747, and since 1756 had been superior of the Jesuits in Maryland. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Text, II. 692–693. In view of the data he gives the diarist, it is of interest to read the general report he was at this time preparing, on Catholicism in Maryland, and which he sent to his provincial under date of July 23. *Ibid.*, Documents, I. 335–338. Father Hunter's residence is described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 179.

[5] On Piscataway Creek, the mouth of which is nearly opposite Mount Vernon.

from Piscatoway to mr. Diggses, 12 m.[6] this is a Gentleman of the Roman Catholique Religion, and much respected In the Country by Every one that Knows him. he has a Considerable fortune. Mr. Thomas Diggs his Brother is a Jesuit.[7] he lives with him and at the same time Does religious Duty all round in this part of the Country, he Certainly is an honor to his religion. he is a very respectable persson in Every respect, amiable in the Eyes of all that are acquainted with him. makes those that are in his Company happy. he is a learned man and has seen much of the world.

June the 12th. from Mr. Diggses to Marlborough the Capital of Prince Georges County.[8] here I Dined and after Dinner went to see tobaco Inspected at the ware house and saw some of the bright couloured tobaco which sels So Dear in foreign markets. it is of a light yelow Coulour. and is as much Esteemed as the virginia Sweet Sented: it grows but in particular Soils. the Inhabitants call it bright tobacco. this litle town is the senter of pleasures in maryland, they have assemblys here all the year rownd: it is situated on patuxent river. Non but small barques Can Come to it which is suficient to Cary of its Produce. [*In margin*: four miles from Marlboroug I Crossed patux't river fery, at a place called mount pleasant.][9] the Inhabitants of maryland go very much on farming. Prince Georges County is Inhabited by the best people in Maryland. marlborough is 15 miles from Piscatoway. from hence to hords ord'y 10 miles. here I lay.

June the 13th. from hords ord'y to london town, 15 m.[10] this is a very Small place not above a D'oz'n houses. it is on what the Inhabitants Call South river but really North river Communicating to the great bay. fine Country as I Came along. after Dinner Crossed the south river fery [*In margin*: this fery is a mile broad] and to annopolis 4 miles. this is the capital of maryland, a prety litle town, Beautifully situated on a risein grownd beside the river severn, Comunicateing to the Bay. ships of any Burthen Can Come up this river, and Could formerly Come Close to the town into a little mold or Bassen, which is in the Center of the town, but this Bassen is almost filled with Dirt for want of a little Care. however the harbour is so good otherwise that the ships Dont feel any great inconvenience from that loss. I was not above an hour at the tavern when Joseph Galoway Esq'r[11] Came to enquier for me. my good friend mr. Christy[12] wrote to him from williamsburg Concerning me. We suped together at the tavern and next Day I went to Dine with him. after Dinner we went to the Court which was then seting: here my friend Introduced me to most of the

[6] Ignatius Digges, of Melwood.

[7] Father Thomas Digges, S. J. (1711–1805), a native of Maryland, missionary there since 1742, superior before Father Hunter.

[8] Upper Marlborough, on the western branch of the Patuxent.

[9] Near the present Bayard, Md.

[10] On the south side of South River.

[11] The celebrated Pennsylvania magnate and lawyer (1729–1803), born in Maryland, speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly 1766–1774, member of the first Continental Congress, Loyalist. Life by E. H. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1902).

[12] James Christie, of Annapolis; see the first installment of this journal, note 78.

gentlemen, and particularly to the atorny general and Chief Justice.[13] we spent the remainder of the Court time (which was till the 18) very Chearfully. there was a large and agreable Company at my tavern. where we had nothing but feasting and Drinking, after the Kings health, the virginia assembly, and then Damnation to the Stamp act and a great Deal to that purpose in fine we scarce used to Go to bed sober.

June the 19th. went with J. Galloway to his Brothers at tulip hill on west river, a very fine situation.[14] Nothing Can be Equal to the Civilities I received from these Gentlemen. this place is 12 miles from the town. there is great plenty of wheat and Indian Corn raised in this part of the Country.

June the 20th. we went to a fishing party out in the Bay, where we Catched a prodigious quantity of roks which is a fine fish.

Do. the 21st. Came back to town.

the 22d. Crossed the severn (which is about 2 miles broad) and weated on the governor in Company with both Galloways. he lives about 6 m. from town where he has bought a farm and is building a prety box of a house on the Bay side, which he Calls white hall.[15] he is but lieutenant governor, the proprietor[16] being governor. he formally had been in the army. he is a batchelor about 45 y's old, a very agreable sencible gentleman. wee Came to town after Dinner on Conditions that I should return shortly and spend some time with his honour, which I promised with pleasure, for I liked his Company much.

June the 23d. Set in Comp'y with J. Galloway, Esqr. for Baltimore town. Broke fast at the widow rights, 15 m. at noon arived at patapsco fery,[17] where we met with some ladys and gentlemen that were going to a feast aboard a ship that was lying at anchor in the river, with several others. we profited of the opertunity and went with them. it is Custumary for all ships that Come to the Country to take tobaco on freight home, to give a Dinner to which they generally invite the planters and familys, Especially those who freight tobaco on board, who take Care to tell of it in their Cups. I've shiped so much says one I've shiped so much says another, and then a Dispute would rise who shiped moste, which would have turned serious at last if somebody very lukily had not spoke of the stamp Dutys, which altered the Conversation imediately. then was they Daming their souls if they would pay and Damn them but they would fight to the last Drop of their blood before they would Consent to any such slavery. In short the aproche of night finished the feast and wee went with part of the Comp. to

[13] The attorney-general was Edmund Key (d. 1766). *Maryland Magazine of History*, V. 196; *Maryland Archives*, XIV. 128. The chief justice of the provincial court was John Brice (1714–1766), of Annapolis. *Md. Archives*, XIV. 216; Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History*, pp. 357–359.

[14] Near Galloways, Md.; the home of Samuel Galloway. It is described and pictured in J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware*, pp. 138–143.

[15] It is described and pictured in Lady Edgar's *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*, pp. 188–194, 245, and in Hammond, pp. 77–87. The governor mentioned was of course Lieut-Col. Horatio Sharpe (1718–1790), governor 1753–1769.

[16] Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore.

[17] See J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I. 371.

baltimore, which is Considerable for the short time since its first Establishment, which is owing to its proximity with the many Iron mines, and works in its Invirons, the situ'on is far from being agreable, it is at the foot of a hil fronting to the Southward, a Sandy Soil which makes it very hot in the Sumertime. it is not near as healthy as anapolis. the ships Cant Come within a mile of the town. here I met my good friend Mr. Christy who accompanied us the 24th to Charles Carol Esq'r,[18] about three miles from town, where he has Considerable Iron works. wee went to see them but unfortunately the furnais was not in blast. the mines that belong to these works are Considerable and abundant in Iron. they belong to five Gentlemen and are at present worth 500 ps. per annum to Each of [them] altho in its infancy.[19] there are great numbers of mines about this part of the Country some of which are Coper and very rich in apearance but no[t] wrought.

Mr. Carol treated us with all the Civility Imaginable. wee staid here all the 24th.

June the 25th. returned to anopolis, Mr. Christy with us.

Do. 26th. went to Marlbro Court where there was a Surprising Number of People. Dined at the tavern in a large Company, the Conversation Continually on the Stamp Dutys. I was realy surprised to here the people talk so freely. this is Common in all the Country, and much more so to the Northward. the Catholiques seem to be very Cautious on this occasion. we went to ly at Mr. Diggses where I had again the pleasure of Conversing with the Rever'd father thomas, to my great satisfaction.

Do. 27th. Came to tulip hil In Company with both Galloways, Mr. Stuard, one of the majistrates of anapolis,[20] and Mr. Junifer major in the militia.[21] after Dinner as the botle was going round the Conversat'n fell on the Stamps, and as the wine operated the rage against the proceedings of the parlement augment, only the magestrate seemed to retain himself, and took the part of the ministry, on acc't of his Countryman lord Bute.[22] in the hight of the Conv'on there was something said about takeing up arms, that if the americans took it in head they were able to Cope with Britain in america. upon which the magestrate said that non but Disafected people, or Enemys to the present government, could talk in such a manner, but notwithstanding his loyalty, he out with it at last, and said that if it Came to the push he would take up arms himself In Defence of his liberty and property, upon which he had a huza from the Company.

[18] Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Elk Ridge (1702–1781), father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The Patapsco Iron Works were at the mouth of Gwynn's Falls, now in the southwest part of Baltimore.

[19] Four of the five were this Charles Carroll, Charles Carroll, barrister, Daniel Dulany, and Robert Carter, of Nomini, Va. A letter of the first-named to his celebrated son, written in 1764, mentions that he owns a fifth of these iron-works. Rowland, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, I. 60.

[20] Dr. George Stewart, member of the provincial council. See Hanson, *Old Kent of Maryland*, pp. 262–264.

[21] Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, afterward member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Constitution.

[22] Dr. George Stewart was born in Scotland.

It is Certain that this act has made a great alteration in the americans Disposition towards greatbritain,[23] and will have a very Good Efect with regard to themselves. it has already set them on raising everything within themselves, which they would never have thought of otherwise, for they hithertoo were the greatest spendtrifts in the world, satisfied if at the years End the[y] Could make both Ends meet. they send their produce home, which is sold by the merchants at their own price, and aded to this Considerable Charges, there was but litle Comeing to the poor planter, and Even that litle was sent out to him in some necessary furniture which cost him as Dear in proportion as his tobaco was sold Cheap. thus the Inhabitants of america were allways from hand to mouth. Indeed they have this happiness well for them, that all necessarys for life, abound in this fine Country in the utmost plenty: however they seem already to be intent on raising manufactures, spinning and weaving both woolen and linnen, and more Especially to the norw'd. In Boston they make all their own aparell. In so much that there are great Complaints in England of the few goods taken of their hands this last year by the Colony's: if they put this resolution in Execution it must be a fatal stroke to England, for their Chief Dependance is on their manufactures to which these Colonys were a Considerable suport.

June the 28th. remained at tulip hill with Mr. Junifer.

the 30th. went to a fishing party to the Bay Side being Invited by a Quaker who gave a feast there.

July the 1st. Came with Mr. Junifer to annopolis where the provincial Court begins the 10th. *the 3d. Do.* Dined with old Squ'r Carrol of anopolis.[24] he is looked on to be the most moneyed man in maryland but at the same time the most avaritious. he is a stanche Roman Catholique, keeps but very litle Company owing perhaps to his Distaste to the protestants. I was never genteeler received by any perssonne than I was by him. he has no family, only a b. son who he Intends to make his sole heir. he had part of his Education in france.

the 6th. Dined with Mr. Key, atorney general, who is a very sencible man.

the 9th. Dined with Barister Carrol[25] (who Came for the Court) in Company with Several Gentlemen, who were the top of the province. they were all scheming how to rise manufactures. one had sent home for weavers, another for spiners, another, other things, In short in three

[23] *Cf.* the letters of John Beale Bordley in J. B. Gilson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family*, pp. 82–85.

[24] The same Charles Carroll—of Annapolis or Elk Ridge or Doughoregan—referred to above, note 18. What is said here of his son's birth is contradicted by the data given in Miss Rowland's biography.

[25] Charles Carroll, barrister (1723–1783), a distant relative of Charles Carroll of Carrollton; he was afterward a member of several of the revolutionary conventions of Maryland, and of the Continental Congress.

[26] James Tilghman, elder brother of Matthew Tilghman, M. C. C., and father of Chief Justice William Tilghman of Pennsylvania. *Md. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 369. Governor Sharpe, in a letter of May 8, 1764, speaks of him as "Mr. James Tilghman, lately Burgess [member of the assembly, 1763] for Talbot and one of our first-rate lawyers, but now settled in Philadelphia". *Md. Archives*, XIV. 160. Barrister Carroll had in 1763 married the eldest daughter of Matthew Tilghman.

years time they would not have a farthings worth of anything from England. there was one Mr. tilghman here from philadelphia[26] who says that the people in Boston are highly infla'd against the mother Country, and that their first toast after Dinner is the virginia assembly. that they have wrote to all the Different assemblys on the Continent to send three members from Each, to meet at new york as a Comitee, to Consult what measures they should take to opose the Stamp act.[27] this general Comitee is to set the 1st of 8'bre, And is the best method they Could fall on the [to] unite the sentiments and Interests of the Different Colonys or provinces into one. it must be observed, that G. B. has hithertoo, Encouraged Disunion as much as possible betwixt the Differ't Colonys, by setleing here, a Kings Government, and there a Propriatary Gt., which are always oposit in their sentiments. the Inhabitants of Ks. Gts. think themselves much hapyer than the others, and they again are of quite Diff't oppinon, and Youl observe the many Diff't sects and sorts of worship amongst them, which is very much encouraged from Engl'd. there is for Example Carolina, abounds with presbiterians, Virginia, hardly any other than the Church of England. [*In margin*: except about Norfolk.] Maryl'd were formerly all Catholiques, but very much alterd since the Change of the stupid propietor.[28] pensilvania, mostly quakers, I hear, but they begin to Dwindle away. the new Jersys and York governments a mixture of all Sorts, where they seem, particularly In new York, to be less Bigoted to religion than any other part of the Continent (Except Charles town in S. Carolina) by what I learn. Rhode Island was setled first by people Banished from Boston, and was for some years the general asilum for such as sufered from the spirit of persecution that reigned then at Boston. those were Called sectaries and espoused the Covenant of Grace, and were persecuted by those whom held the Covenant of the works: so that there are Jensinists and molinists in this part of the world as well as elsewhere, but under Different Denominations.

In Boston they are ranck Bigoted presbiterians, of these sort of people preserve me o Lord.

All this Ive mentioned only to shew that G. B. by Encouraging these Divisions and Differences betwixt the Colonys, think they Can by that means keep them allways at vareance amongst themselves and Consequently wholely Dependent on them and subject to their will, but great is their mistake in this, for the Inhabitants of north america Can lay asside their religion, when their Interest requires it, as well as the English Can, and allways have done.

July the 11th. Dined at My friend the Magestrates Mr. Stuart in a full Company, and allways the old Cause but with moderation on acc't of Mr. Judge.

July the 12th. Dined at Mr. Dicks mayor of London town, a Clever old gentleman.[29]

Do. 14. had all the gentlemen whom shewed me Civilitys to Dine with me at my tavern to the number of *22*.

[27] Resolutions of June 8.

[28] Meaning, either the accession of the unworthy sixth lord, Frederick, the present proprietor, or the renunciation of Catholicism by Benedict, the fourth lord.

[29] James Dick, of the firm of James Dick and Stewart, of London and Annapolis. *Md. Mag. of Hist.*, III. 246.

Do. 15th. the assembly[30] Disolved for want of Jurymen. non came to town for fear of the smallpox which is now bad in it.

the 16th. went to a fishing party out in the Bay where we me[t] the governor and several others.

the 20th. went with a large Company of gentle[men] to the governors, where 6 of us, namely Navy[31] Diggs Esqr., the two Galloways, Mr. Junifer, the atorney general and myself, Stayed three Days.

the 23d. came back from the governors to anopolis.

the 25th. went with a large Company of ladys and gentlemen, to the governors to a barbicue. Came back the Same even'g to town.

Maryland is Divided by the North Extremity of Chesapeak Bay into two parts, called the Eastern and western shores. this province like virginia has no Consid'e towns, and for the reason, namely, the number of its navigable Creeks and rivers. the staple Comodity of maryland is Chiefly tobacco; and the planters live in farms scaterd about the Country, and have the same Conveniency as the Virginians of ships Comeing to their Doors, by means of Chesapeak Bay, and its navigable rivers thertoo Communiciating. their yearly Exports in tobacco is Computed to be about 30 th'd hhds. the white taxables are about 35 thousd. there is some woolen manufacture Caried on in the County of Somerset. their Comon Country Drink is cyder, which is very good. this Country also abounds in wild grapes which makes me think that if it was Cultivated it would produce wine. maryland is favoured by nature with all necessary Convenience for shiping as well as all the other provinces. hemp grows well. it has plenty of timber and Iron. Samuel Galloway Esqr. has a ship yard on the head of west river within two small miles of his house where he has a ship Carpenter that builds him several ships. those that have purchased them built hithertoo gives them a good Caracter.

the Chief rivers are Potowmack (which it has in Common with virginia), Patuxent, and severn, on the western shore, Chiptonk, Chester, and Sassapas[32] on the Eastern.

the province is Divided into 11 Countys. six on the west, and 5 on the Eastern side of Chesapeak. those on the western side are, St. marys, Charleses, Prince George, Calvert, anne arundel and Baltimore Counties. on the Eastern side are Somerset, Dorchester, Talbot, Kent, and Cecil Counties.[33] alexandria is their Chief town in the Back of the province, but Inconsiderable.

Lord Baltimore is Both Proprietor and govern[or] of Maryland. the family is now of the protestant perssuasion, but not a bit the more Esteemed for it. he is much Dispised in Maryland partikularly.

July the 26th. Set out infine from Anopolis to the Norwd. Crossed the Bay to hutchins fery on Kent Island, which is about 12 or 14 m. from hence. Cross the Island to the Eastern Shore fery which is ¼ of a mile Broad. Kent Island is very good land, some farms on it, but Cheafly Catle. this Island and the Eastern [Shore] is in general, low and flat, full of Swamps and Swashes of Brakish water. this part

[30] Meaning, the provincial court. There was no session of the assembly until September 23.

[31] Ignatius; see note 6, above.

[32] Choptank, Chester, and Sassafras.

[33] There were several others.

of maryland is the moste unhealthy, very subject to feavors. I never saw such a quantity of muskitoes in any part of the world as here.

from Eastern Shore fery to queenstown, a Small place 12m. Dist. here Dined. from thence to Churchil,[34] a litle Country town also. the Country very pleasant and fine roads. farming seems [to] take up the peoples atention here more than any other. they raise great quantitys of wheat and Indian Corn. tobacco Does not answer at all and is but litle Cultivated on this [side of] the Bay. the water is but very Indifferent and Contributes much to the sickliness of this part.

Do. the 27th. from Churchil to fredericks or Prince Georges town 20 mi. on sassapas river,[35] a very fine situation, but a small place of litle trade. from hence to Mr. Chews to whome I had a letter from Mr. Galloway; he has a Store at Prince Georges, and a farm about 4 miles from thence. here I lay. this is Cecil County which seems still beter Cultivated than hithertoo. Indeed this has been the Case all along as I Came to the northward.

the 28th. from Mr. Chews to New Castle on the Delawar. this is a prety town Consisting of about 500 Dwelling houses. it is looked upon as the next to philadelphia In the province. it is about 30 from this last, S. W., on the north side of said river. there was two Kings Fregates of[f] the town to visit the vessels going in and out therby to hinder foreign trade.[36] from New castle to wilmington, 6 miles. crossed the fery at Christeen river.[37] this is a small but very well situated litle town, on the side of sd. river. large ships Can Come up this river to the town.[38] it is about 1 mile Dist. from the Bay, on which the town has a fine prospect, being on the side of a hill. this place is so near the City that there is but litle trade Caryed on. tavern Keeping is the best business that is Caryed on in all those small towns, therfore are they well stocked with taverns. here I lay.

July the 29th. Set out Early for Chester, 12 miles. the weather Extremly hot. the horsses had great Difficulty to Dr[a]gg me along. Chester is on Priest Creek[39] about 15 miles from philad. the roads from willmington are very hilly and stoney which seemd odd at first, being so long acustomed to fine level roads. I met here a number of gentlemen and ladys who Came out from the City on a party of pleasure. I Dined in their Company and wee all Set out together after Dinner. arrived at p[h]ilad. at 6½ and took lodgeings at the widow Gradens in Second Street, which is the only genteel lodgeing in town.[40] we

[34] The locality is still called Church Hill; it is in the northern part of Queen Anne County, some five miles southeast of Chestertown.

[35] On Griffith's map of Maryland (1794) the village on the north side of the Sassafras is called Frederick, that on the south side Georgetown, and such are the names recorded by Philip Fithian, who journeyed along this same route from Annapolis in 1774. *Journal and Letters,* pp. 154, 155. Now these villages are called Fredericktown and Georgetown, respectively.

[36] One was the *Sardoine,* Capt. James Hawker. *Md. Archives,* XIV. 238, 239; *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* V. 18.

[37] Christiana Creek.

[38] *Cf.* Kalm, *Travels into North America* (Warrington, 1770), I. 157.

[39] Ridley Creek. On Thomas Holme's map (1687) it is called "Preest Creek".

[40] The widow Graydon, mother of Alexander Graydon the author of the cele-

Crossed sculkill fery about 3 miles from town, from whence the road to philada. is Beautifull, the Country one Continuall farm and several prety litle Country houses.

August the 3d. went to a fishing party on sculkill river in Company with Samuel Mifflin Esqr., Messrs. Willing and moris[41] (to whom I had a letter of recomend'n from Beans and Cuthbert In Jamaica) and severall other of the first people in the town, where we Spent the Day.

Do. the 5th. went [to] German town with another Company to see the stocking manufacture. this is a Small place setled by Germans and Dutch who are all stocking weavers and manufacture great quantitys of thread and woolen.

Do. 7th. went again with another Company to Sculkill falls which are not Considerable wheras boats and flats Can Come Down without any great Dangour. there is here what they Call a museum or a room where they have a Colection of all the Curiossitys they can pick up in the Country, which Consists in Different sorts of fowls, fishes, shels, sneaks, and other Curious anymals, also Indian dresses and Diff't ornaments. there were a few miners here Blowing up the rocks of the fall to facilitate the passage for Boats over it, for when once over the falls they Can go a Considerable way up the Country. we Dined at a tavern that is here, a large Company of both sexes.

August the 10th. Mr. Mifflin introduced me to the Governor, with whom we Dined.[42] he is nephew to Mr. Pen the proprietor. there are two brothers of them here.

Do. 12th. went with Mr. harden the roman Catholique missionary[43] to Dine with Messrs. mead and fitsimons also roman.[44]

brated *Memoirs,* was born in Barbadoes, of a German father and a Scottish mother, and married an Irishman. Thus qualified for the entertainment of a cosmopolitan company, she, after her husband's death, began to keep a boarding-house in Philadelphia. Her son describes several of her more interesting guests, but, alas, makes no mention of our traveller. Johann Kalb, coming to Philadelphia on a similar commission from the French government, boarded with Mrs. Graydon in 1768 and 1769. The house in which she lived in 1765 was the "Slate-roof House", at the southeast corner of Second Street and Norris's Alley, built in 1687 and standing till 1867 (picture in *Pa. Mag. of Hist.,* IV. 52). Graydon, *Memoirs* (ed. 1846), pp. 18, 20, 33, 43, 62, 64.

[41] Samuel Mifflin (d. 1781), a relative of Thomas Mifflin, was a prominent merchant in Philadelphia; see previous installment, note 63. The firm of Willing and Morris (Thomas Willing and Robert Morris), established in 1754, continued till 1793, and was during most of that time one of the chief mercantile firms in the city. Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, and Samuel Mifflin were all members of the Mount Regale Fishing Company.

[42] John Penn (1729–1795), son of Richard, lieutenant-governor 1763–1771, deputy-governor 1773–1775. His father and his uncle Thomas were both proprietaries in 1765. The brother next mentioned was Richard (1736–1811), lieutenant-governor 1771–1773.

[43] Rev. Robert Harding, S.J., missionary in Philadelphia from 1749 to his death in 1772. Rev. Jacob Duché, in "Caspipina's Letters" (*Observations on a Variety of Subjects,* Philadelphia, 1774, p. 114), speaks of him as "a decent well bred Gentleman, . . . much esteemed by all denominations of christians in thi city".

[44] George Mead (1741–1808), grandfather of Gen. George G. Meade, an Thomas Fitzsimons (1741–1811), member of the Federal Convention of 1787, M C. 1789–1795, were brothers-in-law and partners.

Do. 16th. went on second party on sculkill river.

Philadelphia Capital of pensilvania is situated on a neck of land at the Confluence of the two fine rivers, Delawar and Schuïkill. it is layed out in the form of a paralelogram or long square, and Designed when finished, to extend two miles, from river to river, and to Compose eight long streets which are to be intersected at right angles by sixteen others Each a mile in length, broad, spacious and Even, with proper spaces left for the public buildings Churches and market places, in the Center is a Square of 10 acres, round which the public buildings are to be Disposed. the two principal streets, called hight Street,[45] and Broad Street, are each one hund'd feet in Breadth, the others 60, and most of the houses have a small garden or orchard. there are great numbers of wharfs, the principal an hund'd. foot wide, and water enough for ships of 500 tuns burthen to load and unload alongside them. the ware houses are numerous and commodious, and the Docks for ship building are well adapted and Convenient. there is now twenty Vessels on the Stocks, great and small, some of the former three hund. tuns Burthen. the City exclusive of warehouses Consists of about 3,000 houses or more, the number of inhabitants, Computed to be about 30,000. the original of the town which I have Described here is far from being Completed, but is more advanced than any town whatsoever Ever was in so short a time, and encreasses Daily very considerably. there is a number of very rich merchants in this City. their trade is considerable to all westindia Islands, also the madeiras, spain, portugal, England, Ireland, and holand, there is a Surprising quantity of all kind of grain raised in the province Espec'y wheat, with which the[y] suplied England and Ireland abundantly this year, where it was very scarce, they have all kinds of provisions great plenty of vegetables, all this is brought Down the rivers Delawar and Sculkill. the Dutch[46] Employ between 8 and 900 thd. wagons drawn with four horsses Each In bringing the product of their farms to philadelph[ia] market. there has been 300 Vessels Cleard out of this port in one year, and as many Enter'd. their Chief Exportations, are, grain, lumber, Iron, of which there is plenty, Beef, pork, flaxseed, some hemp and furs, the hemp theyl find use amongst themselves as the[y] have now many roperies and make very good Canvas or Duck. their Importations from the westindias Consists in sugar, rum, Cofee Coten, and Molasses, sometimes Cash. they have set up several looms of late where there is very good linnen made, and no Doubt but the stamp Duty will augment their aplication that way. they send great quantitys of flaxseed to Ireland yearly, in return for which they have Irish linnens. the established religion was quaker formerly, but all believers in Christ are tolararted, the quakers seem to Dwindle very fast, there is a roman Church here[47] to which resorts about 1200 people, many of which are Dutch, they are in generall poor. there are several good churches of protestants and presbiterens. the state house is a very good building, also the hospital. there are three public liberaries.[48] they have two

[45] High Street, now Market.

[46] Germans. Lord Adam Gordon attributes to them 20,000 wagons (Mereness, *Travels in the Colonies*, p. 411), Burnaby, 9000 (*Travels*, ed. 1775, p. 50).

[47] St. Mary's, a frame building on Fourth Street above Spruce.

[48] The library of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Loganian Library, and probably that of the American Philosophical Society are meant. See Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I. 86, 87.

market Days in the week, wednesdays, and saturdas. It is amazeing the quantity of meat (which is exceed fine) and all kinds of provisions vegitables and fruits, that abounds at this market, and the number of people of both sexes, that Comes to buy provisions on those Days.

The Climate of Pensilvania is very agreable, and the air sweet and Clean. the fall or autumn begins about the 20th 8bre and lasts to the Begining of Xbre,[49] when the winter sets in, which Continues til march, frosty weather and extreme Cold seasons, are very Common here, so that the river Delawar tho broad and rapid, is often froze over, but then the weather is Dry and healthy. the spring lasts from march to June, and the Sumer in July, august, and September, Dureing which, the heats are Excessive, particularly in the night, more Disagreably so, than In the Island of hispaniola in the hotest time, this I have experienced.

the Soil of this province is in some places a black or yellow sand, in some light and gravelly, and in the vales along rivers sides a fat mould. the earth is very fruitful and easy to be laboured, it is prety well watered, well furnished with timber and Iron. In Short there is no part of america in a more flourishing Condition than pensilvania. great numbers of people abound to it, in some years more have transported themselves into this province, then into all the others besides. In the year 1729, 6208 perssons Came as passengers and servants, to setle here, four fifths of whom were from Ireland. they Continue still Comeing, to avoid the misery of their own Country, where they are a thousand times worse than guinea Slaves.

the Chief Inland town in pensilvania is lancaster, Sixty miles from philada. back in the Country. here they renew their treaties with the Indians, there is a prety Considerable trade Caryed on here with the back setlers. the Inhabitants of this province are a well Disposed people of a moderate Jenius, strong and well looking. they are more shie of strangers than in the other provs. and litle Curious of getting acquainted with them, or shewing any civilitys Except they have very good recommendations, this they say themselves, is owing to tricks put upon them by strangers, but I belive to be more owing to the reservedness of the quakers, which seems to have infused itself into all the Inhabit's,

August the 20th. Set out this morning for New York. breakfastd at fronkfort, 6 miles, a Small vilage. Dined at the red Lion tavern, 7 miles;[50] and slept at the Delawar fery tavern, 16 m., where I met with young Thoms. Mifflin[51] and others.

Do. 21st. Crossed the Delawar near the falls. went thorough trenton, 1 m. [*In margin*: There [are] Baraks by Trent[on] to hold 600 men.][52] and breakf'd at princetown. this is a prety Country town situated in a fine fruitful agreable Country. there is a good Colege here large Enough to hold 400 people, there is now 160 scholars.[53] prince

[49] October 20; December.

[50] At the mouth of Poquessing Creek, now Torresdale.

[51] Afterward the celebrated major-general, president of Congress, signer of the Constitution, and governor of Pennsylvania; at this time a youth of twenty-one.

[52] Burnaby, p. 54, who also mentions barracks at Princeton, New Brunswick, and Perth Amboy.

[53] The *Account* of the college published by the trustees in 1764 gives the number as 120. MacLean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, II. 273.

town is 10 m from trenton. from here to Brunswick,[54] 14 miles. here I Dined. there is also a Barack here. the road is very fine hithertoo, the Country well inhabited. this side the Delawar Is new Jersys. it [is] well cultivated, great plenty of all Sorts of fruits on each side, with which they faten the hogs in the season. indeed all the Catle like it beter than grass. they make great quantitys of Cider here but not Extraordinary in quality. after Dinner Crossed the fery[55] and continued to amboy, 12 m. this is the Capital of East Jersy, Consisting of about 200 houses. it is well situated and has a comods. harbour there is Barracks here also. the Jerseys are Divided into East and west, amboy is Capitl of the first, and Burlington (which is on the Delawr. 20 m. above philadelphia) Capital of west Jersy. the Governor resides 6 months in one place and 6 in the other. this Colony is well Inhabited and Cultivated. the climate is healthy and temperate. its general produce is, all sorts of Grain, horsses, black Catle, hogs, skins and pipe Staves, the[y] Catch some whale on the Coast.

they Export Bread, Corn, flower, Beef, pork, hams, fish, some buter, and bar Iron, to west Indies, for which they receive, sugar molasses and rum in return; they send to England skins, pitch, tar, whale bone, etc. and oyl, for which the[y] have furniture and Cloath'g.

As the towns generally ly up in the Country the trade is Chiefly over land to new York.

there are from 100 to 200 familys in one place, great part of which are Dutch. the number of Inhabitants is computed at 65,000 of all ages and sexes, of which 6000 are men fit to Cary arms, and about 200 Indians. there is no Considerable town in the Jersys, amboy being the most so of any.

August the 22d. Crossed the fery from amboy to Staten Island which is about a mile broad, from hence to watsons fery at the other Extremity of the Island, 16 miles. here I Broke fast. this Island is in the province of new York, Distance about 9 m. N. W.[56] from the metropolis. it is about [13] miles in length, and 6 or 7 in breadth. on the South side is a Considerable tract of good level land, but the Island in general is rough and the hills prety high and stoney. the Inhabitants are principally Dutch and some french.

Sandy hook, and the Southermust point of long Island, form the Entrance of New York Bay. this is Called the narows. it is but 2 m. broad and opens the ocean to full view. the passage up to York from sandy hook is safe, and not above 25 miles in length. the Common navigation is between the East and west bancs, in two or three and twenty feet water, but it is said that an Eighty gun ship may be brought thorough a narrow winding unfrequen'd Channel, between the North End of the East bank and Coney Island. there has been a 70 gun ship up Close to the town. the Island on which the City is built is about 14 m. long, and not above one mile broad. the S. W. point projects into a fine spacious bay, 9 miles in length and about 4 in breadth, at the Confluence of hudssons or N. W. river and the streight between long Island and the North Eastern Shore, or East river. on this point is the City, which Consists of about 2700 houses or buildings, it is upwards of a mile in

[54] New Brunswick.

[55] Over the Raritan.

[56] Southwest.

length and about ½ that in breadth, it is said to be a very healthy spot. the East and South parts are low and Convenient for wharfs, the north and west parts Elevated and Dry. the Streets are Iregualar, but being paved with round pebles, are allways Clean. there are Several well built brick houses in the English taste, the others in the Dutch with the gablends towards the Streets and Coverd with tyles;[57] this City is suplyed with markets in Different parts, abounding with great plenty and variety, they have Beef, pork, veal, muton, poultry, veneson, wild fowl, Especially wild pigeon, fish, oysters, roots, and all Kinds of vegitables and fruits, in their Seasons; this City is the metropolis of the province and by its Comodious situation Commands all the trade of the western part of Connecticut and that of East Jersy; no Season prevents their shipin from going out and Comeing into port, there are allways pilot boats at the narows ready to Conduct them In on first sight.

upon the S. W. point of the City stands the fort which is a square with four Bastions mounted with 9 pounders but in very bad order.[58] within the walls is the Governors house where he usualy resides, oposite to it are brick Baracks. the Governors house is 3 stories high and fronts to the west.

Below the walls of this fort or garison near the water there is a fortification to Defend the grand road, (but Ships Can lye with safety out of its reach) the lower part or foundation of this Batery is built with stone, and the merlons Consist of Ceder Joists filld up with Earth. it mounts 92 24 pounders which are almost level with the water. this fortif'on is not of any great service to the harbour, which is in East river and also the principle part of the town which lyes that way. about 6 furlongs from the fort lys noten Island[59] behind which, betwixt [it] and long Island, is a passage for prety large vessels, on which not one gun of this fortif'on Can be brought to bare. this Island lys about S E from the fort in the midle of East river. it is reserved as a Sort of a Demesne for the Governors, they pro[po]se to Erect a Strong Castle on it, but there is as yet not the least apearance thereof. this according to my Judgement is the p[r]operest place for a fortif'on.

there are besides this, two other Islands in the Bay oposite the town but out of reach of the guns, they say there is very good fresh water on all those Islands they serve for vessels to ly Curenteen by them.

the City hall is a Strong building two Stories high situated where four Streets meet and fronts to the S. W. on one of the most Spacious Streets in town. here they hold their Council and General Courts.

the Inhabitants of new York are a mixed people, mostly Decended from the Dutch planters originally, there are still two Churches in which religious worship is performed in that language, but the number that talk it Diminishes Daily. all religions are permited here Except the roman Catholique.

the City of York Consists principally of merchants, shop keepers, and tradesmen (as Dos philadelphia) who have the reputation of punctual and fair Dealings. there are Some very rich houses in it. the people are very sociable and kind [to] Strangers.

felt makeing is a Considerable Branche in york and it is said their hats are as good as in England.

[57] *Cf.* Kalm, *Travels*, I. 249.

[58] See also Lord Adam Gordon (Mereness, p. 415), and other travellers.

[59] Governor's Island.

the N. E. part of New York Island is Inhabited Chiefly by Dutch farmers who have a Small vilage there Called harlem pleasantly Situated on a flat Cultivated for the City Markets.

scarce a third part of the province is Cultivated. the Colony of Connecticut which is vastly inferior to this In its Extent, has according to a late Computation, above 133,000 Inhabitants of which a militia of 27000 men, wheras the whole number of Souls Containd in New York province is but 110,000, and the militia 18000.

the Situation of new york with regard to foreign markets Is to be prefered to any of the Colonies. it lies in the Center of the Continent, has at all times a Short and easy access to the ocean, and has almost the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersy, two fertile and well Cultivated Colonies. hudsons river which runs up in the Country near lake ontario (and Caries Small vessels as far as albany on Sd. river 150 [m.] from York) Impowers them to Cary on a Conssiderable trade with the Back Indians, to whom they Send rum, amunition, blankets, Strouds,[60] and wampum or Conque shell Bugles. In return for which, they have all Kinds of furs, and peltrys; they allways have been in good Inteligence with the five nation, now Six Nation Indians, which are the Bravest and most redoutable of all the Indian Nations, that Canada has often Experienced;

the Importation of Dry goods from England to this province has been Conssiderable formerly, Insomuch that the merchants were often at a loss how to make returns, or remitances to the English merchants, but this is not so much the Case now, and Especially since the Stamp Dutys have been talked of. Indeed the Inhabitants of all the Different Colonies are so Exasperated at this present time, at the stationing men of war all along the Coste to prevent their Carying on any foreign trade, Especially with the french Islands and now ading the Stamp Duties, that they are resolved to raise every thing within themselves, and Import nothing from England. this resolution tho of a Short Standing, has afected England to that Degree that Several Corps of tradespeople were risen, and Could not be quelled without a Conssiderable body of troops that were Dispersed in the Difft. parts of the City of london for that purpose.

there had been severall perssons apointed in the Different Colonies, to be Colectors of Sd. Duties, but they were all glad to resigne to save their lives.

the Exports of New york to the west Indias are flower, peas, rye meal, bread, Indian Corn, ognions, boards, Staves, lumber, horses, sheep, pickled oysters, beef and pork. of flower, which is the main article, there has been shiped about 90,000 Barels, pr. annum. to preserve their Credit in this important branche of their staple, they apoint officers to Inspect and brand every Barrel before it is shiped. the returns are Chiefly sugar, rum, molasses etc. the spaniards Commonly Contract with this and the Colony of Pensilvania for provisions, and with Virginia for Masts and yards, much to the advantage of Sd. Colonies, the returns being wholly in Cash. their wheat, flower, Indian Corn, and lumber, shiped to lisbone and the maderas, balance the madera wine Imported which is no small quantity, it being their usual Drink after meals. they Export to Ireland great quantitys of flax Seed. they Sent in one year 13,000 hhds. in return they have Irish linnens.

[60] Blankets.

there is along hudsons river great stock of timber of all Kinds and good Conveniences for ship building, also Iron mines in plenty and of the best quality out of which they furnish Boston and road Island, for their bulding. this is a Considerable branche of the trade of this province, the bodys of Iron mines in the Northern parts of it are so many, their quality so good, and their situation so Convenient with regard to wood, water, Cariages, and all other Conveniencies, that it is generally thought (with attention) they might rival the Swedes in this article.

North america is provided by nature, with Every thing necessary, to becom the greatest martime power In the univers, its harbours are Numerous and Comodious, its Coasts of Easy access, by the sounds, which you have on all the Continent a Conssiderable Distance of [into] the land. timber and Iron abounds in all parts, Navall Stores in the gratest plenty, and hemp grows as well as in any Country whatsoever. Joigned to this the healthiness of Climate, the great propogation, youl See about the farmers houses in the Country, Children Swarming, like broods of Ducks in a pond, they Come quiker to maturity than in Europe are strong and robust, in general well Disposed, Easy lead on to any undertaking, but Soon Discouraged if the Success Does not imediatly answer their Expect'on. they have this in Common with the English, Soon up, and as soon Down, that is, they are Easily Elevated in spirit, and as Easy Dejected. an Enterprising man that would Study these people and gain their inclinations will bring them to do any thing he pleases.

this Country Can not be long subject to great Britain, nor Indeed to any Distant power, its Extent is so great the Daily Encrase of its Inhabitants So Considerable, and haveing every thing necessary within themselves for (more than) their own Defence, that no Nation whatsoever seems beter Calculated for independency, and the Inhabitants are already Intirely Disposed therto and talk of nothing more than it.

It is Computed that there are at least ten thousand Convicts and pasengers, or indented Servants, imported yearly into the Different Colonies, the first are Sent to Virginia and maryland only, and likewise Indented servants; But the Colonies to the Northward of maryland admit no Convicts, but Serv'ts as many as will Come.[61] there has Come to philadel'a alone, 5000 in one year, ¾ of which were from Ireland, great numbers of Dutch and germans; those Indented Servants, are poor people that Can not pay their passage and signe Indentures to the Cap'ns for the payment therof. he on his arival Sells these indtures to the highest bider, they are generally for four years, some more, Dureing which time these poor wretches are obliged to Serve like slaves or Convicts, and are on the same footing; If ever any foreign power Comes to Invade the Country, and publishes the liberty to all of those people that will Joign with them, they'l Certainly all take party, and I look on them to be fiter for Soldiers than the Inhabitants, being Eured to hard labour and fatigue, acustomed to live hard:

August the 26th. Crossed over the Channel to long Island, sometimes Calld Nassau Island, which is In the province of new york. it is about 120 m. long and not above 18 broad. It is Divided from the Continent by a Channel of 100 m. in length, and 12 In Breadth. there are many Convenient harbours. it Contains the Countys of sufolk, Rich-

[61] On the matter of the convicts, see the late Dr. J. D. Butler's article in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, II. 12–33.

mond[62] and queens County. its trade is in furs, Skins and tobaco to great Britain, and horses, Beef, pork, peas, wheat, oats, and Corn, to the west India Islands, In return for which they have sugar, rum, molasses, Cotten, Cofee, etc. the Soil is very good on this Island. all sorts of vegitables and fruits abound on it, hemp and flax grows very well also. In the midle of the Island there is Salisbury plaine 16 miles long and 4 broad, on which there is neither Stick nor Stone to be Seen, a fine place to Encamp an army. there is an Excelent Breed of horses on the Island, for which reason their militia regiment is all Cavalry. there are Several small Islands of the Eastern Coast but non Inhabited; they have a whale fishery here sending the oil and bones to England, there are also other fisheries. I Dined and lay at the fery tavern.

August the 27th. Crossed over to York. the 28th Dined with John wats Esqr.[63] In Company with General Gage[64] his lady and Several officers. it is thought Mr wats will be made Lieutenant Governor of this province. Sir henry moore Is apointed governor and Expected out Daily, he was lieutenant governor of Jamaica, a very agreable polite gentleman and Intirely the Courtier, talks all languages, well.[65] there was nothing talked of at York Dureing my Stay there but the spirited and patriotic behavior of the Inhabitants of the northern Colonies Especially Boston, where the people had a few Days ago surownded the Stamp officers house who seemed to have some reluctancy to resigning his office, and would have leveled it with the ground if he had not Imediately resigned and promised never to act in that quality upon any acct. next Day they Caried lord Butes Efigie in a Cart round the town and hanged it to [a] tree where it lay Exposed till Dark (with a guard at the foot of Sd tree) then they throwed him into a fire round which they sung and Danced all night, the Same thing was Done in providence, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. they all Declare Solemnly that when the Stamp papers Come over they'l set fire to the house wherein the[y] are lodged.

August the 29th. Dined and suped with Messrs. young and walas, the fever took me at night which held me three Days Dureing which Doctor midleton[66] atended me.

Sepr. the 3d. Set out from York to philadela. Crossed the fery to powlers[67] hook, 2 miles broad, from thence to Bargin[68] fery, 9 miles. the fery about ½ a mile. to Elizabeth point fery 2½ miles, the fery ¼. to Elizabeth town 2 m. Dined here, a prety litle Inland town where there is a Court house and a Decent Church the Country about it fruitfull and well Cultivated, plenty of grain and fruit. from hence to wood Bridge[69] a Small vilage 10 [miles] Dist.

Do. the 4th. from wood Bridge to Brunswick fery 10 m. the fery ½.

62 Suffolk, Queens, and Kings. Richmond County was and is Staten Island.

63 John Watts (1715–1789), member of the council, Loyalist.

64 Maj.-Gen. Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief in America 1763–1772, afterward governor of Massachusetts.

65 Sir Henry Moore governed Jamaica most of the time from 1756 to 1761, and New York from November, 1765, to his death in 1769.

66 Dr. Thomas Middleton, author of *An Historical Inquiry into the Ancient and Present State of Medicine* (New York, 1769).

67 Paulus.

68 Bergen.

69 Woodbridge, N. J.

this town is the finest Situated of any that Ive yet Seen for a Country town. it is on Raritan river about 15 miles from its mouth, on the west Side therof, on a riseing grownd at the top of which is a fine Barak. on Each Side the river are Several prety Country Seats and farms well tended which has a very prety Efect, there is a Coper mine about 10 m. up this river which Does not promise much at present, altho great things were Expect from it afirst.

amboy on the mouth of this river (which Ive before mentioned) is well situated for trade, haveing a fine and safe harbour in Sandy hook Bay suficient to hold 500 Sail of Shiping of any Burthen, vessels may also be built very Conveniently here and Cheap, Notwithstanding these advantages it is but a Small place of no trade, which is owing to its proximity to York. it Consists of about 40 or 50 scatered houses Some of which are good buildings. its situation is both pleasant and healthy.

after Breakfast Set out from Brunswick to Prince town 16 miles, here I went to meeting [70] at which was a Considerable Congregation of presbitirians. from hence to trenton where I lay.

Sepr. the 5th. from trenton to the red lion and from thence to Philadelphia the same road I went.

Do. 6th. this morning Mr. Mifflin Introduced me to governor Pen with whom we Dined.

the 7th. Dined with mr alen [71] to [whom] mr mifflin Intrd. me also.

Quelque jours [72] avant mon Depart De Phi:adelphia on y avoit recue la nouvelle, que, la perssonne qui avoit Eté nommé receveur Des nouvelles Droits a York,[73] C'Etoit Demis De cette Charge, et que le gouverneur[74] y avoit nommé Son fils Et C'Etoit retiré dans le fort, avec les troopes qui Ce trouvoient pour lors dans la Ville, et avoit ordonné aux Cap'ns De Deux fregattes qui Etoient En rade De s'aprochér De la ville pou[r] la Cannonér En Cas que les habitants Eussent fait le moindre mouvement.

[March 13, 1765.] J'ai quitté le Batiment au Cap look Out et me Suis rendu a New bern En trarverssant la Caroline Du Nord, Dont cette Ville Doit Etre la Capitalle, elle est apresent peu Conssiderable, ainssi que toutte les autres Villes de Cette province, excepté le Cap fare, qui est la plus Comercantte, Cependant la navigation est assé mauvaise a cette derniérre puisqu'il ny á que 17 pieds D'Eau sur la barre, qui est a Son entré, a hautte mer.

la riviérre sur la quelle est batie New bern, ainssi que toutte Celles que J'ai traverssé en allant a Virgine, qui Sonts Consider[able] et en grand Nombre, Communiquent a une meme Embouchure qu'on nomme

[70] It was not Sunday, but Wednesday.

[71] Probably Andrew Allen (1740–1825), the attorney-general, son of Chief Justice William Allen and brother-in-law of Governor John Penn. He was for a brief period a member of the Continental Congress, resigning in 1776; then a Loyalist; see *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 206–211.

[72] This paragraph is written on a separate page of the manuscript, the fifty-fifth. The matter, in French, on pp. 56–62, is omitted here, as merely repeating the diarist's English narrative of his journey down to March 13, 1765 (see previous installment).

[73] James MacEvers.

[74] Cadwallader Colden, acting governor. These references show that the diarist left Philadelphia in the latter part of October.

Ocacock, ou il y á une barre sur la quelle Il ny á que 9 pieds D'Eau, Ce qui fait que le Comerce y est peu Conssiderable.

Norfolk, la Ville la plus Comercantte et Conssiderable De la Virginie, est situé Du Cotté de l'Est de la riviérre Elizabeth (qui Donne dans James riviérre a une lieux au dessous) á un des beau[75] ports que la Nature peut former et, est munie de tout ce qui est Necessaire pour la Construction ou reparation Des Navires de quelque grandeurs que Ce Soit. sur le Côtté oposé, et vis a vis de Norfolk, est une petitte Ville nouvellement Etablie nommé portsmouth, qui á plusieures quays, aupres Des quels les plus gros batiments peuvent Carenér. tous les Batiments qui onts afaire dans la virginie ou le Maryland s'ils ont besoins de Radoub vienent Içi, D'autant mieux qu'ils y trouvent Ce qui leur faut, et que le port et sure l'Entrée et la sortie facille.

Il est Etonnant que les Habitants n'ont Jamais penssé a fortifiér un Endroit qui parroit Devoir être D'une grande Concequence pour le Comerce du païs, Car l'Enemie peut y entrér en tems de guérre et ravagér la Ville sans oposition, ny ayant pas Un seul Cannon; Ny Dans les Environs, l'on pouroient, me Dira't on, y Assembler 2,000 homes en peu de tems, mais que peuvent deux ou trois mille homes Efrayé, sans Diciplinne, surpris sans s'y atendre, quand mem Ce Seroit par Un Nombre bien moindre qu'eux, mais qui seroit resolu, et bien armé. [*In margin*: en Cas de surprise ils auroient de la peine a r'assembler mille homes.]

la richesse de Set Endroit ne Dédomagerez pas Des depences D'une Entreprise qu'on y feroient; D'abord, Il y á peu, ou point D'argent, le tabac et[76] l'objet principal de leurs Comerce, et de cet article mem n'y trouveroit on pas Conssiderablement, puisque les Vaisseaux peuvent l'allér prendre Chez les habitants dans les Differentte parties de la province, par le moyen des riviérres naviguable qui y Sonts en grand Nombre, ainsi que dans le maryland, Ce qui fait, qu'il ny'á pas D'Entrepot general ny de ville Conssiderable, Dans les deux provinces; par ce que Je vien de dire, Il paroit que Cet Endroit n'est pas un objet oü l'on puisse satisfaire á l'interest.

Si l'on y alloit dans le Desin D'y faire du Degat, rien de plus facille, puisque, Comme j'ai Déja observé, Il y[a] point de fortification, et qu'on peut aller moullér á une portté de pistolet de la ville, ou s'il Convenoit mieux dans la baye sous le Cap henry, faire Dessendre son mond et marchér a la ville qui en est a 4 ou 5 lieux au plus, on auroit pour lors a Ce garder des Embuches parcequ'il faut traverssér des Bois, ou Il y a un grand Chemain bien pratiquable. la Costte depuis le Cap Jusqu'a la ville est propre a la Dessentte et on trouve toujours des pilots aux Environs Du Cap.

En tems de guerre, les vaisseaux qui Chargent de tabac dans les deux provinces de virginie Et maryland s'assemblent Dans les Mois de [avril et d'octobre][77] ou Dans la riviérre De York vis a vis de la ville qui porte Son Nom, ou Devant la Ville de Hampton sur la riviérre de James, plus Comunement Ici par[c]eque les Bureaux y Sonts ou Ils S'Expedients. l'on m'assure avoir vue Ici, en pareille Cas, 100 Voille ou Vaisseaux pret a mêttre a la voille. Ils Se tienent enssemble pour Etre En etat de se Defendre des Corssaires.

[75] Des plus beaux.

[76] Est.

[77] In another handwriting.

puisque Cette Ville de Norfolk est la plus Comercentte Et Conssiderable on peut juger des Autres, des quelles Sonts Wiiliamsburg qui est la Capitalle Cependant de peu de Concequence Excepté dans le tems de leurs assemblées general qui s'y tienent deux fois l'anné Scavoir, l'une Commence le 10 avril et tient 24 Jours, l'autre le 10 8bre et tient Egalement 24 Jours.[78] dans Ces tems Il s'y rend beaucoup de monde, mais dans d'autre C'Est bien peu de Chose. Il y a encore les villes de York, NewCastle, petersburg, frederickburg, port Royal et quelques autres, mais qui Sonts moindre, les Uns que les autres.

le Maryland, a Cet Egard, est Comme la virginie, anopolis En est la Capitalle; elle est sur la riviérre severn, a gauche En y entrant, sans Canons sans auqu'un Defence, de trés facille accés, l'on y peut aler sans pilots, Elle est peu Conssiderable. apres Celle ci est baltimore qui est apeu pres dans le mem Cas. il y á aussi alexandrie sur la riviérre Patowmac, ou l'amiral Bradock C'Est retiré aprés sa Defaitte En Canada, avec son Esquadre.[79] Deux Fregattes de 36 Canons sonts en etat de prendre toutte Ces villes, et les mettre á Contribution, s'Entand en les surprennant. Je ne Scai mem Si une Seulle ne le feroit pas. Il faudroit dans Ces ocasions De l'Expedition Car il y á ordinairement Des fregattes et Vaiss'x De guerre sur la Costte et les Chemins sonts beau dans le pays, les Exprés y vonts vitte, la Flotte qui s'assemble Entems de guérre a York oü Devant Hampton, est ce qui merit le plus d'atention Dans Ces deux provinces.

Il n'en est pas de mem de Philadelphia, Capitalle de la Penssilvanie. Cette Ville est Conssiderable, elle est Eloigné de la mer de 50 lieux, s'Entend de l'Embouchure de la riviérre Delaware, la navigation de Cette riviérre est Difficille, mais Il y a de Bon pilots á Lewis town,[80] (petitte Ville qui est á l'Entrée, a 3 milles du Cap henlopen) qui Sonts toujours prêts á allér abord des Batiments qui paroissent avec un yak a la têtte Du mast du petit peroquet.[81] quand les Vents sonts bon, pour monter la riviérre, on se rend a la Ville en 24 heurs, quand Ils Sonts Contraire l'on s'y rend par le moyen des marrés, qui Sonts forttes dans Cette Baye. a l'Ex[t]remitté Du Sud de la Ville Il y a une baterie qui est presqu'abondonné; Il peut y avoir 24 Cannons en fort mauvaise Etatt. l'on a bien tot passé Cette baterie et quand on est par le travers du milieux de la Ville on est hors De Sa porté. la riviere de Sculkill passe Derriére la Ville et tombe dans la baye a une lieux au deSous. rien de plus facille que D'Envoyér Des Chaloupes dans Cette riviérre, debarquér Du monde pour prendre la Ville par deriérre, pendant que les Vaisseaux atireroient l'attention Des habitants dans l'autre Extremitté. Ce Debarquement Doit Ce faire de nuit; pour Cet Efet on peut laisser Un Batiment, avec le monde qui y est Destinné, a l'Embouchure de la Dite riviérre Et au Comencement Du flot (Car ils auronts une bonne lieux a faire de l'Embouchure, a l'Endroit Du debarquement pour avoir le moin de Chemin a faire par térre qui est ⅓ de lieux) Envoyér les Chaloupes avec le monde, on ne seras pas Embarrassé pour trouvér Des Endroits Commode pour mêttre pied attérre et y estant Il est facille d'En avertir les Vaisseaux par le moyen de quelque fusée Envoyé en l'air.

[78] All erroneous; there was no such regularity.

[79] Attention has already been called to this error in note 1, above.

[80] Lewes, Del.

[81] With a jack (or union jäck) at the foretopgallantmast.

si on ne veut pas faire le Debarquement Come Je vient De Dire; on peut le faire Du Cotté de la Baye, ou les Vaisseaux peuvent le Couvrire. en ce Cas Je[il] faut le faire a une Des Extremitté De la Ville. l'Extremitté du nord me paroit le plus propre Car il ny á point de fortification a Craindre, et le terain y est propre, au lieu qu'au Centre de la Ville et jusqu'aux Extremittés Ce ne Sonts que quays, aupres des quels il y á toujours des Batiments, qui le rendroit Difficille. Si on peut faire Cet Expedition sans Etre Decouvert, Je pense que 1200 homes pouroient y reussire, mais Il faut de la Suprise autrement Il faud[r]oit un bien plus grand Nombre. Car on peut assembler beaucoup de monde dans Cette Ville et les Environs en peu de tems. Il seroit inutil de Debarquer ailleurs qu'a la Ville; Car on trouveroit dans les riviérres Des obstacles sans fin et insurmontable, on ne peut les passer qu'en batteau et elles sonts en grand nombre.

ayant fait Ce qu'on Ce Seroit proposé a filadelphia, Il y á la Ville de New Castle Sur le mem Cotté de la riviérre, Environs 10 lieux plus bas, qui est la plus Conssiderable aprés la Capittalle. l'on voit la position de Cet Endro[i]t D'abord. elle est ainssi que les autres sans Defence. Il y á Environs 500 maisons. Il y á ordinairement une ou deux fregattes mouillé Ici Devant, pour Visitér les Batiments qui sortent et qui Entrent.

Venons apresent a la Nouvelle York, Capitalle de la province du mem nom. l'on ne rencontre pas les memes Difficulttées pour Ce rendre a Cette Ville, Il faut neanmoins avoir recours aux pilots, que l'on trouve Ici Comme ailleurs; quand on est passé les narows, qui Veut Dire les Etroits, Il n'y á plus rien a Craindre, Jusqu'a la Ville, qui est Eloigné de l'Embouchure Environs 8 lieux. la fortification (Dont on trouveras la Description dans le journal) Est dans le S. O. de la ville, et le port est dans l'Est, dans le Canal qui passe Entre l'isIle longue et la Ville, les anglais apelent Ce Canal East river. Ici Ils onts leurs Chentiers, tous les Batiments mouilent Ici. pour Entrer dans Ce port par la passe ordinaire on est obligé de passé devant le fort mais Cest bientot fait avec un bon vent De la partie Du Sud-Est jusqu'au ouest D'autant mieux que la passe est belle. Estant Dans le port on Est maitre de la Ville, puisqu'on peut l'abatre En peu de tems, ou faire Debarquér son monde dans les Differenttes rues. Si on ne veut pas s'Exposer a passer Devant la baterie on peut prendre possession D'une Isle qui est a l'Entrée et Dans le milieux de Ce Canal qui fait le port, et y Dessendre Du Cannon pour battre la Ville Et la fortification. Deriérre Cette Isle, entre elle et l'isIle longue, Il y a une autre passe pour Des moyen batiments. Dans Cette passe on peut Envoyér le monde du Debarquem't dans les Vaisseaux de transport ou mem Dans les Chaloupes et faire la dessentte que l'on Couvriras Du Cannons sur l'islet.

pour faire des Expeditions dans Ce pays, Il faut bien ce provisioner de munitions de guérre, Car on ny en trouve pas. quelques Cannons de Campagne, seroient fort apropos.

Si on vouloit faire la Conquest Du pays Il seroit Essenciel De s'Emparér De l'isIle longue, Car outre qu'on y trouveroit Des provisions de toutte Especes, Il y á de fort bon Cheveaux pour montér la Cavalerie.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte: Versuch einer Geschichte der Menschheit von den Aeltesten Tagen bis zur Gegenwart. Von CHARLES RICHET. In two volumes. (Munich and Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik. 1920. Pp. xiii, 292; x, 293–707.)

CHARLES RICHET, professor of physiology in the University of Paris, an ardent internationalist as well as a famous scientist, was actively engaged just before the war in promoting friendly relations between Germany and France in the vain hope of warding off the conflict which then threatened and which finally came to pass. Thinking, with Herbart, that "History should be the teacher of mankind", he had already written this sketch of universal history which was ready for publication when the outbreak of the war intervened. In 1918 the first German edition appeared, and now the second is printed. The author is aware that his book, in order to be intelligible to the average reader, must necessarily be inadequate and incomplete in many respects; but he justifies the attempt to survey the history of mankind as a whole on the ground that at least some conclusions may be drawn which will be of practical value in the present distressed state of the world.

The purpose of the book is therefore much the same as that of Mr. Wells's *Outline of History*. Its object is to determine from a study of the past what it is that contributes to human progress. But whereas Wells finds that progress is dependent upon the development of science, the religion of righteousness, and a world polity, Richet makes little of religion and politics as such, but lays all the stress upon science—science, that is, in the broad sense of the advancement of knowledge and understanding. It is only through the increase of human intelligence that progress can come; give us intelligence and all other things will be added. The thesis of the book is thus to show that the world moves, through the development of scientific knowledge, away from tyranny, provincialism, and conflict toward freedom, peace, and universal brotherhood. The prehistoric period is disposed of in short space, and the sketch really begins with the Greeks because "Griechenland ist recht eigentlich die Lehrmeisterin des Menschengeschlechts gewesen." The first volume brings us down to the French Revolution. The eighteenth century marks indeed a new era, since it was in the eighteenth century that science began to make those conquests which have so largely determined the character of modern civilization. "Das 18. Jahrhundert ging ruhmvoll zur Neige! Amerika

war frei und die Bastille gestürmt, die Materie aber sollte von nun an die Dienerin des Menschengeistes werden!"

Unlike Mr. Wells, who regards the modern period as a relapse into egoistic striving, Richet thinks of the nineteenth century as the period of greatest progress. He therefore devotes the entire second volume to the period since 1789, which he characteristically entitles "Die Herrschaft der Wissenschaft"; and of this volume practically one-half is devoted to the developments in science, invention, and the mechanic arts. These are the events of true historical importance; and in them we may see the fulfillment of the prophetic words of Lamartine: "Enlightenment makes the whole world one." In spite of all wars, the increase of knowledge is creating a common point of view, a universal *Weltanschauung*.

Was aber die Zukunft angeht, so glauben wir . . . dass einzig und allein die Wissenschaft, indem sie die Materie bändigt und, so gut es eben geht, einige der in den Dingen verborgenen Geheimnisse erklärt, Leib und Geist des Menschen befreien und den Seelen jene beiden Grundbegriffe einprägen wird, die sich niemals voneinander trennen lassen: Gemeinschaftsgeist und Gerechtigheit.

So thought Richet in 1914; and so he still thinks, even after this most devastating and desolating of wars, in which the "right triumphed" with much the same result as if "evil had been victorious". In spite of all, this humane and valiant scholar keeps his faith in human intelligence. When everything has collapsed, even human intelligence, what else indeed is there left to have faith in?

C. B.

Modern Democracies. By Viscount Bryce. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 508; 676. $10.50.)

In 1862 a newly elected fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, barely turned twenty-four, published a book which won the instant commendation of scholars, and took a place in historical literature from which three-score years of research and writing have not dislodged it. The capacity for penetrating, dispassionate, fruitful interpretation of institutions which the author of the *Holy Roman Empire* thus early displayed was freshly evidenced in *The American Commonwealth,* published in 1888, and in *Studies in History and Jurisprudence,* which saw the light in 1901. It is revealed in its full scope and vigor, however, only in *Modern Democracies,* a work which sounds the depths and scales the heights of political science, in the broadest meaning of the term, and brings together in orderly array such data and conclusions as only a lifetime of observation by a master observer could possibly achieve.

Lord Bryce tells us that the idea of writing such a book came to him, "many years ago", at a time when schemes of political reform

were being widely discussed in England, "mostly on general principles, but also with references, usually vague and disconnected, to history and to events happening in other countries". One is left to surmise that the discussions referred to were those prompted by the Lloyd George budget of 1909, and the ensuing movement for upper-chamber reform. At all events, it seemed to the author that someone ought to provide a more solid basis for argument and judgment by making comparative studies, such as, curiously, had never been systematically made, of the actual workings, the virtues and the defects, of popular government the world over. Cheerfully assuming this stupendous task, the veteran scholar revisited Switzerland, France, and other European states, betook himself to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Latin America, and availed himself of extensive opportunities, both as a diplomat and as a private sojourner, to make a fresh analysis of the political phenomena of the United States. The observations were made, and the book was partly written, before 1914. Interruptions caused by the war delayed publication, however, until the present year.

The plan of the work requires some explanation. The object, in the author's own words, is

> to present a general view of the phenomena hitherto observed in governments of a popular type, showing what are the principal forms that type has taken, the tendencies each form has developed, the progress achieved in creating institutional machinery, and, above all—for this is the ultimate test of excellence—what democracy has accomplished or failed to accomplish, as compared with other kinds of government, for the well-being of each people.

The book is thus meant to be of a very practical nature. Political theory is dealt with only incidentally; Lord Bryce's own political theory, hardly at all. There is, likewise, little history, no economics, and only so much description of governmental machinery as is necessary to a discussion of the results attained. The matter of concern is the phenomena of democracy, not its theoretic basis or its historical development or its social implications.

The work falls into three main parts. The first, devoted to "considerations applicable to democratic government in general", treats in fifteen chapters of liberty, equality, party, local self-government, public opinion, and several other concepts and relationships which go to make up the somewhat intangible thing commonly called democracy. The second, and main, part deals with certain democracies, one by one, in their actual workings. Of forty-two chapters here, one points out the salient aspects of the republics of antiquity, and another similarly describes the republics of Latin America. The remaining forty are divided about equally among the six democracies most thoroughly studied, *i.e.*, France, Switzerland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. The third part of the work, arranged in twenty-three chapters, examines and criticizes democratic institutions in the

light of the facts presented in the preceding part, comments on certain phenomena which influence the workings of democracy everywhere, and brings together the author's final reflections on the present and future of democratic government.

One great democracy, it will be observed, is left untouched, namely, the United Kingdom. It is easy to understand the author's feeling that no citizen of Britain, and "certainly no citizen who has himself taken a part in politics as a member, during forty years, of legislatures and cabinets", can expect to be credited with impartiality as a critic of the British governmental system. Yet one must regret that this chance has passed for British political phenomena to be appraised on the same basis as the phenomena of other lands, and by the scholar who probably understands them beyond all other men. It is to be noted, too, that the author's plan does not require him to pay much attention to governmental reconstruction during and since the war. It is not current politics, but democracy as a form of government, that he seeks to describe; the abnormalities of wartime would only blur the picture. Still less, of course, would it serve his purpose to take notice of the new and uncertain democracies of Teutonic and Slavic Europe.

Space forbids an attempt to summarize the author's descriptions of democracy, or even the conclusions at which he arrives concerning its multifold phenomena. American students will be interested chiefly in two things: first, the estimate placed upon the democracy of the United States now as compared with that placed upon it in 1888, and, second, the conclusions reached regarding the future of democracy as a political device or form. In connection with the first point, it is important to observe that the eight chapters devoted to the United States are not an abridgement of *The American Commonwealth,* but form, rather, a new and independent study. A reading of them discloses, however, that the conclusions of thirty years ago are, in the main, the conclusions of to-day. Party politics, though improved, still abounds in abuses; the state legislatures do not enjoy the confidence of the people; direct government has been increased, but in some undesirable directions, *e.g.,* the recall; the administration of civil justice leaves much to be desired, that of criminal justice is "far worse"; the spoils system has been curbed, but not eradicated; Americans still "admit" that government of cities is the "one conspicuous failure" of their political system; the number of men of brilliant gifts in public life is "less than might be expected in a country where talent abounds and the issues before the nation are profoundly important".

From a penetrating and altogether delightful discussion of the future of democracy in general, one gleans four main ideas: The first is that there is no warrant for assuming that democracy is the final form of government; if history teaches anything, it is that finality is to be expected of no human institution, political or otherwise. The second thought is that a score of easily possible developments in human tastes

and interests might produce in any land, or even in the world at large, an era of political stagnation and dissolution such as lasted for a thousand years after the extinction of republicanism at Rome. A third point is that the question of the permanence of democracy "resolves itself into the question of whether mankind is growing in wisdom and virtue", since no free government ever lived and throve except as it was upheld by the sanctions of morality and religion. And the fourth idea, with which the book closes, is that, notwithstanding the uncertainties of human progress, heightened as they have been by the experiences of the past seven years, there is still fair ground for hope that regard for the forces that are unseen and eternal will long keep alive the spirit which self-government requires.

FREDERIC A. OGG.

The New Stone Age in Northern Europe. By JOHN M. TYLER, Professor Emeritus of Biology, Amherst College. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. xviii, 310. $3.00.)

THE volume at hand has evidently been intended as a continuation of Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*. It has the advantage of having been written by an able, conscientious, experienced, and well-read teacher, but has the disadvantage of dealing with a subject which has not been the life specialty of the author and in which he is obliged to depend almost wholly on the writings and opinions of other men. The result is an excellent book in parts, but one which includes some of the errors and fallacies of different previous writers, which at times weaken and modify the author's perspective.

The best portions of the volume are those that deal with what is expressed by the title, namely, the new stone age in northern Europe; but the author was not able to restrict himself to this subject, and by extension to the rest of Europe and western Asia has run into a field that is still full of uncertainties and opinions rather than determinations.

The book is written essentially for "the eager young student who may glance over these pages, feel the allurement of some topic and resolve to know more about it. . . . The bibliography is prepared especially for him . . . it is anything but complete". All of which is modest and surpassed, for in fact the book is in many respects a creditable attempt to present to the student in a succinct and easily digestible way the still very imperfect and difficult story of our race since the end of the glacial period, to which is added a bibliography of nearly 400 items.

The book is divided into twelve sections, which deal respectively with: the Coming of Man; the Period of Transition—Shell Heaps; Land Habitations; Lake Dwellings; a Glance Eastward; Megaliths; Neolithic Industries; Neolithic Chronology; Neolithic Peoples and

their Migrations; Neolithic Religion; Progress; the Coming of the Indo-Europeans.

Chapters 2–4 and 6–8 are well written, and if they embody any deficiencies they are those of our knowledge. Chapter 1, dealing with the earlier stages of Man, is weak, even for the scope of a work of this nature. Chapter 5 and especially chapter 9, together with places in the remaining sections, suffer seriously from the inclusion of unproven and at times unwarranted hypotheses.

In common with the speculative tendency of some modern authors, the author attaches undue ethnogenetic weight to central Asia and to the "Iranian Plateau". He would derive a great deal of what was European during a large part of the Neolithic epoch from this plateau and other parts of western Asia, and this not merely in arts or customs but also in actual population. That many of the cultural influences have, during the Neolithic period, extended northward from the Mediterranean and westward from Iran and the neighboring regions, is partly known and can readily be accepted; but that the spread of such influences from the Iranian territories westward and southward was attended by migrations of peoples in the same directions, is as yet unfounded. Some incursions from these regions, as during historic times, were quite possible; but there is no evidence in the physique of the European nations that any important masses of population came thus at any time into central or western Europe. That there were many movements of population within Europe itself, during the Neolithic and especially later periods, is certain; but these streams, according to the best present evidence, were European and not Asiatic, or but secondarily Asiatic. Western Asia, together with the eastern Mediterranean regions, may well have been the cradle of cultures; but our best evidence now points to the fact that it was Europe which, outside of perhaps the earliest human forms, was essentially the cradle of humanity.

A few of the unwarrantable statements, which the author does not merely quote but fathers, are as follows: On page 183, speaking about the region in which man probably originated, he says:

> We vaguely located this Asiatic cradle somewhere westward or northwestward of the great plateau of Thibet. We may call it the Iranian plateau, using the term in the broadest possible sense, including Afghanistan and perhaps western Turkestan: a great area extending more than 1000 miles from northwest to southeast [?], where it sinks into the valley of the Euphrates.

It may suffice to say that we have not an iota of evidence, or in fact even of probability, that any anthropoid apes or early man have ever lived in any part of this territory. And following:

> We found a branch of the great Negroid race starting very early from this region and migrating westward past Arabia into Africa. . . . The Hamitic and Semitic peoples naturally followed the same route. . . . We may venture to guess that Neanderthal man may have fol-

lowed it long before the beginning of the Hamitic-Semitic migrations (p. 184).

All of which are mere speculations by former authors, and, so far as the "Negroid" element is concerned, a wholly incongruous and impossible speculation.

There is quite a series of such adoptions as those above, which is unfortunate, for they destroy much of the value of the book for the non-expert student, who will not be able to separate mere fancies from deductions based on substantial facts. It also points to the unavoidable penalty to workers in other lines who will take anthropology for the good horse of old who could be ridden at pleasure.

The last chapter of the book—that on the Coming of the Indo-European—the author himself characterizes most fittingly as one "of uncertainties". It is indeed full of the uncertain, which is not helped by the rather strained speculation. A simple enumeration of the various theories, with a concise pointing-out of what in the light of our knowledge to-day is in their favor or disfavor, would have been more helpful to the student, who it seems was in these latter parts of the book somewhat forgotten. But there is one relief upon finishing the volume, and that doubly felt for a book published by Scribners—the author has evidently escaped, and spares the reader, the nauseous "Nordic" infection.

A Short History of Antioch, 360 B. C.–A. D. 1268. By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1921. Pp. xii, 323. 12s. 6d.)

In this modest volume Mr. Bouchier supplements his *Syria as a Roman Province* by an intensive study of the city of Antioch. His sketch covers fifteen and a half centuries, from the founding of the town in 300 B.C., by Alexander's greatest general, Seleucus Nicator, till its devastation by a barbarian army in 1268, in the twilight of the crusading period. Built thirty years after Alexandria, it retained its importance long after its Egyptian rival had been completely overshadowed by Cairo. The author shows us that throughout this long period Antioch was "essentially a bulwark of European civilization, submerged for longer or shorter intervals, but predominantly western in its culture and sympathies, and correspondingly hated by the peoples of the interior, who again and again sought to weaken and devastate it" (p. x). In spite of "the almost complete absence not only of inscriptions but of a continuous history of the [Seleucidian] period" (p. 41), the author is able from the sources available to indicate the trend of events from the early days of absolute monarchy to the last part of the period, when the town "had approximated to the position of an ordinary Greek city-state of the early type, ruled by its own senate and locally elected magistrates" (p. 87). As an example of

Mr. Bouchier's lively style, we may quote from his sketch of the infamous Antiochus Epiphanes, sixth in the line from the founder—a despot whose bizarre character foreshadowed that of the caliph Al-Hâkim:

> This extraordinary prince, with his mass of contradictory qualities, Oriental tyrant and republican Greek, low buffoon and lover of the finest art, fierce persecutor and gracious master, with his yearning for unity in government and religion . . . may be called a second founder of Antioch, to which he gave an impress that subsequent ages have not altogether effaced (p. 31).

Pompey, who in his campaign of Eastern conquest visited Antioch in 64 B.C., recognized its claims to local autonomy, but placed its military protection in the hands of the Roman governor. The period of the early Empire is covered in chapter IV. Antioch can boast of visits from Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, Titus—to whom the populace gave a splendid reception at the close of the Jewish War—Trajan, Hadrian, Severus, Caracalla, Aurelian—who placed on exhibition his chained captive, Zenobia—and Diocletian. Many readers will find especial attraction in chapter VI., where it is emphasized that Antioch rather than Jerusalem should be regarded as the mother of churches in Asia Minor and Europe, for "it was the Antiochenes who first insisted on discarding the trammels of the Mosaic law", while the position of the city on the highroad to Asia Minor made it the natural starting-point for the various missionary journeys. Sketches are given of persons prominent in the ecclesiastical history of Antioch, such as Paul of Samosata, Lucian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and the great John Chrysostom.

With the Arab conquest Antioch entered into a period of eclipse which lasted for over 300 years, when, as a result of the victories of the Byzantine Peter Phocas (969 A.D.), it once more became a Roman provincial capital. This status it retained till 1081, when it fell under the power of the Seljuk Turks, who, after a brief rule, yielded to the armies of the Crusaders. The last two chapters give an interesting account of Antioch as the centre of a Frankish principality, from the time of its capture to its unhappy end. The writer touches on the rule of its princes, the conditions under which their subjects lived, the laws, commercial activities, etc. An appendix of nineteen pages deals with the coinage of the city. A list of authorities is given at the end of some, but not all, of the chapters.

FREDERICK J. BLISS.

Cicero: a Biography. By TORSTEN PETERSSON. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1920. Pp. 699. $5.00.)

A NEW biography of Cicero, the fifth within the last quarter-century, attests the unflagging interest felt by the present generation in the

Roman orator and statesman. Our interest in him is not hard to understand. As he himself said, when urging a literary friend to write a sketch of his career, his life had all the elements of a drama, with its vigorous action, its clearly marked episodes, and, as he then thought, a happy outcome of a tragic situation. He played a leading rôle, too, in a great political drama. But this is only one side of his life. He was also a philosopher, an orator, a poet, a man of the world, and, above all, a writer of letters in which he has set down his intimate impressions of men and things and revealed his weaknesses, as well as his points of strength, to the delight of the discerning and the despair of the prosaic. This freedom from hypocrisy and the Latin volatility of character which gives rise to apparent inconsistency in his words and actions make the writing of his biography a difficult matter, unless one is a Boissier or has the Celtic temperament of a Tyrrell. The test of a biographer's ability to understand the personal character and the political policy of Cicero is to be found in his treatment of three episodes in Cicero's career: the period of abject depression which followed his banishment, his hesitation and final adherence to Pompey in 49, and his prompt defiance of Antony after Caesar's death. Petersson's book comes successfully through this test, and the honesty and sanity of judgment which one finds in the discussion of these three incidents characterize the whole work and constitute one of its principal merits. Its other distinguishing features are its attempt, in large measure successful, to present fully all sides of Cicero's life, and to furnish us with its historic setting. As we have already intimated, the orator's life was episodic to a marked degree. It falls into such natural chapters as the proconsulship in Cilicia, the Civil War, the death of Tullia, and the composition of Cicero's philosophical works. And Petersson has taken advantage of this fact to adopt the topical method of treatment, while still observing the chronological order. Among these topics we miss an adequate discussion of the historical and literary importance of the *Letters,* comparable to the chapters on the rhetorical and philosophical works. A more fundamental study of Cicero's year in Cilicia would have been of value, as well as a fuller treatment of his relations to the members of his family and to the young Caesarians. In determining the actual attitude of Caesar and Pompey toward the question of Cicero's banishment, an examination of the legal steps finally taken by Clodius in securing his adoption into a plebeian family would have been helpful; and the author's opinion of Pompey's withdrawal from Italy and of Cicero's criticism of it would have been interesting. The reviewer is inclined to think also that more evidence than is mentioned could have been brought to bear on the interesting question of Cicero's political sympathies before 63. The author shows a thorough familiarity with the sources and with modern studies of his subject. This comes out clearly, for instance, in the analysis which he makes

(pp. 480 ff.) of the apparently conflicting accounts which Caesar, Cicero, Plutarch, and others give of the events of January, 49 B.C. It is doubtful, however, if the date assigned to the important letter to Basilus (pp. 515, 592) can be accepted. In his treatment of the sources the author's remarks on the considerations which Cicero mentions in his letters to Atticus as influencing his action (p. 10), and on the changes made in a speech for publication (pp. 90 ff.), are of great importance and have usually escaped attention. The style is clear and direct, and this book probably gives one a more complete and trustworthy estimate of the public career and private life of Cicero than any other biography which we have.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums. Von EDUARD MEYER. In drei Bänden. Band I., *Die Evangelien.* (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1921. Pp. xii, 340. M. 38.)

HAVING brought his *Geschichte des Altertums* down to the death of Caesar, Eduard Meyer defers his story of the Roman Empire until he has completed an account of the sources and beginnings of Christianity. For this, three volumes are planned. The first, now before us, is a critical examination of the gospel. The second will preface the account of the career of Jesus of Nazareth by a study of Judaism after the beginning of Persian rule and the influence of Zoroastrian religion. In view of Meyer's great reputation, his erudition and critical acumen, his synoptic mind, his clear, forceful style, and artistic power of presentation, this undertaking must win favor with all students of history.

The historical criticism of the gospel sources is not expounded in the conventional manner of treatises on that subject, but follows Meyer's own method of approach to the matter. In his historical seminar he had examined the Book of Acts, which he regards as one of the most important works of history preserved from antiquity, and the examination at once showed that the Acts and Luke's gospel were two parts of one work, the gospel narrative of the resurrection being a mere torso without the continuation. This initial theme involved a comparison with the resurrection narratives in the other gospels, and a consideration of the chronological data of Luke. We then begin with the stories of birth, childhood, baptism, and temptation. Recognizing then the importance of Mark as a source for Luke, we are led into a discussion of the contents and sources of Mark, and an examination of the manner in which Matthew and Luke go beyond this earlier document. We then revert to Luke's gospel to see that it aims at an authentic, chronologically exact, and orderly history of Jesus, being the work of an able, reflective historian in sharp contrast to the free and unhistorical construction of the fourth gospel. This order reflects the procedure of a seminar director

feeling his way into the subject, and it is an order serviceable and interesting to the reader.

Such a criticism of sources had to be made before Meyer could proceed to the constructive account of Christian origins, and no one will fail to be grateful for an exposition of this sort done by an eminent historian who is independent of all theological party views and possessed of a sane and balanced critical judgment. The reader has a guaranty against any rash and eccentric conclusions. Meyer is indeed conscious of his own merits and makes many depreciatory allusions to "theological critics". It must be said, however, that Meyer's work is no novelty, but rather a wholesome digestion of the results of the large concerted labors of theological critics, and the theologians may properly ask whether his independent publication is justified by any discoveries that advanced knowledge to a new point. Apart from the benefit of Meyer's good judgment on debated details, it must be said that the only notable contribution made by him is an effort to identify literary sources used by Mark, and this is the content of a single chapter. Other scholars have detected the fact of such literary sources, and from Wendling and from Bacon we have elaborate and subtle resolutions of Mark into sources. Meyer ignores these prior efforts and by a somewhat hasty and incomplete examination of certain passages proves, as he thinks, a Disciple Source (in two variant forms) and a Twelve Source. This seems to be a plausible conclusion, and one that may lead to important inferences.

In his rapid acquisition of this subject, Meyer felt no compulsion to master all that has been written. He seems to have made Wellhausen his point of departure, and to have consulted some recent contributions by others; but of Jülicher, Johannes Weiss, and Bousset he has scant knowledge—to his loss. His proposal to relate his subject to the general historical development, with attention to analogous religious phenomena in other historical currents, will startle no one among the "theological critics" of the present day.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires. Par HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE, S.J., Bollandiste. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 1921. Pp. viii, 447.)

FATHER DELEHAYE has given us in this volume one of these intimate studies, that is not possible to a young historian, however brilliant. It is a work that could only be the outgrowth and mature fruit of long years of careful cultivation of his chosen field, early hagiography. Here he confines himself to the literature of the martyrs, to the passions, or, as they are misleadingly called, the acts of the martyrs, and certain al-

lied writings. He does not attempt a full survey of this immense literature; he gives nevertheless a very extensive treatment of it, but above all he makes a very accurate delineation of its character and spirit.

In form, this work is an essay in literary classification; in substance and intent, it is an inquiry into the historical worth of the writings it studies. He finds the key to the problem in the distinction of literary *genres*. Through ignorance or neglect of the key, historians have seriously debated the historical worth of a narrative that is in reality a bit of romance or epic poetry. It is not a matter of mere outward form, for history and fiction may wear the same kind of garb; the characteristics must be seized, and truth has characteristics which the fiction of the simple-minded authors of passions could not successfully imitate.

Our author disdains a minute classification of this literature as vain and confusing. He distinguishes four main classes, or *genres*: First, there are the historical passions, written by contemporaries and eye-witnesses, sometimes even embodying narratives by the martyrs themselves. Next, there are the panegyrics of the martyrs by the great Christian orators of the fourth century, which, while historical in part, are highly rhetorical, in accordance with the rules laid down by the rhetoricians of their day. Then follow the two classes of "artificial", or unhistorical passions, which are the product of authors who came after the age of the martyrs—first, and by far most important, the epic passion, and secondly, the romantic, with its division into the romance of adventure, the idyllic romance, and the didactic romance. In the passions are related only the legal trial, the sufferings, and the death of the martyrs; but curiosity about their early career was often gratified by a little "life before martyrdom", from the pen of an obliging Parson Weems of the period. This exhausts Father Delehaye's scheme of classification; outside of it is a mass of writings of formless character, *les genres mixtes*.

It would be a begging of the question to separate a group of these writings as historical unless the author vindicated the title by a careful study of their character. This is ably done for several of the best-known passions. While it is always difficult to prove the veracity of a narrative, these documents have a naturalness and variety of character and event, a consistency, an evident sincerity, and an ability to withstand attack, which show them to be the very reflection of life. The few critics who dissent from this judgment are handled vigorously by our Bollandist, even with a touch of disdain. It is gratifying, however, to note the large amount of agreement among critics who are poles apart theologically. Indeed, Father Delehaye shows himself at times a more exacting critic than a Gebhardt or a Harnack.

The study of the epic passion is illuminating. For centuries it was the favorite reading of Europe, as the vast number of manuscripts

attests, and almost completely crowded out the historical passions. The title is well chosen, for the narrative is a bit of epic poetry in prose. The martyr resembles a hero or god of epic poetry, but unluckily found no genius to immortalize him. He appears as the champion of God, contending with the powers of darkness and generally confronting in person the emperor, who is invariably depicted as a cruel and bloodthirsty tyrant. The martyr is almost a supernatural being. He endures heroically a long series of torments, sufficient to inflict many deaths. He is miraculously preserved through them all, and, indeed, has at command supernatural power, for the confusion of the idolater. He is learned and eloquent, bold and denunciatory, not to say impudent. At last, he suffers martyrdom. Occasionally a romantic author called him back to life to endure more torments for the edification of his readers.

The origin of these various forms of literature is discussed by the author with originality and acuteness; but this belongs rather to the province of patrology, as likewise the fine study of the panegyrics. For the historical student, the detailed study of documents makes the work almost a laboratory manual or record of experiments in historical criticism, from which, apart altogether from the subject of inquiry, even experienced investigators can learn to improve their methods. In spite of great learning, the author is not bookish; and he has robust good sense, for all his acuteness. He inveighs against the superstitious regard of scholars for documents, and he certainly cannot be accused of too great tenderness himself. Like a literary Caligula, but more powerful in his own realm, Father Delehaye gave all the fictitious passions but one head, and then neatly and remorselessly severed it.

This work is, however, merely preliminary—a clearing of the ground for the laying of the foundation. It is an introduction to an introduction to the sources of martyrology and the history of the persecutions. It marks the lines along which the study of those sources must proceed. When this task is completed we may hope to see a competent historian, perhaps Fr. Delehaye himself, give us the long-desired history of the early Christian martyrs.

JOHN F. FENLON.

Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne. Par LOUIS HALPHEN. Professeur adjoint à la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1921. Pp. viii, 314. 14 fr.)

IT is a surprising fact that, notwithstanding the great interest and importance of the subject, and the prodigious industry which has been expended upon the collection, criticism, and publication of the sources, there is still no adequate history of the reign of Charles the Great. It is the task of filling this void which M. Halphen has set himself, but the volume now under review is not in itself designed to fill it. It is rather a series of preliminary studies; and we shall doubtless have to wait

some time for the more comprehensive work on "Charlemagne et la Civilisation Carolingienne" which the author has projected.

The present volume is made up of eight studies, all of which have already appeared in the *Revue Historique* (1917–1920). The first four deal with the criticism of the sources, and contain the most striking contribution of the book. Hitherto no one has been found to challenge the reputation of Einhard as the dominating figure in the historiography of the Carolingian epoch, and his *Vita Karoli* has long been accepted as the most important source for the history of Charlemagne and his reign. The *Royal Annals* (misnamed *Annales Lauressenses Maiores*) for the period down to about 788 have been held to be a mere compilation based on the so-called "little annals" (annals of St. Amand, of Murbach, of Lorsch, etc.); and these latter have been regarded as sources of independent value. The Monk of St. Gall, while known to be late, and hardly historical, has been thought to preserve "historical elements" derived from oral tradition. M. Halphen has attacked and overturned all of these accepted views. Einhard is remorselessly stripped of every shred of credit for the authorship of any historical work except the *Vita*; and the originality and unique merits of that work are sadly diminished. Einhard is shown not to have enjoyed such a position of prominence at the court, or of intimacy with Charlemagne, as to make him the possessor of secrets of government; it was only after the accession of Louis the Pious that he rose to official position and influence. The *Vita Karoli* was probably not written until about 830, after his retirement from public life. Almost one-third of it is taken directly from the *Royal Annals,* and the portions which appear to be original are relatively small and of doubtful reliability. Moreover, Einhard was exceedingly careless in the use of his sources, and he was often guilty of deliberate distortion or falsification. The *Royal Annals,* on the other hand, are the fundamental source for the history of Charlemagne, not only for the later years of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century (as has hitherto been supposed), but for the earlier period as well; for, far from being, down to 788, a mere compilation based on the "little annals," they are, at least from the year 768, an original, contemporary work, written down at frequent intervals, under the direct impression of the events which they record. And the "little annals", which have been supposed to be the source of the *Royal Annals,* are themselves derived from them. It required less courage to attack the Monk of St. Gall (his reputation has long been but a poor one), but it may be said without exaggeration that his standing among historians has now been utterly demolished.

Having solved the most perplexing problems of the sources, the author proceeds, in the last four chapters, to the heart of his subject-matter, and undertakes to throw new light upon the conquest of Saxony, the imperial coronation in the year 800, and the state of agriculture, industry,

and commerce in the Carolingian Empire. Most notable here is the study of the imperial coronation. Respect for Einhard has led to the very general belief that Charlemagne was taken by surprise by that event, and that it was displeasing to him. Halphen's reversal of accepted ideas concerning the sources leads him to reject this manifestly unreasonable view entirely. The coronation on Christmas day marked the culmination of a carefully arranged programme for which no other than Charles himself could have been responsible. From the *Royal Annals* and the *Liber Pontificalis,* which agree closely and are the two most trustworthy sources, no one would be led to any other view of the matter; and Halphen has been able to trace the growth of the distorted version through the *Annales Laureshamenses* (803) and the *Annales Maximiniani* (811) to Einhard. It was put out in the course of the protracted negotiations to obtain recognition from Constantinople, as a means of soothing the injured feelings of the Byzantine court. The economic chapters are perhaps too sweeping in their condemnation of the views of Inama-Sternegg and Dopsch; but the author has certainly rendered a valuable service by his protest against the enthusiastic view that Charlemagne by his supreme wisdom and foresight wrought an economic revolution—a veritable renaissance of agriculture, industry, and commerce—and by drawing attention to the extreme meagreness of the sources which throw light upon economic conditions, and insisting that nothing is to be gained by the elaboration of unsupported hypotheses.

Altogether, this is a remarkable book, and it will doubtless exert a profound influence upon the future course of Carolingian studies.

C. W. David.

Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales. Volume V. *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw.* Edited by F. M. Stenton, M.A., Professor of Modern History, University College, Reading. (London: Humphrey Milford, University Press. 1920. Pp. cxliv, 554. 31s. 6d.)

Under this title Professor Stenton has added to the published material available for the study of the Danelaw an important collection of twelfth-century charters, 556 in all, preserved with few exceptions in the British Museum and Public Record Office. They relate to lands held in the main by religious houses in the district once known generally as that of the Five Boroughs—Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Rutland. They will be of great service in the study of the legal forms and procedure of the time, and of feudal matters. Mr. Stenton in his valuable introduction, as the title of the book indicates, regards them only from a third point of view—as sources of information regarding the social and economic arrangements within

the Danelaw. Their evidence in this field is perhaps largely confirmatory of observations already made by Professor Stenton himself and other students of the district, but the additional facts they furnish are important in the chain of proof, and Mr. Stenton's interpretation is able and convincing; sometimes, as for example in the discussion of the obscure matter of the communal endowment of village churches, or of the difficult *utware,* it is also highly suggestive, throwing light into some very dark corners.

The charters show in general small holdings in the Danelaw. Except in Leicestershire, where a small virgate prevails, the normal tenement is reckoned in bovates, extending from a fraction of a bovate to two bovates in size, and the larger carucate unit is rarely mentioned. The stang is accepted as the northern acre, but not, as it happens, on the evidence of the single occurrence of the word in these charters, where it seems to indicate a smaller unit. Some correlation of the stang of the Danelaw with the eight-rood stang of the west discussed by Mr. G. J. Turner would have been of interest. The analysis of the charters yields some facts regarding the demesne. Mr. Stenton finds evidence of the evolution of the demesne in sokeland as of Scandinavian descent, where no interposition of Norman influence can be shown; he comments also on the important charter in the Kirkstead series (no. 202), where the demesne is defined as lying in *culture* (not in the smaller *seliones*) intermixed with the land of tenants, and on other indications of somewhat large stretches and compact blocks. The fact that a bovate of demesne land is named, however, does not perhaps necessarily "suggest that it was composed of adjacent acres". Like Mr. Gray, he finds the Lincolnshire evidence in favor of a two-field system, except in the fen villages, the frequent references to land on two sides of the vill seeming to establish this point incontestably.

Of equal interest with the discussion of the land system is that of the twelve-carucate hundred of Lincolnshire. Here again the charters furnish confirmation of what has been already observed. Mr. Stenton calls attention to the probable identity of the twelve-carucate vill with the hundred, finding evidence of forty-four such vills in Kesteven, thirteen in Holland. The partition of the fen by two double hundreds (of twenty-four carucates each) in South Holland confirms evidence of intercommoning of hundreds already presented in an earlier volume of the *Records.* The intercommoning of villages in the arable fields is very interesting if it can be substantiated, but the point is not clearly worked out. The importance of the village as the unit of social life in the Danelaw, rather than the manor, which is mentioned only twice, is constantly confirmed. In two cases Mr. Stenton believes that the *villata* even attests charters. In general, he sees a large peasant population, descendants of Domesday sokemen, with a fair proportion of Scandinavian personal names, with small alienable tenements, whose free status can

be more definitely proven if, as seems not unlikely, the attesting of charters can be taken as evidence of freedom.

Professor Stenton's name is sufficient guarantee that the charters are admirably edited in a volume where form is of great importance. He has retained the punctuation, and accentuation, if it may so be called, of the original, but the use of capitals is modern. Syllables and letters indicated by a compendium in the manuscript in words concerning whose extension there can be reasonable doubt are printed in italic. The index is carefully compiled, although there is an occasional slip in a place-name. The Lincolnshire Oasby, for example, is not found under that form in the index. The notes on seals, especially those of peasants, are of much interest.

N. Neilson.

Constitutional History of England. By George Burton Adams, Ph.D., Litt.D., Professor of History Emeritus, in Yale College. [American Historical Series.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1921. Pp. x, 518. $3.00.)

In many ways this volume is an admirable example of what a text-book ought to be. All too often books designed for the instruction of readers, or for use in college classes, have been written either by authors who produced text-books only, or by others who did such writing previous to the research and prolonged study which only time can allow. Accordingly, not a few books of this sort have been without the richness of information and the depth of judgment, the power of interpretation and of stimulating the reader's understanding, of arresting his attention, of arousing his thought, of producing real impression, of making vital addition to his knowledge and mental development, which, above all others, books designed for students should have. Hence, many text-books have presented at their best only a well-ordered assemblage of data, accurate as to details, but devoid of real explanations of the meaning of things or of actual dealing with the problems involved.

The author of the volume reviewed here has spent the best years of a long life in historical writing and research. During the past generation he has made repeated and valuable contributions to the history of England and especially to the history of the English constitution. During this time also he has mastered the art of writing plainly and explaining difficult things. Now, when in these later years he turns to the writing of text-books on English constitutional history, he brings to his work, in addition to a considerable mastery of exposition for the novice, a wealth of knowledge, a solidity of learning, and a general competence, which the most skilful and accomplished beginner could not possibly have. In many respects writers of text-books can learn as much from the technique of this volume as students of con-

stitutional history will be able to learn from its contents. There are not wanting numerous recondite details, but always they appear in proper place to illustrate some theme of importance. They are never assembled merely in laborious aggregation devoid of summary and of good interpretation. So truly has the author mastered his subject that he both understands the meaning of the matters he deals with and also realizes the difficulties adhering to them—an accomplishment rare in the ordinary composer of manuals for students. Difficulties are never avoided, and the meaning of the matter at hand is often set forth with that fine historical imagination which Maitland taught the present generation to admire. The book is for the most part written simply, clearly, and well.

There is an excellent brief account of Anglo-Saxon organization and government, after which the author proceeds to the Norman and Angevin, the "feudal" period, which has always been his particular field, and this, all in all, is the best part of the writing. These chapters are followed by an account of the Lancastrian and Yorkist periods—in the opinion of the reviewer the least good part of the book—and an account of the Tudor period, excellent, but not so good as what follows. The author then deals with the Stuart period, and the triumph of Parliament over king; with the eighteenth century, and the rise of cabinet government; with the nineteenth century, and extension of the franchise and of democratic government; and with the constitution of Great Britain at present. All of these chapters are excellent, so that the entire volume is maintained at a very high standard of goodness.

In respect to a work in so many ways so well done, the reviewer, at the same time that he doubts his competence to criticize certain portions, feels no little reluctance about making any strictures at all. In his opinion the validity of the work is in some places marred by a tendency to treat development rather from the point of view of the result than of the stages of the process itself, thus giving, for example, a disproportionate importance to Parliament in earlier times—the concomitant of this being that for the medieval and the Tudor periods, in the reviewer's opinion, the executive and especially the king's council have far less description than their relative importance requires. The development of Parliament in the fifteenth century is of highest moment in the light of all that followed, but Parliament was undoubtedly a small part of the English government then. There is admirable account of feudalism and parliamentary growth, but in large portions of the book there is comparatively slight treatment of the executive parts of the government, the wardrobe, the king's council, the privy council of Tudor times, the great executive departments of the eighteenth century and of the king's powers then, which remained considerable even in that period of their decline. In the reviewer's opinion, it would have been well if certain topics, as, for example, local government, had fuller treatment in more places. Finally, it would at least have been

worth trying to give more complete pictures of the government at particular times, such as Maitland did so well in the *Constitutional History* published after his death.

RAYMOND TURNER.

The Evolution of Parliament. By A. F. POLLARD, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1920. Pp. xi, 398. $7.50.)

THE conviction that the entire history of Parliament must yet be rewritten was planted by Maitland's *Memoranda de Parliamento,* and to this purpose the fund of a fellowship was subsequently devoted, with the results that are now before us. The true line of evolution, it has been found, lay not in a system of estates, but in the king's court and council, which was considered to be sitting "in parliament" whenever it met as a high court of justice in an enlarged and formal session. At such a session of the council the presence of the "estates", as they came to be called, whether clergy, barons, or commons, was at first accessory, while a meeting of estates apart from the council was not strictly considered to be a Parliament. By the gradual assimilation of council and estates the English Parliament gained its peculiar strength, which was equivalent to that of the French *parlements* combined with the Estates-General.

This is the theme that Professor Pollard has elaborated with all his characteristic powers of clear exposition. He has made new investigations of related subjects such as the estates, the peerage, representation, commonalty, and the two houses, which tend to show that the most familiar institutions are likely to be misunderstood, whenever their history is read backwards by the reflected light of later centuries, instead of forward, from the sources. The process of research might have been carried further, especially in the modern period, but with the advent of war the work appears to have been hastily concluded. Of contributions so recent as J. C. Davies's *Baronial Opposition to Edward II.,* no notice has been taken.

Presented first as popular lectures, the chapters retain much of their original form, with overlapping titles and iterations beyond the needs of a printed text. For the sake of argument, too, there is an inclination to set forth obsolete theories as though they were still prepossessions of the public mind (p. 20). But since the days of Stubbs, the Myth of the Three Estates is not so much of a myth, nor the Fiction of the Peerage so purely a fiction as these titles are meant to suggest. Digressions are not unwelcome when the thought is fresh and stimulating, though the discourse upon liberty, medieval and modern, has little to do with the phases of liberty especially evolved in Parliament. The Separation of Powers however affords less that is unfamiliar in the contrast made between flexible and inflexible constitutions, according

to the traditional view of the English and the American systems of government. With a touch of rhodomontade we are told that in the United States, such is the obstructive power of the courts, social reform depends more upon judicature than upon legislation (p. 253), while presidential assassinations and the lynching of negroes are forced into comparison with impeachments and bills of attainder.

It was not to be expected that in traversing the centuries a historian whose chief claims to eminence lie in a special period should fail to make mistakes. Among the most serious are statements, that judgment of peers, as mentioned in Magna Carta, was "a more or less novel royal expedient" (p. 91); that trial of peers in Parliament was always on capital charges (p. 97); that in trials of criminous clerks judgment was given in the secular courts, while execution remained with the ecclesiastical authorities (p. 196); that in the House of Commons any member can now by "spying strangers" cause the galleries to be cleared (p. 22). The author is perhaps yet more prone to hazard remarks that cannot be proved. How is it known, for instance, that Richard II. thought of the theory of hereditary divine right (p. 220)? And where in contemporary sources is the form *consilium continuum* (p. 281) to be found? Again, the novel contention that *plenum parliamentum* means "open" instead of "full" parliament (p. 33) is not convincing, in view of the fact that "full parliament" is a recurring phrase in fifteenth-century English.

The work further abounds in illustrative and pictorial features. It contains brilliant parts, as well as lapses of style and thought; without claims to finality it has made advances in the history of the subject, and encourages further advances on the part of others. In place of a bibliography, which would have been acceptable, we are assured that a card catalogue of materials has been compiled for the use of students.

James F. Baldwin.

The Enclosure and Redistribution of our Land. By W. H. R. Curtler. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. Pp. viii, 334.)

Carefully documented, dispassionately written, this book is a healthy antidote to those frequent and yet somewhat vague assertions that the land of England has been, in a somewhat mysterious way, spirited away from a numerous and hardy class of small proprietors by great landowners. This is the principal contribution of this book to the agrarian literature of England.

The résumé which the author gives of English agriculture from Celtic days to the time of the Tudors is excellent; but inevitably it is familiar ground, much more fully covered by Seebohm, Gay, and Ashley. The account which he gives of the methods of enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is detailed yet lucid; but here again one finds nothing which may not be discovered in Hasbach and

Hammond. His vigorous defense of the enclosure acts, however, and of the English landlord is new and refreshing, and provocative of much thought.

To quote his own words:

> Contrary to the popular idea that enclosure was wholly a landlord's movement, modern investigation has clearly discovered that there was a distinct effort on the part of the peasantry, beginning as early as the fourteenth, and continuing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to abandon the open field system and escape compulsory cooperation with the lazy and the shiftless.

The contemporary outcry against enclosure in the Tudor period he finds not only exaggerated, but to some extent uncalled for; and, although he admits that it brought hardship to certain classes in society, he maintains that to some extent it was inevitable and that, on the whole, the early enclosure movement did more good than harm.

Thus also in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Mr. Curtler in general upholds the enclosure acts, and, though freely admitting that "by 1887 only 12 per cent. of the occupiers of agricultural land in England were also owners", he considers that other causes, aside from enclosures, thus reduced their ranks.

Chief among these was the Industrial Revolution, sweeping away the cottage industries. The towns acted as a magnet to the small agriculturalist, whether yeoman, farmer, or laborer, while at the same time the Speenhamland Land Act bore far harder on the small holder than on the large. And although he concedes that the cottagers possessed moral rights to the commons which were ignored, he affirms that the total good accomplished in bettering waste land and in improving the breed of cattle more than compensated for this evil.

The growth of land allotments, of parcels of land under five acres, cultivated by agricultural laborers or other workmen, has gone on steadily since the middle of the nineteenth century; and of this movement Mr. Curtler approves heartily, attributing its success, as he does, very largely to the co-operation of the landlords. But of the Small Holdings acts of 1892, 1906, and 1908, which attempt by law to create a class of small independent farmers on holdings of from five to fifty acres, he is openly sceptical, coming to this pessimistic conclusion in regard to them: "Indeed no one who looks carefully into the facts can entertain any hope that the system of small holdings can be carried out to any such extent as to counteract at all the flow of the rising rural population into the town."

The last two chapters of this book, dealing as they do with the last three decades, are the only ones which impress the reviewer as scanty in scope and deficient in information. The *Report of the Land Inquiry Committee,* published in 1913, gives quite a different story of recent development in the theory and practice of allotments and small holdings. It intimates that not only there is an unsatisfied demand for

land allotments, but that small holdings are far more eagerly sought for than Mr. Curtler intimates. With the success of the small holder on the Continent constantly in mind, one cannot quite follow the author in his argument that a like success is improbable in England. It is clear, at any rate, that the progressive decline of the British agricultural population, as indicated by the last census, of 1911, is an unfavorable social omen in Great Britain, and that stiff measures of some description need to be taken.

WALTER P. HALL.

Studies in Statecraft, being Chapters Biographical and Bibliographical, mainly on the Sixteenth Century. By Sir GEOFFREY BUTLER, K.B.E., M.A., Fellow, Librarian, and Praelector in Diplomatic History at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1920. Pp. vi, 138. $4.00.)

THIS thin volume of essays, which "make but the humblest of pretensions" (introduction), deals with theories of sovereignty, pacifism, and world organization for the preservation of peace, mainly in the sixteenth century. The title would lead one to expect a series of essays on the work of statesmen and diplomats, but, with the exception of chapter IV., on Sully and his Grand Design, what is given is studies on the speculations of obscure political philosophers. Chapter I. deals with Bishop Roderick and Renaissance Pacificism, being a critical exposition of the bishop's treatise, *De Pace et Bello*. Chapter II. treats of the French "Civilians", Roman Law, and the New Monarchy, and shows for the civil lawyers (as Gierke, by the way, shows for other lawyers) that medieval legal theory by no means supported the position of the autocrat. Chapter III. sketches the life and work of a remarkable scholar, William Postel, who was out of his head part of the time and, one is tempted to say, in trouble the remainder of the time, and who regarded the establishment of peace as achievable only through the dominance of France. Sir Geoffrey's opinion that political philosophers will deem this of interest "in the record of the growing significance of the secular nation state" (p. 49) seems doubtful to the reviewer. Did not Pierre Dubois hold much the same opinion two hundred and fifty years earlier, to say nothing of the others around A.D. 1300? (See Dubois's *De Recuperatione,* and R. Scholz's *Publizistik*.) Chapter V. treats of "the Grand Design" of Emerich Crucé, who would have a permanent bench of the ambassabors of all sovereigns, located in one city, "in order that the differences that might arise should be settled by the whole assembly" (p. 99). Surely this is more naïve than Dubois's league to enforce peace.

The essays are of value as showing the movement of international ideas among the lesser lights. The bibliographical addenda on the writings of Rodericus Sancius (Bishop Roderick) and of William Postel are

well done and useful. But one reader at least was irked by the discursiveness of the essays, which savor, to him, more of the platform which the author adorned during the war (we remember him very kindly as a member of the British Mission) than of a scholarly book on political theory. Thus, in working up to Crucé's proposal for preserving peace, Sir Geoffrey quotes Crucé's advocacy of the resumption of Charlemagne's plan for knitting together the Rhine and Danube, and then adds:

> The two seas were joined in time, but they had to wait two hundred and fifty years, and then the necessary work was not undertaken by a French King but by the most relentless of French enemies, after a peace disastrous to France and sown with the seed of future European wars; but it is interesting to find foreshadowed by Crucé a development of German canalisation, which within thirty years of the Peace of Frankfort was to give Germany, and Prussia in particular, 8750 miles of canals, of which 5041 were main streams, 885 composed of channelled rivers and the rest canals proper dug in the fashion which Crucé had projected (pp. 94–95).

Such commentaries seem out of place in a volume of scholarly essays, and we prefer the more restrained method, employed so well, for example, in Herbert Fisher's *Studies in History and Politics* (Oxford, 1920).

G. C. S.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor. Bände VII. und VIII. *Pius IV., 1559–1565*; *Pius V., 1556–1572.* (Freiburg-in-Breisgau: Herder and Company. 1920. Pp. xl, 706; xxxvi, 676.)

It is reassuring so soon after the Great War to receive these two thick volumes. True, the author tells us that both were all but completed when the breaking out of the war made publication impossible. But he tells us also that throughout the war, despite its severing him from Rome, he could go on with the work, since already its materials had been gleaned from the archives. Great difficulties there were; but they did not prevent his practical completion of the pontificates of Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII., Paul V., and Gregory XV. Further volumes may therefore be expected soon; and these will carry us to 1623. No wonder that the author, though now past the middle of his sixties, can begin to count with confidence on bringing to its purposed goal the great work of his life.

When in 1886 its volumes began to appear, and when each surpassed its predecessor in the almost appalling conscientiousness of its research, it seemed unlikely that a lifetime could suffice. But the years soon demonstrated, too, the writer's remarkable capacity for work; and, though task after task has been laid on his competent shoulders, his history of the popes has gone steadily forward. Perhaps the war

itself may have lightened his interruptions; and the new poverty of his diminished country can hardly help lessening the activities of that great Austrian school of research at Rome of which since Sickel's retirement he has been the director. His success as a historian has found other recognition than added duties. The name, which on the title-page of his first volumes was identified by academic dignities, but soon stood proudly alone as Ludwig Pastor, was in his fifth volume, in 1909, ennobled into Ludwig von Pastor, and now appears with the added title of Freiherr; and a reward perhaps as welcome has been the acclaim of the world of scholars.

With these two volumes he reaches the climax of what he prefers to call the Catholic Reformation, and he makes no secret of his growing zest in the tale. That the first volume is the thicker, though it deals with the briefer pontificate, is only because it includes the story of those closing sessions of the Council of Trent which shaped all modern Catholicism. Pope Pius IV., indeed, is sketched as no unpleasing figure: of middle height and healthful color, with friendly, cheery face, high brow, and gray-blue, lively eyes, a slightly aquiline nose, his grizzled beard close trimmed, a chatty talker and a kindly, albeit an impatient, listener, careless of ceremony, restlessly active despite his sixty years, and wedded to the long walks in which he found his exercise, no theologian, but a good classicist, a sound canon lawyer, above all a sane administrator and a tactful diplomat. Nor does his historian question the genuineness of his loyalty to the Council and its work and to the reform of the Church. But he lays bare without flinching the irregularities of his earlier life, the easy-going worldliness of his personal habits, the nepotism which might have brought renewed disaster to the Church, had not the favorite nephew proved a saint. It is that nephew, Carlo Borromeo himself, who plays the leading rôle. Even on Pius V., who owed him his election, his influence is shown to have been great.

Pius V., however, holds the centre of the stage. As no predecessor except the German Hadrian, and perhaps the short-lived Marcellus, he is the joy of his historian. But the historian is not blinded by his saint-hood. In an appendix on the biographers of Pius he protests against their hagiographic mawkishness. His own search for new evidence has been diligent and fruitful; and he does not fail to see how often the simple-hearted piety of Pius and his relentless rigor squared ill with actualities. But a pope whose character and purpose brought back, at least to Catholic Christendom, the papal leadership, inspires his narrative to almost epic swing, and sometimes swells it to a history of Europe. In Spain and the Netherlands, in France, Great Britain, Germany, he has, indeed, little but Pyrrhic victories to record; but against the Turk the pope's crusading ardor won a lasting triumph, and for Pius V. his usual order of treatment is abandoned to make Lepanto the climax of the volume.

Older readers, who owe their interest in these popes to the work by which Ranke, just half a century before Dr. Pastor took up his pen, established his reputation as a historian, or to that essay of Macaulay, suggested by it, which made the Protestant world sit up and ponder, will wish to know how what they then learned is shaken by this fresh research. To all earnest historical study it should be a reassurance that so little error is shown. True, the influence of Ranke upon Pastor, who from the outset rated him "the most important of all Germany's Protestant historians", has clearly not been slight; but this has meant no lack of readiness to correct his facts or criticize his views. What warranted and what distinguishes the work of Pastor is its access to the sources and the thoroughness with which it uses them. Where Ranke could but divine, touching only the high points in his sweep, Pastor establishes by solid proofs, or discredits by their absence. His reader has the rare satisfaction of feeling that he has in hand a definitive study. Even of the Council of Trent, Ranke believed that such a final history would never be undertaken, "since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done", while "those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means". It was with Leo XIII. that the church authorities rallied to that verdict of Pertz which Pastor makes the epigraph of his opening volume: "Die beste Vertheidigung der Päpste ist die Enthüllung ihres Seins." But even to their historian one rich body of records is still closed. The archives of the Inquisition he has besieged in vain; and without their aid a satisfactory study of the inquisitor pope might seem impossible. Happily, they too have suffered breach. Every scholar knows how their treasures were in part carried off to Paris by Napoleon, with the rest of the papal archives, and how after his fall they had to be returned, including the trial of Galileo. Fewer perhaps will remember how some of them, however, mysteriously made their way to Dublin, where they are still in the keeping of Trinity College, and have found partial publication at the hands of Gibbings and of Benrath. Now, a part of these belong precisely to the pontificates of Pius IV. and Pius V. Alas, it is to be feared that what is still unprinted could hardly, during the war, be at the service of a German scholar; but in these last years there have been other disclosures, and a decade ago Professor Pastor himself published from Roman libraries a precious gleaning.[1] Thus equipped, what he is able to tell us in the present volumes is at least of high interest; and no pages, perhaps, deserve a wider audience than those on the activities of Inquisition and of Index.

[1] It will interest students to know that the printed book which he counts almost a manuscript, finding even in the libraries of Rome only an imperfect copy, and falling back for the extracts he prints on a complete one, somehow in the hands of the Roman antiquary Bocca, is now on the shelves of Cornell University. This is the *Dè Inconstantia in Jure* of Cardinal Albizzi, secretly printed under a false imprint for the private use of the Inquisition, and only lent to its officials during their terms of service.

But, though his honesty, his frankness, are beyond all question, though he prefers in the main to quote verdicts from contemporaries without remark—he can even, without a comment, let the pope himself, in 1565, say to the cardinals that scarcely a tenth of all Christians are still Catholic—it must not be inferred that of his Catholic and Ultramontane sympathies there is ever doubt. And let no reader expect in his pages any attempt to understand or make intelligible the attitude of Lutheran or Anabaptist, of Calvinist or Anglican. All, he tells his readers, that these religious innovators agreed in was the utter repression and outrooting of the Catholic worship. And even less than for these fierce opponents has he an understanding heart for those who dream of mediation or of parity. Not Elizabeth alone or Catharine de' Medici to him are wholly self-seeking, unscrupulous, void of religion. Little, if at all, less conscienceless are William of Orange, Maximilian of Austria, even L'Hôpital. The Edict of January is to him the immediate cause of the French religious wars. But, such as they are, his volumes are of inestimable worth to men of every faith.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Wallensteins Ende: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen der Katastrophe. Auf Grund neuer Quellen untersucht und dargestellt von HEINRICH Ritter VON SRBIK. (Vienna: L. W. Seidel und Sohn. 1920. Pp. xvi, 407. M. 60.)

WHILE not formally concerning himself with Wallenstein's character, activities, or guilt, it is repeatedly evident that the author considers him, in these last months, a dying man, hopelessly vacillating, but following one great ideal, for "nur die grosse Sehnsucht, sein Leben durch das Friedenswerk zu beschliessen, erfüllte den Mann"; and "nach seinem subjectiven Ermessen war nicht er dem Kaiser, sondern der Kaiser ihm, dem Reichsfürsten, zum tiefstem Danke und zur politischen Gefügigkeit verpflichtet".

The guiding thread is the question of responsibility for Wallenstein's death, with emphasis on Ferdinand. One result is a valuable history of the propaganda involved. The story, beginning abruptly in the middle of 1633, portrays Ferdinand and his motives, the elements opposed to Wallenstein "Die Glaubenseiferer konnten nichts anderes als Kreigseiferer sein", and the swirling waves of denunciation, extreme, conscienceless, often baseless, slowly convincing the emperor. "Welches ungeheuerliche Lügengebäude hat Piccolomini aufgebaut". The attitude of the army is analyzed, "und da war es nun des Friedländers Verhängnis, dass Offizier und Mann nie das Band der verehrungsvollen Zuneigung, des warmen Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls mit ihm hatten knüpfen können". The bitter "Proskriptionspatent" of February 18 ensues, following the "Absetzungspatent" of January 24, and the order,

of the same date, "das Haupt und die vornehmsten Mitverschworenen, wenn irgend möglich, gefangen zu nehmen und nach Wien zu bringen oder als überführte Schuldige zu töten". This order is "ganz authentisch nur durch Lamormaini bekannt", who writes thus to Vitelleschi. A satisfactory, if not very astonishing, chapter studies the theories behind this order, especially the Hapsburg position regarding political assassination.

Regarding the circumstances at Eger, elaborate analysis of materials gives first place to a paper which "unzweifelhafte innere Kriterien" proves to be a report made by Gordon at Eger, before February 28, and corrected there by Piccolomini on March 1. This conclusion seems highly probable. The document is printed in full. Leslie's report is ranked next, with one by Macdaniel which the author discovers translated in an "informatione" probably compiled by Piccolomini. He makes a good case for this claim. Other sources are carefully appraised, including the "Chaos perduellionis", which is assigned to the Hofprediger Weingartner, who produced during this affair, "eine Reihe von Werken voll unsagbarer Gehässigkeit, heimtückischer Intrigue und unmenschlichen Fanatismus". On this basis it is argued that the officers at Eger knew of the "Gefangennahme oder Hinrichtung" order, that "niemahls wird sich die Notwendigkeit, dem Herzoge das Leben zu rauben, erweisen lassen"; and the final scene is interestingly changed through using Gordon: "worauf die Mussquetierer Rebellen, Rebellen geschryen, dass fürstlich Losament eröfnet und Ihr fürst. Gn., so bloss im Hembt am Tisch lainendt gestanden und mehr nit alss Ah guardir gesprochen, von mehr besagten Capitain mit vor gehenten Wortten Du schlimmer, meinaydger alter rebellischer Schelm mit der Partisan zwischen beeden Prüsten durchstochen worden . . . ". No trace of heroism is found among the assassins.

The last book is devoted to the resulting propaganda on every hand; Ferdinand's early acceptance of responsibility; the wavering due to failure of the desired proof of charges made in December and January against Wallenstein, and the dangerous state of opinion; the final recognition of responsibility, under strong pressure from Piccolomini and others, with heavy rewards for everyone even remotely concerned.

On the whole the book is definite, restrained, and helpful. Occasionally certainties and strong probabilities are too obviously built of many little probabilities and possibilities. Placing the emphasis so decidedly on Wallenstein's enemies, together with the narrow chronological limits, gives some feeling of incompleteness; but it is, within its limits, worth while, showing some able handling of sources, much interesting detail, and publishing several valuable documents.

H. L. King.

Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen, vom Englischen Puritanismus bis zur Pariser Kommune, 1642–1871. Von Dr. Alexander Cartellieri, o.ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. (Leipzig: Verlag der Dykschen Buchhandlung. 1921. Pp. 229. M. 25, bound M. 38.)

It is inevitable that the recrudescence of revolution in the world should turn the attention of historians to the general subject of efforts to alter the form or function of government by force. We may expect a series of studies of revolutionary movements or of revolution in general from their pens. And it is natural that, with their well-known enterprise, the earliest of these should come from the hands of the Germans. The little volume of Professor Cartellieri is doubtless only the forerunner of what we may expect to see in varied and greatly enlarged form; and it is interesting, therefore, not only for itself, but for the promise which it contains.

There was a time, and not so long ago, when such a book would have been pretty generally received more or less uncritically, with the awe-inspiring prestige which attached to all historical work made in Germany. There was something terrifying in the very name of German scholarship, an esoteric quality which set it apart from the work of mere—shall we say?—Americans. The simple fact that it had been written at all, would have convinced many persons that it was a more or less epoch-making work, and they would have been correspondingly awed. That day has passed. If the war has taught us nothing else, it has proved that the work even of German scholars is not above and beyond all criticism, and the least of us may now look upon it as if it had been produced by ordinary human beings. We may venture to judge it by the same standards as we would apply to the labors of our own colleagues. We may even find fault with it.

Professor Cartellieri has to his credit an imposing list of titles. He has published a register of the bishops of Constance, three volumes of a history of Philip Augustus of France, with lesser studies in the same general field, an outline of world history, an account of Weimar and Jena between the years 1806 and 1815, the usual essays on Germany, France, and the war which most of us have written, but which few of us have made into books, and some lectures on the foundation of the German Empire. In other words, his chief work has lain in the field of the Middle Ages, from which safe retreat he has been drawn, naturally and irresistibly, into the less-calm arena of modern politics. He is, therefore, not an individual but a type, and as such deserves some consideration.

His present volume is a book of some 200 pages, carefully indexed, and accompanied by a table of dates and a bibliography. Its character may in some measure be determined by the latter. It contains nine

general studies of revolution, all published in Germany since 1913, and brief lists of the works he has presumably consulted in preparing this series of lectures, now elaborated into a book. That his study has not been profound, these lists witness. For it is difficult to take seriously a volume which so obviously relies on the *Histoire Générale,* on Seignobos, Lodge, Montague, Madelin, and Taine, even though it owes something apparently to Aulard, Macaulay, Brosch, von Sybel, Stern, and Sorel.

In brief, we have here what the author would, possibly, be the first to admit, a series of more or less hastily compiled lectures, corrected and revised for publication. In some measure he does admit this in his preface, however qualifiedly. But no one could pretend that this is more than the first word on the subject. It is true, as he says, that there is no other such work—but there will be others. And what he has done is scarcely more than to blaze a trail. Not even that, for he has merely retold in briefer form what many men have told before him. His account of the French Revolution of 1789—the longest single section of the book—is the conventional story, whose time is passing. His account of the English revolutions lacks most of the more intimate knowledge which makes them intelligible. He omits all reference to the American Revolution and the Spanish-American revolution, as well as the Greek, the Spanish, and the more recent movements in Germany and Russia. His account of the revolutions of 1848, especially in Central Europe, is perhaps the best part of the book. But neither there nor anywhere else does he take any adequate account of what is, after all, the fundamental quality of revolution, the state of mind of those who conduct it, the psychology of the movements whose external events he describes. Nor could that be expected from one whose life-work has been so largely done in a field far removed from the one he now invades. For it takes more than the reading of Macaulay and Taine to get under the skin of modern revolutions; and Professor Cartellieri must suffer the fate of all insufficiently equipped pioneers in consequence. One who undertakes the difficult and dangerous task of chronicling revolution must know more of the "ungeheuren Literatur" to which he refers in his preface than even "Montague und Lodge, das schöne und unparteiische Werk von A. Sorel sowie die grosse angelegte, inhaltreiche Darstellung von A. Stern". For, however unique, however useful, his book may be for certain purposes, it cannot be regarded as either authoritative or definitive.

The Kaiser vs. Bismarck: Suppressed Letters by the Kaiser, and New Chapters from the Autobiography of the Iron Chancellor. With a historical Introduction by Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History, Columbia University. Translated by Bernard Miall. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1921. Pp. xxii, 203. $2.50.)

THE present work has been heralded as the long-promised third volume of Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen,* the publication of which in Germany last year was prevented by judicial proceedings. In the absence of the German version it is impossible to place the responsibility for a dozen or more unintelligible passages and mistaken references in the English text, but the character of the present rendering may be measured by the fact that the chancellor's letter of resignation (pp. 113–117), published in the original by Busch immediately after Bismarck's death, contains seven errors in translation, some of them quite destructive of the sense.

In his vigorous style, and with entire frankness in personal detail, Bismarck traces through a dozen chapters his relations with William, from 1886 down to his own final departure from Berlin on March 29, 1890, under circumstances which reminded him of "first-class funeral obsequies", supplementing the story with a discussion of the first results of his dismissal, the German foreign policy in the Heligoland-Zanzibar exchange, and the Austrian commercial treaty of December, 1891. Inner evidence and the tone of the narrative, which the author says was based on notes made from day to day, place the writing of the book within two years after Bismarck's retirement.

The chancellor opens his story with an account of his, for the most part futile, efforts to provide Prince William with experience in civil administration, and documents the lack of harmony between the future kaiser and his father by a confidential letter from Crown Prince Frederick, protesting against bringing the "vanity and presumption" of his son into touch with foreign affairs. Step by step, then, with illustrations from his correspondence, the chancellor pictures the series of misunderstandings which arose with William's entry into public life. The persons who form the kaiser's coterie of advisers are analyzed with a bitter pen: the Grand Duke of Baden, the vice-president of the ministry, Boetticher, Bismarck's *ad latus,* who in his chief's opinion now plays the traitor; and especially, the inner clique of unofficial advisers, headed by Hinzpeter, an "educationalist", who "play upon the kaiser's appetite for reform" with "humanitarian ideas brought from England".

The struggle opens with the crown council meeting of January 24, 1890, when after a long absence the chancellor returns to find the kaiser ready to launch a new programme of protection and privilege for labor, and continues for eight weeks. Bismarck assures us "I did not cling to my position—only to my duty" (p. 85), because he felt the emperor to be under "alien influence" and "held it as my duty to remain beside him as a moderating influence or eventually opposing him" (p. 86). The final decision against him the chancellor places between March 8 and 14, and connects it with a visit of the Grand Duke of Baden, although "to this day", he asserts, "I have not with absolute certainty learned the actual reason for the rupture." With grave dignity he recounts the

reiterated demand for his resignation, and his humiliation at the post-mortem honors which William thrust upon him. The pen-picture of Caprivi which follows is touched with the bitterness of a quarter-century of feud with the army chiefs; that of William II. is a comparison, measured and judicial, but none the less satirical in undertone, of the kaiser with his forbears on the Prussian throne, culminating in an arraignment for lack of loyalty to tried servants: "With the transition from the Hohenzollern spirit to the Coburg-English conception an imponderable factor was lost which will be difficult to restore" (p. 151).

Bismarck's story is of deep psychological interest both for the light it throws on his own character and on that of William, but it adds little to our knowledge of the events. Equally important for these, and to be read in connection with Bismarck's account, is the recently published posthumous *apologia* of K. H. von Boetticher (*Fürst Bismarcks Entlassung,* Berlin, Scherl, 1920). Here the dismissal of the chancellor is reviewed from the standpoint of a pliant though conscientious bureaucrat, with the inclusion of many private and public papers of a confidential sort, not accessible to Bismarck in his retirement.

Two points in the present work will be examined by the student of recent German history with especial interest. Regarding the first, the book offers confirmation that, in spite of all denial by Bismarck's biographers, the chancellor's reactionary attitude toward the Socialists must have eventually led to something like a *coup d'état* against the Federal Constitution. He had come to the point where he viewed the Socialist danger as "no longer a legal question but a matter of civil war and internal power" (p. 48). Like confirmation is given in the other significant point, the fundamental difference of opinion between the kaiser, under army influences, and Bismarck as to the value of Russia's friendship. By a "caprice of fortune" Schuvalov presented his credentials to negotiate for a treaty (a renewal of the *Rückversicherungsvertrag,* which lapsed in June, 1890) on the day on which Bismarck sent in his resignation. He was authorized to deal only with Bismarck or his son, not their successors (p. 123).

ROBERT HERNDON FIFE.

Recollections of a Foreign Minister: Memoirs of Alexander Iswolsky. Translated by CHARLES LOUIS SEEGER. (Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 303. $2.50.)

M. IZVOLSKI was a *diplomate de carrière.* After holding diplomatic positions in the Balkans, Washington, Rome, Munich, Tokio, and Copenhagen, he became Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1906–1910, and then ambassador at Paris until 1917. But anyone who expects to find any revelations about Russian foreign affairs in this book will be disap-

pointed. Most of the chapters, slightly modified, were published, though it is nowhere so stated, in 1919, either in the *Fortnightly Review* or in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* In the chapter on the Secret Treaty of Björkö, the only chapter dealing primarily with foreign affairs, the author takes issue with some of Dr. Dillon's statements, especially with the view that the secret treaty was directed against France, whereas in reality it was directed against England, or at least against the Anglo-French Entente; otherwise there is little in this chapter which was not already known to readers of the *American Historical Review.*

Though disappointing to the student of diplomatic history, M. Izvolski's volume is interesting and valuable as a revelation of himself and as an intimate picture of political cross-currents and personalities in Russia in the years 1905–1907—the period when Russia was taking her first tottering steps in constitutional government. As one of the progressive provincial nobility, with wide culture and superior social connections (of which he was not unaware), he took an active part, in addition to his burdens as foreign minister, in all Russia's difficult domestic problems. He opposed on principle the reactionary slavophilism and narrowness of the bureaucrats. He deplored the combination of heterogeneous elements in the Witte and Goremykin cabinets, rightly preferring a homogeneous cabinet, made up of "liberals" like himself, or even of Cadets. But the bureaucratic influence was too strong and the tsar too weak to secure the solidarity of such a cabinet. In the composition of the First Duma, Izvolski thought Witte made a great mistake to include such a large proportion of peasants; instead of being a conservative support to monarchy through their supposed loyalty to the Little Father, as had been hoped, a good part of these peasants soon demanded expropriation of the land—the rock on which the First Duma was wrecked.

Among the author's admirable portraits of the leaders of the period—Lamsdorff, Goremykin, Stolypin, Miliukov, Trepov, and the tsar himself—the most complete and discriminating is that of Witte. Never falling under the glamor of Witte's powerful personality, yet never sharing the violent aversion which the "self-made man" inspired in so many Russian nobles, M. Izvolski seeks to balance fairly the great achievements and the political and moral weaknesses of the man who was in some respects his rival. He criticizes particularly Witte's tendency, as finance minister, to extend state control over railroads, industry, and commerce, and thus build up for himself a kind of personal civil service constituting a state within a state. This exaggerated *étatisme* tended to kill individual initiative and the healthy growth of local self-government through the zemstvos, which was Izvolski's own ideal. Moreover, he says, Witte's financial agents attached to the Russian embassies abroad, corresponding in cipher with the finance minister and acting independently of their nominal diplomatic chiefs, often main-

tained political ideas opposed to those of official Russian diplomacy. But he gives no specific examples to confirm this sweeping statement.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Merchant Navy. By ARCHIBALD HURD. Volume I. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 473. $7.50.)

THE Historical Section of the British Committee of Imperial Defence, under the editorship of Sir Julian Corbett, divided the work of writing the history of the Great War into three parts. The first treats of the active operations of the Royal Navy itself, about which Sir Julian is now writing four and perhaps five volumes with his own pen, one of which has already appeared (*Naval Operations,* vol. I.). The second concerns the economic effects of the naval war on ocean-borne trade, and is in the competent hands of Mr. C. Ernest Fayle, whose first volume has already appeared (*Seaborne Trade,* vol. I.) and was noticed in the April number of this *Review* (XXVI. 531). It will comprise several further volumes.

The work now under discussion has for its subject the activities of the merchant fleet of Great Britain, and forms the third category of the general war history. As Mr. Hurd says, the British merchant seamen, on account of the piratical policy of the German admiralty, were forced by circumstances, over which neither they nor the British naval authorities had any control, into the forefront of the struggle by sea.

They had entered the Mercantile Marine with no thought that they would be exposed even to such trials and sufferings as their predecessors sustained during the previous Great War, for there had been much talk at various international Conferences of ameliorating the conditions of warfare; they found themselves involved in a conflict waged by a merciless enemy with large and newly developed resources. The seamen were defenceless, for this emergency had not been foreseen either by the Admiralty, by the shipowners, or by the seamen themselves. . . .

The ordeal to which the men of the British Mercantile Marine submitted with generous patriotism can be appreciated only if it is described in an appropriate setting, ignoring neither the plans of the naval authorities for the protection of merchant shipping, elaborated in the years before the outbreak of the war, nor the measures afterwards adopted to enable merchant shipping to resist with better hope of success the enemy's policy.

The book comprises an account of the operations of the Auxiliary Patrol, which was practically a new navy called into being at the admiralty's invitation, and the history of which Mr. Hurd rightly calls "one of the most remarkable aspects of the war by sea".

The feature of all these volumes published by the British Historical

Section that especially challenges the admiration of the modern historian is their thoroughness and comprehensive arrangement. On the other hand, chapter and verse, though often mentioned, are not invariably quoted, the reader being asked to take the accuracy of the reference for granted. Possibly this is inevitable in a series of volumes that aim to be at once authoritative and readable. The mass of detail is extraordinary, but the dryness of a large portion of the data is relieved by spirited descriptions of such events as the actions against submarines, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

Mr. Hurd incorporates in his first volume a fairly comprehensive history of the merchant marine of Britain from Saxon times, no fewer than 136 pages being given to the pre-war period. In the course of his discussion of the losses of the British marine during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, he does not shrink from breaking a lance with Admiral Mahan, if in a minor field of controversy, and in many ways shows himself a master not only of detail but of the historical viewpoint. In the matter of accuracy, it is an extremely difficult matter to check up a volume of this kind, with its thousands of references. Some mistakes are doubtless inevitable, but there are, here and there, evidences of a carelessness that seems foreign to such a work. For example, in referring to the late Mr. John D. Long's *The New American Navy*, the author is called "former secretary of the Navy Department, U. S. N.", and his name is given as "the Hon. James Long".

The volume is provided with three excellent maps, a comprehensive index, and a dozen full-page illustrations in half-tone. On the whole, it is a very worthy companion of the monumental contributions to naval history by Sir Julian Corbett and Mr. Fayle.

EDWARD BRECK.

La Renaissance de l'Hellénisme. Par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. Préface de M. POLITIS, Ministre des Affaires Étrangères de Grèce. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1920. Pp. vi, 242. 6 fr.)

THIS book contains sixteen lectures given at Athens early in 1920, upon invitation of Messrs. Venizelos and Politis, together with a discourse pronounced at Versailles after the author's return. Its interest does not lie in newly discovered material, but in its revelation of the point of view, in days *post bellum et post victoriam*, of a Frenchman, well informed and accustomed to large historical generalizations, when tracing summarily the history of Hellenism and estimating the place and rôle of modern Greece.

To M. Driault, Greece and France are closely related, as mother and daughter (p. 241). They are civilized (p. 39), and the other nations are barbarous (p. 237), especially Germany, her allies, and Russia (pp. 98, 142, 179, 194, etc.), but by implication, also England and America (p. 89). The recent war is a triumph of the Mediter-

ranean civilization; "light does not come from the north" (p. 70). M. Driault said in his *La Question d'Orient* that Germany had no place in the Mediterranean. Now he says the same of England; France, not England, should have Egypt—apparently the attempts of Louis IX. and Napoleon I. to conquer the country are regarded as having helped to found a French title (p. 139). He says a good word here and there for Italy (which required some courage in Athens in 1920), yet he considers that Italy "betrayed the Mediterranean civilization" by joining the Triple Alliance (p. 150). Austria he would like to see replaced by a confederation of free nations, "a whole crown of French friendships" (p. 221).

As regards Greece, he is distinctly in favor of the "Great Idea", which he discreetly defines as the purpose that "all the lands that are Greek should be Greek" (p. 113). He does not discuss what makes a land Greek, whether language, religion, former occupation by a Greek majority, or former rule from Byzantine Constantinople. He distinctly says, however, that Cyprus (p. 146), Rhodes (p. 184), the Ionian coast (p. 24), and Constantinople (pp. 47, 50, 52, 98, 224) should be Greek, the first two because the majority is Greek, the others because they were once Greek. M. Politis in his preface sets forth the idea of a Greece, civilizing and educating her neighbors, and standing sentinel for the West against the German "danger", Russian imperialism, and Oriental barbarism (p. iv). This metaphysical abstraction is encouraged by M. Driault, who must have rejoiced his audiences greatly by promising them Constantinople, the "protection" of the Turks and Armenians (p. 161), the reopening of the great trade-routes, and a new age of Pericles (p. 225).

The relations of France and Greece he finds it sometimes a little difficult to describe in accordance with the theory of kinship and cooperation. He tries to work around the fact that since 1535 France has usually supported and sometimes tried to strengthen Turkey (pp. 56, 127), by saying that, when unable to destroy the Moslem power, it was best to be friends with it, so as to protect and emancipate its Christian subjects (p. 120). Here he overlooks the fact that the interest of France was regularly confined to Roman Catholic Christian subjects of Turkey. While erecting into an affirmation the suspicion that the German Metternich suggested to Mahmud II. that he call upon the Egyptians to put down the Greeks (p. 109), he omits to state that the army which Ibrahim Pasha brought to the Peloponnesus had been trained and was accompanied by French officers. Of interest is his laying blame for the destruction of the Parthenon on Germany—"always against you" (p. 163)—on the ground that the Venetian admiral used German guns and gunners (pp. 101, 232). He passes very hastily over the equivocal part played by Greece during the Great War, but regrets that much French sentiment was against Greece because of the behavior of King Constantine (p. 18—this was before Constantine's recall

to the Greek throne). He recommends that Greece prefer French policy to that of the English, who consider sentiment a weakness, and play a close and able game (p. 223).

M. Driault still believes that the capture of Constantinople in 1453 was a principal factor in the Italian Renaissance (p. 103), and that the Turks closed the roads to Asia, and brought about the great discoveries (p. 56). He crowds the facts somewhat in saying that during the Fanariot period the Turkish administration was "almost absolutely in the hands of the Greeks" (p. 102). The claim is interesting that whereas Napoleon I. "liberated" Poland and Italy, he would have liberated Serbia and Greece also except for "circumtances" (p. 88). Peculiarly French is the contrast of Napoleon's treatment of Mme. Walewska with William II.'s treatment of Miss Cavell (p. 91). Lack of knowledge is shown in jeering at the Bulgarian claim to Macedonia on nationalistic grounds (pp. 146, 192). Few still hold the narrow view that the Great War had "all its origins in the worldwide and especially the Near Eastern ambitions of William II." (p. 167).

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Modern China: a Political Study. By SIH-GUNG CHENG, M.A., B.Sc., Fellow of the Royal Economic Society. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. Pp. vii, 380. $3.75.)

To present in a single small volume a suggestive account of the origin and present problems of the new Republic of China is a difficult task; but Dr. Cheng has accomplished it with a high degree of success. The earlier pages, which deal chiefly with the Chinese constitution, are of very great interest, as they show us a keen Oriental mind, thoroughly informed as regards the history of cabinet government, seeking to fit that delicate machinery to conditions equally familiar to him, but little understood by the average Western student of history and politics.

In all of his suggestions Dr. Cheng wisely insists that the Chinese reformers and modernizers should build upon Chinese foundations in so far as that is possible. His aim is a successful Chinese republic, not an imitation of Western republics. He believes that the federation of the Chinese provinces, and the centralization of military control offer the most promising way out of the chaos which has resulted under "the present day nominal centralization"; and he makes a convincing argument in favor of his thesis.

The disturbing factor of the present day—the military governors of the provinces—as Dr. Cheng points out, date only from the revolution of 1911, which is still in progress. These "Tuchuns (military governors), with the armed force at their command" he says, "have always overwhelmed their civil colleagues. . . . If China is to be saved from the danger of internal disruption . . . she must centralize the administration of her army." It is almost needless to add that every

competent Western observer will agree with this suggestion. If China is to face her future, whether in the field of domestic or foreign affairs, with a fair chance of success, the Tuchuns must go.

It is difficult for a Chinese to realize the complete ignorance of Europe and America concerning things Chinese, and it is doubtless for this reason that Dr. Cheng touches so disappointingly lightly upon the greatest and most encouraging feature of Chinese political history, namely, her ancient and successful local self-government by a gentry chosen by a mysterious process of natural selection, and in no sense a social caste or hereditary nobility. "What they have done is to develop self-government in their municipal districts", he says, on page 8; and he later adds the statement that these officers have been enabled "to exercise their powers for many long centuries, without a single instance in which their authority was questioned".

What we of the West have not done is "to develop self-government in . . . municipal districts"; and it would do us good to read a detailed description of this ancient achievement of which even the average Western scholar knows nothing. China's future, and that of every younger nation, will depend largely upon the success with which the problem of municipal government is handled. We therefore regret the fact that Dr. Cheng has devoted only four of his 380 pages to this most important feature of Chinese political history.

In part II. Dr. Cheng gives a brief but comprehensive sketch of Chinese foreign relations for the modest period of twenty-two centuries, and treats somewhat in detail great current problems, like exterritoriality, tariff administration, foreign investments, Shantung, Chinese labor, the ascendancy of Japan in the Far East, and the Eastern policy of the United States. His accounts of those Western contacts which slowly caused China, "for the first time in four thousand years of wonderful and sensational history", to discard "the idea that she was the only civilized country on the earth" are clear and conspicuously free from prejudice or provincialism. He sees the crimes and the mistakes of China quite as clearly, and states them quite as frankly, as those of other countries. Not content with merely stating problems, he also ventures upon very specific suggestions as to their solution, and places the chief responsibility for solution where it properly belongs, upon the Chinese themselves. His book, therefore, promises to be of unusual value, for it will help his fellow republicans in China to understand the delicate machinery with which they are dealing; and it will also help his fellow republicans of the West to understand the very able people with whom, under modern conditions, they must deal, and to have patience with their inevitable mistakes.

Robert M. McElroy.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Von FRIEDRICH LUCKWALDT. In two volumes. (Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger. 1920. Pp. x, 351; viii, 336. $4.00 in paper, $5.00 bound.)

THE chapters of this history covering the period to the close of the Civil War were completed by 1914, the rest were finished by 1920. One can readily appreciate the difficulties the author must have encountered in working over the material for the recent period. He has devoted 496 pages to the period from Raleigh's first Virginia colony to 1876, only 84 pages to the momentous developments from 1876 to 1913, and, in conclusion, 80 pages to the Wilson administrations.

The writer has given a straightforward, interesting account of many of the main events in United States history. His work is probably intended for the general reader in his own country who wants an outline of American development. For the American scholar, the work will be of little value. Both as to content and as to interpretation, it follows traditional lines, is based mainly on the older American masters, and makes little use of the monograph material of recent years.

The chapters on the Revolutionary Period are among the best, although several statements need revision in the light of recent publications. The writer has a particular gift for describing military events adequately and without boring details. The "Critical Period" and the formation of the Constitution are handled in the conventional manner, There is perhaps not enough emphasis upon the imperialism of the New West as a cause of the War of 1812, but in later chapters there is no inclination to ignore the importance of westward expansion in the building of "the real America". Luckwaldt has also avoided the exaggerations of von Holst in dealing with the slavery controversy.

For the recent period, one finds the treatment least satisfying, and many gaps in subject-matter. The Greenback and Free Silver agitations are discussed with hardly a reference to economic conditions in the West and South, and the panic of 1893 is inadequately treated. Four lines dispose of the problems of Oriental immigration; one page suffices for Taft's presidency; and the Progressive movement suffers from the same kind of treatment. The writer has something to say of the evolution of new standards of social values in the recent period, and of the trend away from the traditional American individualism; but he has failed to make use of some of the best illustrative material to support his conclusions. The final chapter, on Wilson and the World War, may be of some interest at this time, because of the writer's characterization of President Wilson, and of some interesting comments upon the German-Americans, German policy, and British and German propaganda in the United States. The writer correctly suggests that the violation of

Belgium was the one insurmountable obstacle for German propagandists who tried to win America for the German cause. The peace treaty is considered a breach of faith with Germany, although the writer is still hoping that America may be the means of serving and saving the world.

There are some errors in the text; for example, the dates for the introduction of slavery in Virginia (I. 38), and for the founding of Harvard (I. 54). The influence of French political theorists in 1775 is exaggerated, and John Adams, rather than Washington, deserves the credit for determining that the power of removal should be in the President alone (I. 182). The Ordinance of 1787 is discussed without a reference to how and why the West came under the control of Congress (I. 219); the statement in regard to the apportionment of representation in the Confederation Congress is inaccurate (I. 214); the House election of 1801 is disposed of without a reference to Hamilton (I. 214); the estimate of Monroe's career is perhaps too generous; and McKinley was shot, and not stabbed (II. 210). Finally, constitutional matters are almost entirely ignored.

CARL WITTKE.

The United States of America: a Study in International Organization. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT, A.M., J.U.D., LL.D. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xix, 605. $3.00.)

THE all-important, compelling task challenging world statesmanship is the organization of peace; not sentimental aspiration, but purposeful contriving of conditions and institutions. In this cause we welcome the continued efforts of the Carnegie Endowment: its exposition of economic facts bearing on the problem, its propaganda of the basic juridical ideas essential to its solution, and particularly its advocacy of conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication as the more excellent ways for adjusting international relations.

The volume under review naturally follows Doctor Scott's recent book of cases, *Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States*; it is, in fact, a systematic exploitation of its contents. But to begin with, the familiar constitutional story is retold at length—how from trading companies grew American plantations and provinces, inheriting English law and developing constitutions of their own; how the idea and practice of union gradually appeared, finally taking shape in the independent Confederation under Articles adopted in 1777–1781; how a critical period supervened, in which the commonwealths developed what they regarded as self-sufficient statehood, but in which external weakness and internal discord forced a realization of their utter dependence upon each other and their need of more adequate organization

of union; how the upshot of it all was the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, with its laborious contrivings and miraculous success. A concluding third of the volume is devoted to the analysis of the Constitution and of some three dozen leading cases of its interpretation by the Supreme Court, with particular reference to the judicial power—its nature and limits, the mode of its exercise, and particularly its applicability to the affairs of sovereign states.

The author's main interest seems to be the inquiry: How does the federating of the American states (which he continues to regard sovereign) affect the organization of judicial power within, among, and over them? and further, How can American experience in these matters be turned to account on the world scale? A particular instance is the elaborate argument that states can, by waiving exemption from suit, submit their disputes to court adjudication, and that the American states have by such agreement on certain controversies "made them justiciable". Another chapter characteristically concludes: "Questions political in their nature may thus become judicial by submission to a court of justice, to be decided in accordance with principles of law and equity, and we are justified in the belief that the States composing the society of nations can, if they will, agree by convention to submit their disputes to a tribunal of their own creation. . . ."

The concluding chapter, on a More Perfect Society of Nations, makes rather wistful reading, with its eager paralleling of the situations of 1787 and 1918 (the book is dated from Armistice Day), with its suggestions of what might be effected if —. America of 1918, irresistible, magnanimous, seemed to be teaching a warring world how it is both moral and profitable to co-operate, even to unite and become one! Our author cautiously adds, "The Society of Nations may not be willing, and indeed even with good will may not be able, to go so far now or at any time as have the States forming the American Union."

Indeed, this tempting parallel is utterly deceptive. In the American case there was cultural unity to start with, and a continent of opportunity; in the European or world case of 1918, the pathetic absence of those conditions. For an indefinite future to come it may probably be desirable that world peoples regulate their relations on a basis neither cosmopolitan nor of unified sovereignty, but strictly *inter-national*. That way alone lies freedom and progress. Yet we may agree with Doctor Scott that "However many steps they [the world nations] may take or however few toward the closer Union, the experience of the framers of the Constitution who traversed the entire path should be as a lamp to their feet."

HENRY R. SPENCER.

The Founding of New England. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 1921. Pp. xv, 482. $4.00.)

THIS work is the best short history of early New England that has

appeared for a generation. Untainted by New England ancestry or residence, uninfluenced by tercentenarian sentimentality, with a broad background and scholarly equipment, Mr. Adams maintains a serene, judicial attitude and proves his capacity as a historian. He has made no original research but has digested the greater part of the printed material that has appeared in the last thirty years, and retold the story of early New England in a clear, simple style, with touches of quiet irony.

A comparison of Mr. Adams's book with Fiske's *Beginnings of New England* (1889) reveals the new method of approach to colonial history. Almost one-quarter of Fiske is taken up with the Roman Idea, the English Idea, and with Puritan origins. The *Founding* opens with three admirable chapters on the geographic and climatic background, early exploration, and the Race for Empire. Only on page 64 does one reach Some Aspects of Puritanism. Further, we find chapters on the Theory of Empire and the Reassertion of Imperial Control. The period which Fiske calls the Tyranny of Andros is by Mr. Adams entitled, an Experiment in Administration. Our author appears to be more interested in the imperial problem than in any other aspect of New England history. His book will give the public a short and pleasant cut to the work of Andrews, Beer, Osgood, and Newton. He puts New England in her proper place in the empire. His brief exposition of the mercantile system is the best we have seen. Apart from these chapters, we have mainly a political history of the New England colonies to 1692, with the emphasis on Massachusetts Bay. Indian and intercolonial relations are handled with particular care, and many fresh and suggestive ideas thrown out to the reader.

We read the book with unalloyed admiration for Mr. Adams's scholarship and workmanship until we reached the following statement, on page 121: "Not more than one in five of the adult males who went even to Massachusetts was sufficiently in sympathy with the religious ideas there prevalent to become a church member, though disfranchised for not doing so." At this point we place a rod in pickle for Mr. Adams. In "glacial" Massachusetts, church membership was a rare privilege, jealously guarded by those who already possessed it. One could attain nothing higher on earth. As well might one say that failure of a mason to attain the most exalted degree indicated his lack of sympathy with freemasonry, as that failure of a Puritan to attain church membership proved indifference to the Puritan faith. On this implication, largely, Mr. Adams rests his thesis that the bulk of the New England immigrants were indifferent to the Puritan faith. Abundant evidence to the contrary exists. The majority probably did resent the political control of the elders, and disapproved their grosser acts of religious intolerance. But to assert that "three quarters of the population . . . persistently refused to ally themselves with the New England type of Puritan church", distorts history.

But on the whole, our quarrel with Mr. Adams is not with what he has said, but with what he has left unsaid. He has studied the Puritan in his three least attractive or successful aspects: his relations with the empire, his relations with his neighbors, and his attitude toward dissenters. Now, the most valuable contributions of the New England Puritan to America were institutional: state and local government (where the church franchise did not apply), ecclesiastical polity, land distribution, and public education. These aspects of the founding of New England Mr. Adams apparently has not studied; his references to them are few, scattering, and in part derogatory. Because the new communities produced no Locke or Newton or Clarendon their educational system is deemed of small account; why teach the Yankee his letters, when he had nothing to read but the Bible and Michael Wigglesworth? Of the social life of the early New Englanders, Mr. Adams tells us nothing; and of their economic life very little, save in connection with imperialism. Nor is a lifelike portrait given of any individual in the drama, save the sinister Endecott. These omissions will leave Mr. Adams's readers with rather a distorted picture of the Puritans, particularly as he has devoted much space to their religious intolerance.

That part of the story is told with dignity and justice; and it cannot too often thus be told. Mr. Adams appreciates its value as a lesson and a warning. Yet, as he evidently (p. 277) considers the United States of 1920 a model of tolerance, how by the same token can he deem the Bay theocracy intolerant? There, in the seventeenth century, were a group of men who at great expense and energy were attempting a new social-religious experiment in the wilderness. In the infancy of their chosen institutions it was unwise, but was it intolerant to exclude irritating elements? Surely there was enough space in America, north of the Merrimac and south of the Charles, for other 'isms. Here, in the twentieth century, a people of a hundred millions, with institutions hardened by time, has been panic-stricken by a few thousand agitators. It has enacted exclusion laws very similar to those of the Bay colony, and suppressed social dissent—the only sort that matters, nowadays—with as heavy a hand and as loathsome cruelty as ever stained a Massachusetts magistrate.

With all these reservations, we welcome Mr. Adams's book as a valuable and timely contribution—no student of colonial history should fail to read it. But whoever may feel a Briggs-like wonder as to "what the Puritan thought about" must consult Fiske; or, better still, the abundant and revealing literature that the primitive Yankee produced about his sordid self.

S. E. Morison.

History of the University of Virginia, 1819–1919. By PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, LL.B., LL.D. Volumes III. and IV. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. x, 403; 376. Each $4.50.)

SUCH readers of Dr. Bruce's opening volumes as were chiefly interested in Jefferson and his Virginian associates, in the early struggles of the new university, and in the light thrown upon contemporary conditions, may perhaps feel a decline of interest during their perusal of the present installment of this extensive work. Graduates and friends of the institution, on the other hand, to whom the salient facts of its founding have long been more or less known, may find their interest increasing rather than diminishing as the historian progresses in his narrative. These third and fourth volumes exhibit as fully as did the first and second Dr. Bruce's thoroughly satisfactory handling of his abundant materials, with the additional advantage, in the opinion of at least one reader, that the pages devoted to the period of the Civil War enable the writer to give expression to his most generous emotions and, in consequence, afford a happy illustration of his powers as a man of letters. The sketches of the alumni who fell in the service of the Confederacy and the description of the antecedents of the student body to be found at pages 272–275 of the third volume challenge admiration and are likely to be considered by many as forming the most notable portion of one of the most remarkable works of its kind in our literature.

Four periods in the life of the University of Virginia are covered in these two volumes: "Expansion and Reformation, 1842–1861", "The War, 1861–1865", "Reconstruction and Expansion, 1865–1895", and "Restoration, 1895–1904", the last period deriving its name from the destructive fire of 1895, which is effectively described. A series of articles would scarcely do justice to this immense mass of topics and details, but a review may at least bear witness to the skill with which they are arranged. Points of special significance are the honor system, perhaps, next to the elective system, that feature of the institution which has been most widely discussed outside the limits of Virginia; the riot of 1845, extraordinary in the history of college discipline; the university's most distinguished alumnus, Edgar Allan Poe, who receives a few suggestive pages; the influence of the institution on higher and secondary education with valuable sketches of ante-bellum and post-bellum headmasters; the evolution of academic degrees—but such a list tends to be as tiresome as it is valueless.

As was to have been expected, the fourth volume has much more to say about athletics than its predecessors found to be necessary. An unathletic elderly alumnus has only admiration for the sympathy and knowledge Dr. Bruce displays in his treatment of this somewhat parlous topic in modern educational history; and, if more strenuous and

youthful alumni are not satisfied with what they get, they may be recommended to read the odes of Pindar in the original. The learning of Professor Gildersleeve will be of service to such as follow this advice, which suggests the fact that the portraits of some of the early professors —for example, Gildersleeve himself, Sylvester the mathematician, George Frederick Holmes, another transplanted scholar who is still the present writer's standard for wide and deep erudition, and John B. Minor, the famous teacher of law—ought to be the subject of special mention. As with the preceding volumes, the proofreading, although not precisely impeccable, is very good; and we may expect that the concluding fifth volume will be furnished with the elaborately thorough index which so important a work obviously demands.

W. P. Trent.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918. Volume II. *Autobiography of Martin Van Buren.* Edited by J. C. Fitzpatrick. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1920. Pp. 808.)

Van Buren's *Autobiography* is a better book than most people expected from the writer, but it leaves something to be desired. Similarly, it reveals Van Buren as a more effective political leader than many of us thought he was, while at the same time it shows us a man with serious shortcomings. The book is a faithful and unconscious reflection of the man. Van Buren was lacking in political courage, which is to say he lacked the power to outline a policy and make other people think it right. He did not lead in the realm of ideas. He talked much about old republican ideals, and there is reason to believe that in some important crises he acted in conformity with such ideals, as in the matter of internal improvements. But such crises never arose through his forcing them into the foreground. They were ever the results of the actions of other men. It was his failing that he lacked originality.

On the other hand, he possessed more than most men in public life the power of keeping steady a political situation, once it had been created. He was calm, self-controlled, vigilant, and personally kind and conciliating. He did not lose himself in the excitement of the moment. He came into eminence in the wake of other men, solving their problems for them. Crawford first, and Jackson second, were the men who gave him the opportunity to display his great and peculiar talents. None were ever better served by their lieutenants than they by him. After a while it happened through unexpected fortune that he himself had in his hands the helm of state. He held it in a most uncertain and ineffective manner. His task was to bind up the loose ends of the bank controversy. Jackson placed the government in his hands and pointed out the subtreasury as the means of closing up the matter in hand. Van Buren

accepted the suggestions. But he got nothing done until his administration was nearly at an end. It seems that nothing would have been done at all if Jackson in retirement had not moved heaven and earth to get the men in Congress to pass the measure before the election. As it was, the subtreasury did not have time to commend itself to the country before the election of 1840, and the result was a Democratic defeat. Van Buren who did so much, as his book well shows, to make Jackson's administration run smoothly was not able to give any driving force to his own administration. Herein is his great strength and weakness, all of which appears in his *Autobiography*.

The things one misses in the book are discussions of large matters. As Jackson's closest adviser, at least before 1833, he was in close association with some of the largest things in our political history. Nullification, the renewal of the bank charter, the removal of the Southern Indians, and internal improvements, were matters of first magnitude. I do not think you will find in the book two consecutive pages on any one of these topics, as such. There are many allusions to each, but in general they come up by way of someone's personality. If there is just exception to this statement it is in regard to internal improvements, about which a long and interesting story is told in explanation of the veto of the Maysville Bill. On such a question as nullification, the writer is mixed in his ideas. It may seem that he was trying to conceal his position. But it is more likely that he had no definite policy about it and that he tells us just what came into his mind in regard to it, something one day and something else another, as the incidents unrolled themselves. That was his kind of a mind. Hence it results that the book is lacking in architectural form, although there is a wealth of pleasing incident. One cannot read it without interest, but one must ponder it well and rearrange in his own mind the order in which the matter is presented before it yields him a considerable amount of instruction. When all is done he will probably conclude that the new information is about men rather than about things, and that the most striking acquisition he has made is a wider and better knowledge of the manner of political intrigue and the vast importance it has as a factor in history.

The editing by Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, has been done with commendable care. The index, so essential in a book like this, is comprehensive. It is to be regretted that Van Buren did not have some chapter heads, although it is difficult to see how they could have been arranged in a work that rambles so much at will. The editor has, naturally, refused to supply them. Van Buren broke off his narrative abruptly in 1835. His editor thinks he did not intend to carry it further. While discussing the charges that the bank paid Webster for his support, the book ends suddenly. Mr. Fitzpatrick's surmise may be right; it would have been in keeping with Van Buren's method of writing to end his story abruptly without warning to the reader.

The Life of Whitelaw Reid. By Royal Cortissoz. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. x, 424; 472. $10.00.)

Of the great editors who adorned the period of the Civil War, only Horace Greeley trained up to succeed him another worthy of membership in the same group. Henry Watterson, Horace White, Murat Halstead, and Samuel Bowles finished their work, leaving no real successors; but Greeley followed the writing of Whitelaw Reid during the war, captured him for the *Tribune* in 1868, and when he died left him in so commanding a position that the owners of the paper made Reid editor. "I hope the Lord will give me to see the day when a good newspaper will command itself", wrote Charles Dudley Warner to Reid on the eve of his elevation to Greeley's chair. In Reid's hands the *Tribune* did command itself for nearly forty years. It became for the historian the most consistent and authoritative source for Republicanism among the American journals. Yet it did not lose its high degree of independence, and kept from becoming the organ of any faction. Reid, at the helm, posed as a kingmaker and looked the part. He advised with presidents, nearly conceding their equality with the *Tribune* as American institutions. And he rounded out the incessant labors of the editor with the activities of the country gentleman, the eager citizen, the financier, and the diplomat.

The writer of this admirable biography was long an editorial associate of Reid, and has brought to the task trained skill as a man of letters. The book is interesting beyond most American biographies, since Thayer's *Hay*. It is based on "unrestricted access" to Reid's correspondence, more profitable since it was "a trait of his to preserve his correspondence with the utmost care". It is put together with a skill that makes it a veracious portrait of the *Tribune* and its policies. Its only defect (which is perhaps not a defect in such a work) is the deep underlying conviction that the *Tribune* and Reid were always right.

Most of the facts given in the biography are, of course, already known to specialists, but even these have reason to be grateful for the careful assembling of evidence. Occasionally new facts of importance are brought to light. There are many fresh letters bearing upon the Blaine-Conkling rivalry, and some of them will help to clear up doubtful points in the history of Garfield's ill-fated administration. The devotion of Reid to Blaine did not prevent the giving of sound and undesired advice (I. 378). The tragedy of Blaine's own career is pointed by Blaine's keen analysis of the collapse of the reputation of Henry Clay (I. 377). Reid thought that, in 1884, Blaine "won, morally, an extraordinary success" (II. 99).

The diplomatic career of Reid furnishes interesting chapters in the second volume, where various passages that reveal him reluctantly accepting office invite comparison with Thayer's dicta upon his chronic

place-hunting. At Paris, at the peace conference with Spain, and at London, Reid showed the same assurance that guided his pen in the editorial office. His career does much to reconcile one to the American habit of picking ambassadors outside the diplomatic corps. Few Americans of Reid's day had a more successful life, or deserved it more.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

How America Went to War. By BENEDICT CROWELL, Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Munitions, 1917–1920, and ROBERT FORREST WILSON, formerly Captain, U. S. A. In six volumes. I. *The Giant Hand: our Mobilization and Control of Industry and Natural Resources, 1917–1918;* II., III. *The Road to France: The Transportation of Troops and Military Supplies, 1917–1918.* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xxx, 191; xi, 307; 311–675. Set of six vols. $42.00.)

THESE volumes are the first three of a series of six being published under the general title *How America went to War,* and which a subtitle declares to be "an account from official sources of the Nation's war activities, 1917–1920". The real aim of the series seems to be less ambitious, though the matter is left uncertain, since the preface declares that all the volumes except the first, which deals with the War Industries Board, are concerned with activities most of which fell within the administrative province of the Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Munitions, who is, incidentally, a co-author. Another prefatory sentence announces, furthermore, that the story presented comes not only from the official documents and files, but also from the memories of the men who did the work. These circumstances are worth noting, because they furnish a clue both to the incompleteness of the volume as a comprehensive account of the enterprises described, and to the subjective and superficial nature of many of the comments on events and personalities.

In fairness it should be stated that the intention apparently has been to produce a narrative account of our participation which would appeal to the general reader. From this standpoint the three volumes are reasonably successful. In few places is the reading hard, and some chapters, such as those on convoying, camouflage, and submarine adventures, are distinctly interesting. The volumes are, furthermore, well printed, and the illustrations are excellent.

The first volume, dealing with the War Industries Board, gives a general idea of the board's functions, organization, and personnel. The foreword embodies a sharp attack on the President, Secretary of War, and the War Department for failure to take suitable steps in anticipation of our entrance into the war, and for lack of proper organi-

zation and sufficient vigor during our participation in the year 1917. The thesis is developed that if the results of our industrial war effort were disappointing, the cause was the administration's failure to order the goods in time, and that there was no failure of industry itself. While the administration must bear the full responsibility for its deficiencies, it would seem that the authors' judgments of industry are too laudatory. No mention is made, for example, of the airplane fiasco, which certainly was not chargeable to a lack of ordering by the administration, nor of ill-advised policies—such as "business as usual", advocated late in 1917 by certain business leaders.

One cannot help feeling, furthermore, that the volume suffers from a too-great reliance on interviews with the persons involved, each of whom is depicted as about the happiest choice possible for his job. A greater number, and a more diversified selection of points of view, might have been drawn on with advantage, and a more critical attitude might well have been taken toward the information elicited.

The second and third volumes, jointly called *The Road to France,* deal with the transportation of troops and military supplies. The preface to these volumes, in the course of some rather remarkable phraseology, manages to convey the impression that transportation was in some substantial manner a function of the Assistant Secretary of War. This impression surely is misleading. The volume starts with a forced and unfair comparison between the early embarkations of troops during the Spanish War, and the routine movement established in 1918 after approximately a year's experience. Not until the reader has gone further does he begin to discover that the first embarkations in 1917 were conducted under conditions of confusion rivalling those of the earlier war.

Part I. of *The Road to France,* entitled "The Land", describes the railroad movement of troops and freight in this country. The account is interesting, and gives a good general idea of how the thing came off, although it is not without those defects of method noted in connection with *The Giant Hand.* A chapter is inserted endorsing the work of the Railroad Administration.

Part II., "The Port", deals with handling of troops at the ports, and with the organizations of the Embarkation Service. Here the reader should accept many of the statements regarding responsibility and credit with extreme reserve, since the emphasis has been distributed in a very doubtful manner. This condition probably arose innocently and as a result of the method used in collecting the information. A striking example in point, however, is that in no part of the account of overseas transportation, or in any of the three volumes under review, for that matter, is any mention made of General March, although Secretary Weeks, in accepting the general's request for retirement, wrote, on June 14, 1921: "I especially wish to mention your success in directing the transportation of troops to Europe during the war, which was a service

of great magnitude and in which you accomplished really remarkable results." It is also doubtful if the statement on page 241, to the effect that the Embarkation Service and its director were the decisive factor in the acquisition of the Dutch tonnage, can be accepted without proof.

Part III., "The Sea", contains interesting chapters on the navy's part in the movement, convoying, the preparation of the troop fleet, and the Shipping Control Committee. A decidedly one-sided view of the functions of the latter is presented, a surprising omission being the absence of any reference to the War Trade Board's large part in determining what commodities the committee should haul. The account also goes too far in conveying an impression that the army's needs were satisfactorily met, omitting to mention, for example, the shortages in the shipment of trucks and animals, which were made manifest during the Argonne struggle. Credit is also given the Embarkation Service for studies of ocean-trade and shipping conditions which actually were made by the Shipping Board and the War Trade Board. The accounts of our dealings with the Allied Maritime Transport Council border, in places, on the fanciful. The three volumes, in fact, display a tendency to detract from the British attitude and accomplishments, which is in decidedly poor taste. On page 330 this reaches the ridiculous in a grotesque statistical comparison of troop-ship performance.

Altogether it is difficult to know just how to place these volumes. They might win recommendation as a popular account of our part in the war were it not for the errors, omissions, and distortions to which the reader would be exposed. Certainly they cannot be accepted as a well-balanced, critical examination of our effort. The fundamental defect is a too ready and enthusiastic acceptance of stories derived from too few of the principal figures involved.

F. Schneider, jr.

MINOR NOTICES

La Doctrine Scholastique du Droit de Guerre. Par Alfred Vanderpol. (Paris, A. Pedone, 1919, pp. xxviii, 534.) The present work, in which the author aims to show the traditional and, in a certain sense, unvarying, character of the Christian doctrine on war, is divided into three parts. Part I. gives an exposé of the scholastic doctrine on war under the following headings: is war permitted to Christians?; the legitimacy of war; the definition of just war; the just cause; the authority necessary to declare war; the right intention; obligations of princes and subjects; consequences of the doctrine and the rights of the victor.

This part is itself written in the scholastic style. Objections are answered first, and then the proper principles are briefly and clearly laid down, supported by abundant and judiciously selected excerpts from the Fathers of the Church, the theologians, and the canonists.

Part II. outlines the history of the scholastic doctrine on war from

the Old Testament through the Christians of the first three centuries, St. Augustine and St. Thomas, the applications of, and departures from, the doctrine from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, down to the theologians of the last three centuries.

Part III. contains as *pièces justificatives* translations of relevant portions of Gratian's *Decretum* and St. Thomas's *Summa,* together with Victoria's *De Jure Belli* and *De Indis* and Suarez's *De Bello* in their entirety. An appendix outlines the doctrine of Suarez on international law. An analytical table is also appended.

Professor Émile Chenon, of the Faculty of Law of Paris, contributes a good-sized preface, in which is given a detailed account of the author's life and works. Alfred Marie Vanderpol, whom the celebrated Belgian statesman Bernaert once called "le chevalier de la paix", was born in 1854 and died in 1915. Although an engineer by profession, he had received his licentiate in law, and was an energetic leader in peace movements in France and Belgium. The Ligue Belge pour la Paix and the Union Internationale (founded in 1912, with headquarters at Louvain) were fostered, if not actually founded, by him. One of his friends, at his solicitation, supplied the funds necessary for the establishment at Louvain of a chair of international law according to Christian principles. Until his death he was closely identified with the Ligue des Catholiques Français pour la Paix, of which he was president, and in whose bulletin he began his apostolate of the pen.

The material collected in the present volume and published posthumously had previously been presented to the public in various smaller publications of the author, such as *Le Droit de Guerre d'après les Théologiens et les Canonistes du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1911), *La Guerre devant le Christianisme* (Brussels, no date), and articles in the *Bulletin de la Société Gratry* (which became, in 1910, the *Bulletin de la Ligue des Catholiques Français pour la Paix*). The volume at hand supplies a positive want in the literature of international law, with regard to its history, its founders, and its relation to Christianity. The author's death shortly after the outbreak of the war, followed within a few years by the death of that indefatigable worker among the scholastic jurists, Ernest Nys, leaves a distinct gap among the cultivators of this field of international law.

HERBERT F. WRIGHT.

Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Von R. Reitzenstein. (Bonn, A. Marcus and E. Weber, 1921, pp. xii, 272, M. 45.) The period of the first two Christian centuries is well known as an age when a welter of creeds and sects prevailed in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. These movements and their influences can no more be neglected by the student of history in general, than they can by the student of theology. Early Christianity had to contend not only as a rival against historic Judaism, but with

Hellenism, fading Mithraism, the Mandaean religion with its survivals of old Babylonian beliefs, and had soon to confront a more formidable rival to itself in the rise of Manichaeism. Persian ideas filled the atmosphere at the time, and Zoroastrianism was about entering upon an era of revival which restored much of its pristine glory.

A book like Reitzenstein's *Das Iranische Erlösungsmysterium,* which emphasizes the significance of Persian influence upon the ideas of redemption during these ages, is therefore important; and in it the scholarly author has followed in his method of investigation the lines of the well-known work of Bousset on Gnosticism and its problems, the volume being dedicated to Bousset's memory.

The author deals first, in a critical manner, with some of the new and valuable material which has recently become available through the discovery in Turfan, Chinese Turkestan, of the long-lost bible of Mani. The importance of these finds is still too little known to Christian theologians. A lengthy treatment is next given of the doctrine of the soul and related matters in the Mandaean religion, including the Mandaean Book of the Dead. Deductions of a religious and historical character are then drawn, and extensive supplementary material with regard to the doctrine of the Aeon and of the Eternal City is added in two elaborate appendixes.

With reference to Manichaeism, the author has enjoyed the advantage of drawing upon some of the Turfan fragments that have not yet been published in the texts hitherto made available by the Berlin scholars F. W. K. Müller and A. von Le Coq; and he has had likewise philological assistance from the Iranian specialist Andreas, of Göttingen. Among the fragments still awaiting publication in detail is a so-called "Zarathushtra-Fragment", which contains a portion of a Manichaean hymn that cites from Zoroaster. This is introduced in translation by Reitzenstein, and made the starting-point for his main thesis of Iranian influence on the redemption idea. With regard, furthermore, to Mandaean sources, the learned professor has derived much help from the work of his colleague Lidzbarski, who has done so much to make the Mandaean literature accessible in translation.

On the whole, although exceptions may be taken to certain views, or though opinions may differ on particular points, the author must certainly be accredited with having succeeded in showing that, in addition to recognizing the presence of other elements, scholars should lay due stress also on the Persian influence upon the doctrine of the mystery of the redemption. In doing this, Dr. Reitzenstein's great erudition enables him to bring together a vast mass of material drawn from the many branches of knowledge of which he is a master; but the weight of learning often makes the text rather heavy reading, and sometimes difficult to follow.

A. V. Williams Jackson.

Marcus Aurelius: a Biography. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. 309, $2.75.) "In this little book my purpose is to provide those people for whom the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius contain a deep religious meaning, with such introductory information about him, his character, his religion, and his life, as I think, judging from my own experience, they may desire." This charmingly written sketch is to be judged in the light of its aim as set forth in these words from its preface. Mr. Sedgwick writes from the point of view of the twentieth century and its religious perplexities, and with no great technical equipment. He has read the literary sources, but he nowhere cites an inscription. For instance, he quotes Livy's account of the prosecution of the Bacchanalians under the Republic, but apparently he has never heard of the extant Senatus-consultum de Bacchanalibus (pp. 220 ff.). He has no clear conception of the imperial constitution, else he would hardly have expressed his surprise at the democratic manners of the Antonines (pp. 105 ff.), or at the denial of a triumph to an imperial legate (p. 151). Naturally he leaves the reader without any definite picture of the routine work which Marcus Aurelius as emperor was called upon to perform. A trained Latinist will experience a humorous twinge on finding the aristocratic Fronto referred to as Marcus Aurelius's "pedagogue". The three chapters which Mr. Sedgwick devotes to the exculpation of his hero from the charge of being a foe to Christianity contain only one new suggestion, namely, that the unpopularity of the Christians with the Roman lower classes may have been due in part to the fact that the Christians spoke and wrote in Greek. Mr. Sedgwick is evidently unacquainted with the epigraphic evidence which proves that the lower classes in Rome were largely recruited from the Greek-speaking East. Similar inaccuracies and inadequacies might easily be pointed out. Nevertheless, Mr. Sedgwick has furnished the general reader with an interesting account of the literary and spiritual life of the Middle Empire. In an appendix he gives a descriptive bibliography of the ancient literary sources, and lists a number of the best modern books upon the subjects treated.

DONALD MCFAYDEN.

Recueil des Actes des Rois de Provence, 855–928. Par René Poupardin, Directeur à l'École Pratique des Hautes-Études, Secrétaire de l'École des Chartes. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1920, pp. lviii, 155, 23 fr.) When in the late nineties the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres undertook the publication of its splendid collection of definitive editions of documentary sources to be known as *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France,* it was planned that the section containing the charters of West Frankish and French kings from 840 to 1223 should include also those of the kings of Aquitaine from 814 to 866 and of the kings of Provence and Burgundy from 855 to 1032;

and the editorship of the volumes on Provence and Burgundy was intrusted to René Poupardin (see preface by d'Arbois de Jubainville, in Prou's *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France*[1], Paris, 1908). The first of M. Poupardin's volumes now lies before us, and it is entirely worthy of the great series of which it forms a part. The editor has already distinguished himself by two admirable volumes on the kings of Provence and Burgundy in the ninth and tenth centuries, and has consequently long been a student of the documents which he now brings to publication. The plan adopted is the same as that of the *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Ier, Roi de France,* by Maurice Prou, with which the series was inaugurated in 1908, and which has rightly served as a model for succeeding volumes. This volume contains the documents of Charles of Provence, Boso, and Louis l'Aveugle—only 59 charters all told, and some of these are suspect or clearly forgeries; but the collection is a precious one nevertheless, because of the paucity of other sources for the period. M. Poupardin's introduction is a model of what such diplomatic studies should be. One conclusion from it may be especially noted. It is impossible to say that there was continuity of chancery organization from one reign to another in the kingdom of Provence during this troubled period. But all the royal charters here published were drawn up in the chancery: there is no reason to suppose that any of them were drafted in the local ecclesiastical establishments in whose favor they were issued and then brought to the chancery for confirmation and the affixing of the royal seal.

C. W. David.

Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning. By Reginald Lane Poole. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920, pp. xiii, 327. Second ed. revised.) The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has done well to reprint these scholarly and thoughtful essays, and especially, since their author, now released from the *English Historical Review,* finds time to revise this work of his early manhood. But the revision, his preface tells us, "has been designedly made with a sparing hand, and the book remains in substance and in most details a work not of 1920 but of 1884". The words "and learning", added to the title, imply no addition to the contents, but only describe them more truly. In the few foot-notes added or expanded the new matter is carefully bracketed. Only in the chapter on the school of Chartres and in that on Abelard has new evidence made necessary serious change in the text. Elsewhere a foot-note suffices, as where the statement as to the slightness of Marsiglio's direct influence is modified in deference to the continuous strain of testimony pointed out by Mr. Sullivan.

Mr. Poole's preface tells us, too, how he came to write the book—mainly at Leipzig and at Zurich while a travelling fellow on the

[1] See this *Review,* XIV. 101 ff.

Hibbert Foundation—and to whom he was most indebted for suggestion. Lechler, the church historian, it appears, set him reading Reuter's *Aufklärung im Mittelalter*; and to Reuter, though he will not confess to learning much from his "exaggerated and often distorted presentment of facts", he owed references to the sources and an outline for the first half of his book. And it was in preparation for the editing of Wycliffe's treatises *On Dominion,* to which he was invited by the society then forming at Leipzig, that from John of Salisbury onward his studies restricted themselves to political theory. Perhaps it was in reaction against Reuter, whose title may well have seemed to him too pretentious, that his own book, as he says, "made no claim to be a coherent history", though it is by no means without reason that "it has sometimes been mistaken for one".

G. L. B.

Macmillan's Historical Atlas of Modern Europe. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History in King's College, University of London. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1920, pp. 29, 6s.) This useful little atlas contains eleven skilfully drawn and unusually clear maps, with explanatory notes devoted chiefly to the history of Europe since 1815. While it is doubtless true that the omission of physical features enhances clearness, one is tempted respectfully to question Professor Hearnshaw's contention that the addition of physical to political features is impossible without "inextricable confusion". This difficult combination has been accomplished repeatedly of late, to the pleasure and profit of countless users of maps.

The scholarly and suggestive notes lose something of interest and clearness because of rigid condensation. This is well illustrated on page 13, where Venice is included among the "walled towns" remaining under the authority of the Byzantine emperor after the Lombard invasion of 568—as if there were a clearly defined city of Venice either walled or unwalled at that time. Again (p. 11), we find Tuscany classed with Lombardy among the states under the "direct" rule of Leopold II. in 1792. Nor is any distinction made between independence and autonomy, as applied to the status of Bulgaria under the Treaty of Berlin.

Greece did not acquire "all of Epirus" by the settlement of 1913 (p. 16), being compelled to evacuate Northern Epirus. The editor follows the rather confusing general practice of interchanging the terms Austria and Austria-Hungary. For example, Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied, administered, and later annexed by Austria and Hungary jointly. One or two trifling slips, probably typographical, may be noted. East Prussia was secularized in 1525, not in 1528 (p. 7), and Frederick William of Wied should be William Frederick (p. 16). But who cares about the precise name of the amusing *Mpret*?

The most useful map is that of Europe after the Peace Treaties, 1919–1920. Altogether, the *Atlas* is a decidedly welcome aid to the student.

WILLIAM A. FRAYER.

The Art of War in Italy, 1494–1529. By F. L. Taylor, M.A., M.C., St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1921, pp. 228, $5.00.) The theme of this valuable little book, which won the Prince Consort Essay Prize in 1920, is the development in Italy during the early Italian wars of strategy, tactics, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and the art of fortification. There is inevitably a considerable repetition of similar material in the several chapters.

With a constant use of the best contemporary material, mostly Italian, but with proper attention to French, Spanish, and German sources, Mr. Taylor has produced an instructive study in the growth of Renaissance thought along one particular line. And it is worthy of note that in this line the most practical results were reached by Spaniards. In his last chapter, indeed, he analyzes the work of the best-known theorists of the period upon the art of war, and of them two are Italian, Giambattista della Valle and Machiavelli, and the third a half-Frenchman, Philip the Duke of Cleves. But in most respects, Mr. Taylor's book is an exposition of the manner in which the keen intelligence of the Great Captain and of Pescara won Italy for Spain.

In 1494 there were, he shows, two schools of warfare: that of the French crusaders, which accepted battle on the enemy's terms, for love of a fight; and that of the Italian *condottieri,* which tried to avoid all fighting and win by pure manoeuvre. Gonsalvo began, and Pescara completed, an art of war which sought by scientific strategy the best opportunity to destroy the enemy's forces. The victories on the Garigliano and at Pavia were the result.

In 1494 the Swiss pikemen were, as infantry, supreme, although despised by the feudal gentry. The Spaniards accepted from the Swiss the use of infantry as the chief arm, but, by substituting the sword and musket for the pike, made their infantry more mobile. In artillery the French were in 1494, and remained in 1529, superior to the Spanish; but they lost this advantage by less intelligent tactics.

In an appendix, perhaps to counterbalance the Spanish element elsewhere, is a careful and detailed study, with maps, of Gaston de Foix's great victory at Ravenna.

To the reviewer, it would seem that value would have been added to the book by a comparison of these developments in the West with contemporary developments among the Ottoman Turks.

British Beginnings in Western India, 1579–1657: an Account of the Early Days of the British Factory of Surat. By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., Indian Educational Service. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. 158.)

Under the correct but somewhat forbidding title of *British Beginnings in Western India, 1579–1657*, Mr. H. G. Rawlinson has concealed a valuable and most interesting book. For he has written the early story of Surat, provided with a historical introduction, relating the beginnings of European expansion, with the usual references to Sighelm, Sir John Mandeville, and Stevens, concerning which last interesting figure he gives a fuller account than is commonly found. Thereafter the narrative follows the fortunes of the English station with minute care, and provides perhaps the best account of the beginnings of the East India Company to be found within the same space anywhere. Hawkins and his mission, the conflicts with the Portuguese, Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, the development of the Surat factory and its business, the Interlopers, and the Dutch war, with a chapter on Life in the English Factory in the Seventeenth Century—these give not only a full but a vivid picture of this profitable and romantic beginning of British power in India.

Nor is this all; for two features of the little volume add much to its value and interest. The first is a series of appendixes, which contain material as various as an account of the tombs in the English cemetery at Surat, the factory pay-bills, the form of a "Bill of Adventure" issued by the East India Company for the fourth voyage, a list of the voyages and their profits (from 95 to 234 per cent.), and extracts from Thévenot's account of Surat, published in 1727. The second is a list of illustrations, which, if given somewhat too much to tombs, includes such interesting views as those of the old fort and the old factory, which may profitably be compared, by those who are interested, with the seventeenth-century Dutch views of their posts and those of the Portuguese, especially the splendid view of Surat as exhibited in Dapper's *Asia*, which the author apparently, and, if so, unfortunately, does not know.

Apart from the intrinsic interest and value of such a history of "the corner-stone of the British Empire in India" as a contribution to our knowledge of the subject itself (and that contribution is great), Mr. Rawlinson has, in a sense, done much to produce a new *genre* in English historical writing. He has given us a study in imperial local history, which is sorely needed to correct and amplify those vast and useful compilations, written, as it were, from above, by showing us just how and why "imperial" policies worked or did not work—and how little consciously imperial they were, after all. For the East India Company of the seventeenth century, whatever its imperial connotations and implications, was a very human and concrete thing, not a great national enterprise looking toward the acquisition of the British Raj, nor the result of profound, far-seeing policy of expansion, as might be assumed from many writings on the subject, especially those flowing from Continental pens. To such a view books like these are a salutary corrective. And the British Empire is fortunate in the possession of historians like

Mr. Rawlinson, who can write books on such subjects in such admirable and entertaining fashion.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

The Puritans in Ireland, 1647–1661. By the Reverend St. John D. Seymour, B.D. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. XII.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. xiv, 239.) Mr. Seymour in the little volume under review has done a thoroughly competent piece of historical investigation. He has taken up the ecclesiastical history of Ireland during the period of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth, with extensive and painstaking use of the manuscript "Commonwealth Books" in the Public Record Office, Dublin. He has thrown a flood of new light on an obscure and heretofore little investigated period in the religious history of Ireland, and has made evident the purposes of the Puritan party, the actual working of the Puritan government in religious affairs, and the personnel and work of its appointees.

Mr. Seymour declares, "I have written from the standpoint of a clergyman of the Church of Ireland but have treated all the other Protestant denominations of the period, I hope, with scrupulous fairness." It seems to the reviewer that his claim has been absolutely justified. No one could have been more fair-minded and impartial than he, or more objective in his estimates of the qualities, good and bad, of the ministers whom governmental authority substituted for those of the older church during this troublesome period.

> There has indeed been a tendency on the part of some modern writers to decry the "ministers of the Gospel" *en masse* . . . how uncritical and inaccurate such generalizing is can easily be shown. . . . Nobody would pretend that all the ministers were saints; some passages in the dry Commonwealth records would be quite sufficient to refute such an idea. But men like Winter, Mather, Worth, Adair, must have been powerful instruments for good in the land; while, from the little that we know about Edward Wale, it may safely be inferred that many of those preachers who were so utterly obscure that nothing is known of them except their names were fully deserving of the title "Ministers of the Gospel".

It is to be hoped that Mr. Seymour will continue his studies in the religious history of Ireland.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn. With a Commentary by H. Maynard Smith. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. XI.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920, pp. xx, 182.) In the year 1818 were published the *Memoirs* of one John Evelyn, an English gentleman of wide acquaintance, travels, and interest in gardening, some literary skill, and social position, a familiar figure in late seventeenth-century England. Thus rescued from oblivion, his labors became a standard

source of quotation for literary and historical investigators, a much-read and moderately enjoyed piece of antiquarian literature, and a book which no gentleman's library could be without. It has run through some five or six editions during the past century, and has doubtless proved of some pleasure and even profit to its readers. Among other things, it inspired the publication of a much greater book of the same kind, Samuel Pepys's *Diary*. And now, after a hundred years, Mr. H. Maynard Smith has provided us with a volume drawn from this source which is as fine an example of the still thriving school of antiquarianism as one is likely to discover in much reading. For he has taken a fragment of the whole work, that which begins with Evelyn's birth and ends with his departure from England on his travels in 1641, and edited it after the great manner of Bayle—something less than twenty pages of large-print text, something more than a hundred and fifty pages of finer-print notes and index. It is a work of love and devotion, as every page testifies, and Mr. Smith has not only produced an extraordinarily minute and informing body of notes, but he has had an extraordinarily good time doing it, while his various contributions to a more intimate knowledge of the times are of great interest and value. It is true that he denies Nathaniel Hawthorne a final *e* in his name, but Hawthorne was, of course, an American. It is also true that the name Cromwell, which plays some part in the book proper, does not appear in the index, but Evelyn was, of course, a strong Royalist. And it might be possible to enlarge the list of such minor criticisms. But no student of the early seventeenth century, and no one interested in cross-sections of life in any period, but must be grateful to Mr. Smith for his entertaining and useful book—and envy him for the leisure which has enabled him to produce it, and the pleasure which he has afforded himself and others by the use of that leisure. It is only to be regretted that the attitude of the Evelyn family toward those scholars who have at various times sought to edit the *Memoirs* has made a definitive edition impossible.

England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century. By John Alexander Kelly, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1921, pp. 156, $1.25.) Anglomania prevailed in Germany throughout the eighteenth century. J. G. B. Büschel, in his *Neue Reisen eines Deutschen nach und in England im Jahre 1783* (Berlin, 1784), took the lead, but was ably seconded by many other writers. The beauty of English landscape, especially of the English park; the vigor, manliness, and self-reliance of the English men, the loveliness of the women; the "naturalness" of English literature; English religious toleration, but beyond everything else, the freedom of English institutions with their corollaries, freedom from petty restrictions in the methods of education and in social relations, and the high status granted great scholars and great artists, including even actors and actresses—

all these advantages filled the vast majority of observers with almost lyrical enthusiasm and made them forget or at least readily forgive English national conceit and contempt of foreigners, English taciturnity and moroseness, English brutality, and even the absence of the artistic and especially of the musical instinct. These facts Dr. Kelly has diligently assembled and clearly and convincingly set forth in his monograph, basing his conclusions on abundant and well-selected material.

The name of Goethe, curiously enough, appears only twice, although his opinions of the English have not long since been collected and published. Again, something might have been said of Germans or German-Swiss, like Füseli, Sir Joshua Reynolds's successor in the Royal Academy, who settled in England and rose to prominence there. The generosity shown such foreigners can hardly have failed to impress their friends at home. More serious is Dr. Kelly's failure to affiliate German anglomania of the eighteenth century with the great European movements of the time. Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais* are not even mentioned, and one looks in vain for the name of Montesquieu. Thus German anglomania appears as a provincial whim, whereas, as a matter of fact, it came about under the sway of a great international urge. England, in the seventeenth century less interesting to the Continent than even Sweden, in consequence of the glowing descriptions of the liberality of English political institutions and religious toleration, found in the letters of French Huguenots exiled after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, suddenly assumed peak importance to the generation of Bayle, just then preparing to throw off the shackles of feudalism, Jesuitism, and artificiality in literature and art. And something like a "myth of noble England" spread in all countries, an interesting compound of sound truth and fantastic exaggeration.

Yet, in spite of these omissions, Dr. Kelly's monograph furnishes welcome material for a better appreciation of Germany's part in limning that picture of England which did so much to overthrow an oppressive creed outworn.

CAMILLO VON KLENZE.

Robespierre, Terroriste. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Dijon. (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 191, 4 fr.) The volume contains seven essays, entitled "Robespierre, Terroriste"; "Le Banquier Boyd et ses Amis"; "Le Carnet de Robespierre"; "Les Notes de Robespierre contre les Dantonistes"; "Danton et Durand"; "Les deux Versions du Procès des Hébertistes"; "Pourquoi nous sommes Robespierristes". The first six had appeared during the years 1918–1920, in the *Annales Révolutionnaires,* the official publication of the Société des Études Robespierristes. The last appeared in the *Grande Revue,* and served as the first of two addresses given at the École des Hautes Études Sociales, in 1920. The first essay in this series of studies served as the second lecture.

Mathiez has worked on the history of Robespierre during a period of twenty years and has published several important books and many valuable articles on this subject. His thesis is that Robespierre was the greatest statesman of the French Revolution, and that the so-called reign of terror was necessary to save the Republic. The experiences of the recent war have confirmed him and his fellow-members of the Société des Études Robespierristes, which was founded in 1908, in the soundness of their position. The severe measures adopted by the French government during the late war were less justified than those of the reign of terror. More men were actually shot who afterwards were found innocent of the charges made against them, than were put to death during the reign of terror. During the Revolution the government worked upon a more democratic basis. The accused received a more careful and fair trial. The National Convention remained in session, and the regular—the civil—courts properly functioned. During the late war, however, the legislative bodies did not meet for months at a time, and the civil courts were limited in their powers. The administrative and military courts were in control. Illegal measures were less justified when the country was united. During the reign of terror the internal dissensions threatened the government with civil war. Not only was the very existence of the French Republic at stake, but the cause of democracy itself was on trial. The reign of terror has been greatly exaggerated, and Robespierre's part in it misrepresented. His influence was consistently in favor of moderation. It was the extremists who plotted his death. During his lifetime and for fifty years thereafter the name Robespierre was synonymous with the word democracy. His teachings are a vital political and social force to-day. We may learn from him the meaning of true democracy. One of the objects of the Société des Études Robespierristes is the promulgation of the democratic conception of Robespierre.

CARL CHRISTOPHELSMEIER.

Sir Francis d'Ivernois, 1757–1842: sa Vie, son Oeuvre et son Temps. Par Otto Karmin. (Geneva, Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, 1920, pp. xv, 730, 15 fr.) This is an elaborate biography of a character who played an important part in European politics in the period of revolution and restoration, and whose activities were marked with distinction by more than one government. Starting as an agitator for the freedom of Geneva from the domination of France and of local aristocracy, he suffered exile in the first disasters of that movement, but eventually he was called into the counsels of the allied powers, and afterward occupied high official position in his native country.

As a publicist his writings on political and economic questions attracted such wide attention that his views were either sought or opposed, not only in Switzerland, but in England, France, Russia, and

Spain, while his historical reviews of conditions in his own day furnish valuable material for the investigator of that period.

Picturesque, in fact, are some of the plans which he advanced for the relief of Geneva from reactionary control. One was a colony of the oppressed to be planted under the British flag at Waterford, Ireland. The corner-stone was laid but the scheme met with political opposition, as well as internal difficulties, and came to naught. Thoughts of going to Canada, likewise, had no result, and the events of the French Revolution swept him into their current.

His acts and his writings on the revolutionary movement in Geneva marked him for reactionary attack, and it was in the depths of this that he proposed to move the whole University of Geneva to America. The story of his connection with Jefferson and others in this enterprise has been frequently related, but interesting light is furnished by a long letter to Adams, here printed, in which complete details of the proposed organization are given. The author rather belittles the importance of the scheme and magnifies the coolness of the Americans, but the documents quoted do not warrant such an attitude.

For his services as diplomatic agent and financial adviser, d'Ivernois received from the English government the title which gives the rather unusual combination in his name. His pecuniary rewards were not large, and the connection subjected him to attack by the parliamentary opposition. The importance of the public matters in which he was engaged is revealed in the extensive bibliography appended to this work. The wide international character of his labors justifies this biographical account of the history of the period.

J. M. Vincent.

David Urquhart: Some Chapters in the Life of a Victorian Knight-Errant of Justice and Liberty. By Gertrude Robinson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920, pp. xii, 328, $5.00.) David Urquhart was one of those Englishmen who go crusading for oppressed peoples and forlorn causes. A volunteer in the Greek war of independence, he was later appointed secretary of embassy at Constantinople, where, by learning Turkish and adopting the Turkish manner of living, he won the confidence of the Porte, and negotiated the draft of a commercial treaty with terms very favorable to England. But his chiefs did not take kindly to his methods, dispensed with his services, and accepted a less advantageous treaty. Urquhart attributed his dismissal to Russian intrigues. Henceforth he regarded the Slavic power as the enemy of European civilization, which it aimed to undermine by revolution as the prelude to Russian domination. For forty years Russia played in Urquhart's mind the rôle that a later generation assigned to Germany, and he repeatedly urged the necessity of a European combination to resist the advance of Muscovite diplomacy.

To his contemporaries Urquhart was a strange figure. He believed

Palmerston to be a Russian agent. He opposed the Crimean War, arguing that the Turks were more than a match for their enemies, but were being made the tools of England and France. With the policy of Cavour he had no sympathy, and he devoted infinite energy to the cause of the papacy, whose aid he invoked, at the Vatican Council, for the rehabilitation of public law. Urquhart, in short, set himself against all the great movements of his century, without being able, in spite of his remarkable knowledge of European politics and an active propaganda, to stem the march of events.

Yet he is an interesting figure. An ardent champion of justice between nations, he was ever protesting against international wrongdoing, displaying all the idealism of Woodrow Wilson. His effort to organize foreign affairs committees among English workingmen anticipated by half a century the Union of Democratic Control; in his detestation of secret diplomacy he was the forerunner of E. D. Morel; his exposition of the connection between national prosperity, diplomacy, and war has some resemblance to the teaching of Norman Angell. He early perceived the danger latent in Prussian statecraft, and he predicted a European conflagration unless a limit were set to increasing armaments.

Miss Robinson has written, not a full-fledged biography of this remarkable man, but a series of studies of his varied activities, in a tone of exhalted enthusiasm that at times becomes oppressive; nor is the material, much of which is new, always well organized. But if she recognizes the mysticism, the obsession of Russia, the faults of temper which often handicapped his work, she leaves no doubt that he was unappreciated by a materialistic age. Her account supplements rather than replaces the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

BERNARDOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Ledru-Rollin après 1848 et les Proscrits Français en Angleterre. Par Alvin R. Calman, A.B., M.A. (Paris, F. Rieder et Cie., 1921, pp. 306, 15 fr.) In the history of French republicanism the brief and troubled career of the Second Republic is as instructive as the more solid achievements of the Third Republic. In France a group of scholars has been making the history of the Revolution of 1848 and of the Second Republic a special field of investigation. The present volume is not the first evidence that American scholars also are working fruitfully in this field. The author's principal theme is the long exile of Ledru-Rollin, minister of the interior in the February government, candidate for the presidency of the Republic, and later leader of the Montagnard party in the assembly. He also deals with the other French exiles in England, chiefly in their relations with Ledru. He has faced the difficult task—and, be it said, successfully—of keeping the reader's interest in a sequence of futile efforts on the part of the exile Montagnard to retain the leadership of his party, and to have a positive influence upon the development of republicanism in France. Ledru was incapable of ex-

ercising an apostolate under such disadvantages, because he was not a constructive thinker, but, as the author points out, an opportunist, with a weakness in the direction of versatility. His power lay in the spoken word. Mr. Calman compares him to two other great tribunes, Danton and Gambetta. It is impossible to say whether the comparison is just, for Ledru never had the opportunity which momentous circumstances offered to each of the other men.

Twice while in exile Ledru-Rollin entertained the chimerical idea of using the United States as a lever to force on the revolutionary movement in Europe. The first occasion was coincident with the *Black Warrior* affair and the Ostend Manifesto. Mr. Calman quotes a letter from Ledru to George N. Sanders, American consul general at London, suggesting that the United States pledge its support to the Spanish republicans, braving the risks of war with the old European governments, but expecting that Cuba, out of gratitude, as well as influenced by contiguity, would voluntarily apply for annexation. The second time was after the Civil War, when the Federal government was about to bring pressure upon Napoleon III. to withdraw support from Maximilian. Ledru drew up the project of a letter to President Lincoln, modestly requesting the Americans to finance the European revolutionists. America would thus emancipate the democracy of the Old World, and repay the debt owed to France since 1783.

A special word of praise is due to the bibliography which the author has appended to his work. It is not a mere list of sources and secondary works, but contains brief characterizations wherever these are appropriate. Among the periodicals and journals, he distinguishes between those which he has examined throughout and those to which his attention has been more cursory. The student who uses his work, therefore, knows exactly what its documentation is.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Der Missverstandene Bismarck. Von Otto Hammann. (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1921, pp. 204.) To his earlier volumes of reminiscence, *Der Neue Kurs* (1918), *Zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges* (1918), and *Um den Kaiser* (1919), Hammann has added a no less interesting and valuable little volume explaining how Bismarck's successors for twenty years misunderstood and mismanaged the inheritance which he left them in 1890. Germany was then dominant in Europe by her Triple Alliance, by her secret insurance from Russia, and by the painful isolation of France and the splendid isolation of England. After 1890 the balance began slowly to change, until, by 1914, Germany in turn stood isolated, weighed down by her Austrian liability, half deserted by Italy, and encircled by the Triple Entente. The great error, Hammann thinks, was not, however, what has been so often reiterated—the breaking down of the wire between Berlin and Petrograd and the permitting the Franco-Russian Alliance to come into being. Though Bis-

marck had always averted this unpleasant development, it was, Hammann thinks, inevitable, with the growing national antagonisms of Slav and Teuton. The great error lay in exaggerating Bismarck's supposed insistence on good relations with Russia, and in rejecting, in consequence, the English hand held out on several occasions between 1898 and 1901. Here was where the true Bismarck was fatally misunderstood. Bismarck had always recognized the decisive weight of England's influence whenever it should be cast into the European balance. For that reason he had tried to avoid coming into conflict with English colonial and commercial interests. In 1887, when Bulgarian complications in the Balkans, and Boulanger in France, made Germany's security seem a little less secure, with the possibility of an eventual war on two fronts, the wily chancellor did not hesitate to write to Lord Salisbury seeking an English alliance. Salisbury's distrust and British conservatism rendered the German move futile, but it revealed Bismarck's true policy and showed that, as usual, he had a wise eye to windward. After 1890 it was all the more important that his successors should have understood this. But they did not. And the persons whom Hammann holds chiefly responsible were the kaiser, with his unwise naval policy and his unhappy interferences in diplomacy, and Holstein, with his super-suspicious theories and finesse. Though Bülow was chancellor during the period of England's evolution from isolation into the Triple Entente, Hammann does not think Bülow, for whom he has much admiration, was primarily responsible. From his official position at the time as press agent in the German Foreign Office, Hammann is able to reveal many new and interesting details about what went on behind the scenes in the Wilhelmstrasse. This volume, written from a German point of view but with much moderation and fairness, embodies some of the material in his earlier volumes, but casts it into a more systematic form and modifies it on the basis of the new material which has been published since they were written.

S. B. F.

Das Ausland im Weltkrieg: seine innere Entwicklung seit 1914. Band I. (Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1920, pp. 443.) In 1919 there was given, under the auspices of the University of Halle, a series of lectures on the History of Foreign States since 1914. This course covered almost all of the European states existing in 1914, with a lecture on the present Austria—really a history of the Germans in Austria—and one on International Socialism. These lectures, somewhat recast and amplified, form the present volume.

The course was apparently planned to give a university audience some knowledge of recent history and of the situation existing in the various European states outside of Germany at the time it was given. Much water has passed the mill since 1919, and the book suffers accordingly. The circumstances of their delivery prevented any deep or detailed treatment; the obvious aim has been to present the general lines

of development, and to explain the course of events. But the lectures are always suggestive and will be certainly informing to all but the most thorough students of recent history. The lecturers were chosen, with one exception, from the staffs of the German universities, and the choice seems to have been made with care and skill. The dangers from national bias, so easy in the treatment of recent events, seem to have been, in the main, avoided.

American students will probably find those chapters of especial value which are devoted to the history of the smaller European states, in view of the difficulty of securing exact information regarding them. Relatively, these chapters are probably better than those devoted to the larger powers, since it is easier, for many reasons, for a German lecturer to give, in a brief period, a clear and unbiassed account of Sweden than of England. As a whole, however, the book will fill a useful place in the library of one who has interest in the recent past of Europe. Always suggestive, often informing, this volume represents sound scholarship and a real attempt to tell the truth without prejudice or emotion. And the idea of such a course as that given at the University of Halle is one to be commended to all American institutions of learning.

MASON W. TYLER.

Serbia and Europe, 1914–1920. Edited with a preface by Dr. L. Marcovitch, Professor in the University of Belgrade, Member of the Serbian Peace Delegation in Paris. (New York, Macmillan Company; London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1921, pp. xv, 355, $5.00.) This volume consists of a collection of 125 articles, originally published in the Serbian government's organ, *La Serbie* (Geneva, Switzerland), between the years 1916 and 1919. The editor considers it "an attempt to exhibit the whole policy of Serbia during the war", and to give "full information about the chief points of Serbian policy and the ideal which has guided us in our national struggle" (p. v). A little more than half of the articles come from the pen of the editor, L. Marcovitch, and there are contributions from such writers on Jugoslavia as Novakovitch, Kuhne, Reiss, Vosnjak, Voinovitch, Popovitch, and Kossitch.

The book is an able defense of Serbian foreign policy viewed strictly from the Serbian (at times, according to the writer, from a Great Serbian) point of view. But one would be doing the collection an injustice if he were to disparage its historical value for that reason. Some of the matter here presented is valuable historical material, some of it clever propaganda. This is in the nature of the case. But both will be valuable to the future historian, and particularly to one who cannot have access to the complete files of *La Serbie*. He will, however, want to refer to these ultimately, and to such other Jugoslav organs as, for instance, the *Southern Slav Bulletin*. The historian must seek more fundamental material than is here offered, but he will be able to find clues to documents as yet unpublished.

Particularly valuable is the splendid article by the Serbian historian Novakovitch, on "Serbia and the European War" (pp. 7–11), in which not only moderation but true historical insight are shown. The best material for the historian is to be found in the chapters on Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, where frequently the authors write from first-hand material. Though often bitterly written—something which is to be expected under the circumstances—they cast much light on hitherto obscure points. Here the historian will find a number of important clues which it will pay to follow up.

No future historian, no matter how much he may disagree with Serbia's policy, will be able to obscure the imperishable record in which, "betrayed by King Constantine's Greece, abandoned by Roumania, in spite of the Treaty of Bucharest of 1913, Serbia preferred her Calvary of Albania and wandering exile to the acceptance of a shameful peace" (p. 336).

Robert J. Kerner.

La Bataille devant Souville. Par Henri Bordeaux, de l'Académie Française. [Les Cahiers de la Victoire.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 243, 7 fr.) *La Bataille devant Souville* is the second part of that interesting trilogy by Henri Bordeaux which recalls the tragic and glorious days of the defense of Verdun. The first and the third have already appeared under the titles *Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux* and *Captifs Délivrés.* We have thus a consecutive narrative, of high literary quality and of real historical worth, of one of the most thrilling episodes in the annals of modern warfare.

Few men were better qualified than Henri Bordeaux to undertake this task. A writer of distinction, who has met personally the principal actors of the great drama, who visited every mile of the shell-torn battlefield and witnessed many of the military operations of that period, could not fail to produce a work of genuine merit.

The book is divided into two sections. The first, combining in a remarkable degree the qualities of the litterateur and of the historian, gives a moving and dramatic description, but historically accurate throughout, of the repeated assaults against the last fort which stood in the way of the German forces in their march to Verdun. The second section is a valuable military document, presenting, with a most instructive wealth of detail, the whole plan of German and French operations about the coveted city.

Satisfactory though it be from the point of view of the general reader, this work, like all the others so far published, is rather a disappointment to the soldier who has lived those trying days as a combatant. M. Bordeaux himself would admit that it is well-nigh impossible to draw a true picture of the appalling scenes of destruction and of carnage that took place on the banks of the Meuse, and impossible as well, adequately to describe the tenacity, the endurance, the courage,

and the heroism of the struggling hosts of young men of both nations. Only a Dante, become an historian, could do justice to the battle of Verdun.

PAUL PERIGORD.

Japan en de Buitenwereld in de Achttiende Eeuw. Door Dr. J. Feenstra Kuiper. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1921, pp. xx, 330, 9.60 gld.) Even well-read Americans often cherish the belief that Admiral Perry opened to the world a hermetically sealed kingdom when his cannon knocked so rudely at Japan's portals in 1853. But this, like most highly dramatic versions of history, is only relatively true. Doctor Kuiper's volume is an exhaustive study of one period of Holland's commerce with Japan, which continued practically uninterrupted from the expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in 1624, until our arrival. The book is intended to fill the gap between Nachod's *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ost-Indischen Compagnie zu Japan im 17ten Jahrhundert* and Van der Chÿs's *Neerlands Streven tot Openstelling van Japan voor de Wereldhandel,* and records an interesting and not unimportant chapter in the history of Far Eastern commerce.

Incidentally, the book contains a competent study of Japan in the eighteenth century, based not only upon already familiar sources in the Japanese and European languages, but also upon Holland's rich archive materials. The author has grouped his text into four sections: the world without Japan in the eighteenth century, particularly the world of regulated trade and the commercial companies doing business in the Orient; the Japanese world of the same period, including its social, political, and religious as well as its economic institutions and customs; a history of trade between Holland and Japan; contemporary knowledge of Japan in Europe; and contemporary knowledge of Europe in Japan. An excellent classified bibliography, several statistical appendixes, giving data upon the currency, and the character, volume, and value of merchandise handled, shipping-lists, an index, and seven contemporary Japanese illustrations of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki and ceremonial incidents in the intercourse of the two nations, conclude the volume.

Most of the new material is in the 135 pages describing the operations of the Dutch company in Japan. What is told of the organization and methods of the company will be familiar to students of eighteenth-century colonial commerce. But the diplomatic aspects of the company's activities are more novel. Particularly prophetic was the intense curiosity which the Japanese of that period displayed in respect to the practical knowledge and arts of the West. Even the *shogun* sometimes disguised himself and mingled informally with the Dutch delegations visiting Yeddo. There is much that is picturesque and entertaining interspersed with the solid information which the book contains.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Founding of New Bern. Edited with an Historical Introduction and an English Translation by Vincent H. Todd, Ph.D., University of Illinois, in co-operation with Julius Goebel, Ph.D., Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Illinois. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh, the Commission, 1920, pp. 434.) In this volume Dr. Todd gives us in his historical introduction a very satisfactory and complete account of the first German colony that reached North Carolina, in the year 1710. In the opening chapters of the book the author traces the causes that led to the great German exodus of the year 1709, when between 10,000 and 15,000 German emigrants came to England. He shows that this German emigration coincided with a Swiss colonization scheme, of which Francis Louis Michel and George Ritter were the chief promoters. In May, 1710, the George Ritter Land Company was formed, and under its auspices 650 Palatines and about 120 Swiss settlers were sent to North Carolina. On the basis of Graffenried's accounts, the author traces the journey of these colonists to North Carolina, their settlement at the junction of the Trent and Neuse rivers, their trying experiences and pitiful condition in their new settlement, and finally the massacre of many of the settlers by the Indians in the fall of 1711. Through the failure of his associates Graffenried was forced to leave North Carolina in September, 1712, and the colony was left to its own fate.

Part III. of the introduction treats of the Graffenried manuscripts. In this section of his book the author is less satisfactory, for he gives but a fragmentary and incomplete statement. We hear nothing about the exact location, extent, and condition of the manuscripts, although Professor A. B. Faust, of Cornell University, in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives,* published in 1916, has given an exact and detailed account as to where the originals are found, and what their relation to each other is.

In the main part of the book Dr. Todd publishes the complete German text of Graffenried's account of his adventures, together with a good English translation, and also parts of the French text (with translation) which differ from the Yverdun MS., published in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina.* Whether it was necessary to print these texts, after both had before been printed in full by Professor Faust, may well be questioned, especially in view of the fact that Professor Faust's publication is the more accurate.

Dr. Todd concludes his book with a useful glossary of the more difficult Swiss words, which will prove very helpful to those who wish to read the original. A detailed index adds much to the value of the book.

Papers of the American Society of Church History. Edited by Frederick William Loetscher, Secretary. Second series, volume VI.

(New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. xxxvi, 240.) In addition to minutes and reports of meetings, the sixth volume of *Papers of the American Society of Church History* contains four valuable contributions to knowledge. A presidental address by Edward Payson Johnson, on Protestant Missionary Work among the Indians in the eighteenth century, on the part of Dutch Reformed, Congregationalists, Moravians, and Friends, serves to correct the popular notion of a lack of missionary zeal in colonial times. This interesting summary excites desire for a complete and detailed monograph. The social character of the good old days may be measured partly by the conflict between these missions and the missionary interests of traders and exploiters. Professor Johnson has not used the correspondence of Jonathan Edwards. From another source he alleges that John Sergeant, the missionary at Housatonic, "in three years began to preach in the Indian tongue, and two years later had so far mastered it that the Indians often said: 'Our minister speaks our language better than we can speak it'". On the other hand, Edwards (Dwight's *Life*, p. 523) writes that "Mr. Sergeant, after fourteen years' study, had never been able to preach in it, nor even to pray in it except by a form, and had often expressed the opinion that his successor ought not to trouble himself in learning the language." The profitable question as to lack of missionary results is not unrelated to some details of this sort.

Another presidential address, by Professor David Schaff, on the Council of Constance: its Fame and its Failure, is an admirable expansion of the general student's knowledge with an interesting discussion of the significance of the council in the perspectives of church history.

The most extensive and original contribution is by William O. Shewmaker, on the Training of the Protestant Ministry in the United States of America, before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries. This important paper exhibits the curriculum and method of Dutch and English universities and of the American colleges to the end of the eighteenth century. A fresh fact brought to light is the remarkable participation of ministers in the science of medicine.

The final paper, by Professor Patrick J. Healy, on Recent Activities of Catholic Historians, is an invaluable guide to the knowledge of periodical literature, source and documentary publication, and treatises of eminence from scholars of the Roman church. May it rouse the emulation of Protestants.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Edited by Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Society. Volume XXIV. (Buffalo, the Society, 1920, pp. x, 415, $4.00.) The volume under review is devoted principally to a History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, by Frederick Houghton. The Buffalo Creek Reservation was located along the stream of that name, within the limits of what is now the city of Buffalo

and adjacent parts of Erie County. The tract was the largest of several parcels of land reserved by the Seneca Indians, in 1797, when they sold their remaining holdings in western New York to Robert Morris acting on behalf of the Holland Land Company, so-called.

From archaeological investigations made by him, the author concludes that the region was, in the early part of the seventeenth century, occupied by the Wenroes, an Iroquoian tribe. Soon after that date the Wenroes were defeated and scattered by the Senecas, who, by the end of the same century, had come into possession of the whole of western New York. Upon the destruction of the Seneca towns along the Genesee and in the Finger Lakes district by Sullivan's expedition, in 1779, the refugees fled to the Niagara frontier and a considerable number joined their fellow-tribesmen on the banks of Buffalo Creek, where the white land-agents found them in 1797. The study reviews the steps by which the jurisdiction of the Seneca lands passed to New York, and the title to the soil, save for the reservations, to Phelps and Gorham, Robert Morris, and the Holland Company.

For two decades the reservation at Buffalo Creek was the home of the largest group of the Senecas as well as of groups from other Iroquoian tribes, and a few Algonquins. As early as 1810 the project of a removal to western lands was agitated among the Senecas, and lands were provided for them by the United States government, first in Wisconsin and later in the Indian Territory. By treaties ratified in 1838 and 1842 the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations were sold to grantees of the Holland Company, leaving to the Indians only the Alleghany and Cattaraugus reservations, which are still in the possession of their descendants.

The study is the narrative of a stage in the eclipse of a once-powerful people and of an episode in the acquisition of the soil of western New York by the white man. The work bears evidence of original research, especially with respect to the archaeology of the region, though there is an absence of specific citations of authorities.

FRANK G. BATES.

History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821–1921. By Rev. John H. Lamott, S.T.D., Licencié ès Sciences Morales et Historiques, Louvain. (Cincinnati, Frederick Pustet Company, 1921, pp. xxiii, 430, $4.00.) This commemorative volume is a distinct contribution to the religious history of the United States. The subject-matter is in itself important, for the diocese of Cincinnati at one time comprised the entire Old Northwest, and its development therefore coincides with the expansion of population into that region.

The author very wisely has regarded the archdiocese as a unit, not merely as an aggregate of local parishes, and thus, while making an effort to include the names of all who have had a part in the work of building up the church during the past century, he has relegated these

lists of names to a well-arranged appendix instead of allowing them to encumber the narrative. The first part of the book gives a brief sketch of the four bishops and archbishops who have occupied the see; the second, which contains some very good maps, follows the changes in its geographical boundaries; and the third summarizes the social and educational work that has been accomplished. The treatment, therefore, is chronological, geographical, and institutional. In accounting for the remarkable growth of the Roman Catholic Church during the half-century following the organization of the diocese, such human agencies as railroads, canals, and highways are taken into consideration, and the growth of that church at certain periods is compared with the development of other denominations.

The book throughout gives evidence of critical scholarship and of the fair-mindedness of a trained historian. The author has rendered a real service in correcting erroneous statements found in earlier church histories, such, for instance, as the oft-repeated assertion that an ordinance of the city of Cincinnati compelled the Catholics to build their first church in the diocese outside the city limits. After diligent search through municipal records no evidence that such an ordinance had ever been passed could be discovered, and the author therefore reaches the conclusion that the choice of a site outside the city must have been dictated by other considerations. Equally fair-minded is the discussion of the financial catastrophe which overwhelmed the archdiocese in the 1870's and of the bankruptcy proceedings growing out of it. Indeed, the entire chapter on ecclesiastical property casts much light upon a phase of American history which is not generally understood. The bibliography includes secular as well as religious sources, and the book is provided with an excellent index.

MARTHA L. EDWARDS.

The University of Michigan. By Wilfred Shaw, General Secretary of the Alumni Association, and Editor of the *Michigan Alumnus*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920, pp. 349, $4.00.) This handsome volume is not designed by the author as a history of the University of Michigan, but as a general survey of the university's development. The intent has been to set forth the chief incidents, personalities, efforts, and enterprises in the past life of this notable seat of learning.

The volume deals with the foundation of the university, its early days and first administrations, of Presidents Tappan, Haven, Angell, and Hutchins, and with C. K. Adams, Andrew D. White, Henry S. Frieze, Charles Gayley, Elisha Jones, the Cooleys, and other great teachers who have given Michigan standing and fame in the university world. The author reveals to his readers the life of town and campus, the student activities, the fraternities, the work of the professional schools, and athletics; due consideration is also given to the services of the alumni, and the work of the university in times of war. The volume

is a highly creditable tribute to Mr. Shaw's alma mater, written in an attractive style, well executed and well printed, and it will, no doubt, be received by all former students of Michigan with deep appreciation. The volume is well indexed, and its copious illustrations will recall many pleasant scenes and happy days to the many men and women who have had the privilege of spending their college days in Ann Arbor.

J. A. W.

The Story of Chautauqua. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, D.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. xxv, 429, $2.50.) The "Chautauqua Movement", inaugurated in 1873 by Lewis Miller and Dr. John H. Vincent, layman and clergyman respectively of the Methodist Episcopal Church, under the auspices of the Sunday-School Board of that denomination, has been one of the most interesting and typical developments in American religious and cultural life of the last half-century and is worthy of serious attention from students of American history. The present volume, by Bishop Vincent's successor, is the reminiscent story of one who has had a leading part in the conduct of the "movement" since 1875. It abounds in anecdotes, in kindly personalities, and in realistic accounts of meetings, events, and occasions, although in the later chapters, where considerations of space have evidently made themselves felt, the style becomes rather annalistic.

The meetings at Chautauqua had their origin in an effort to advance religious education in the Sunday-school through the intensive training of teachers. They were, in their field and time, a sort of prototype of the "Plattsburg idea". The broadening of their scope and purpose was rapid; in 1878 the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was organized, the first book prescribed for reading being John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People.* In the following year the summer schools for secular instruction were inaugurated, and the practice of securing distinguished lecturers on historical, literary, scientific, and other topics received that extension which has made it one of the chief characteristics of the Chautauqua programme. Later, other assemblies, to the number of nearly a hundred, came into being in different parts of the country. All were modelled more or less closely upon the original Chautauqua and some were loosely affiliated with it. Most of them have now disappeared and their places have been taken by the "Chautauqua circuits" which form the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association. These extraneous developments, however, have no organic connection with the original Chautauqua and are passed over lightly as being outside the scope of the author's story.

It would be unfair to examine a book of this type too closely for the accuracy of all its statements of fact. Doubtless it is adequate, but the reader is, nevertheless, a little disturbed to find in the first chapter that Étienne Brûlé was on the Ohio in 1615, which would have made him the discoverer of that river, and to learn that La Salle was

on Lake Chautauqua in 1630, which was thirteen years before he was born. However, the student will not use the volume as a repertory of facts; for him its chief and great value will consist in its authoritative rendering of the atmosphere and spirit of the Chautauqua institution, especially in its earlier days.

W. G. L.

The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660–1688: a Study of the Foundations of the Old Colonial System. By C. S. S. Higham, M.A. (Cambridge, the University Press, 1921, pp. xiii, 266, $9.00.) This elaborate and scholarly account of the Leeward Islands in the reign of Charles II. will be welcomed by students of colonial policy and the history of British trade. Readers who have already succumbed to romantic prepossessions about Caribbee Islands will perhaps be vexed at its prosaic tenor, as Henry Adams was vexed at Tahiti for being a real place. The Leeward Islands in the seventeenth century were assuredly not the "western islands" of Apollo's bards, but struggling frontier communities, whose invincible parochialism stood in the way of progress. They existed in a wobbling equilibrium between Devil and deep sea: between intense localism and dangerous isolation; between danger from the Indians and danger from the French; between the interests of the merchants and those of the planters; between the islands' governors—often the unworthy favorites of unworthy ministers—and the well-meaning interference of the Lords of Trade, whose point of view was at best English and at worst European.

The first half of the book is mainly devoted to the complications ensuing to the islands from European wars and alliances. Of these complications the most important is the experience of St. Christopher, whose division between France and England led to experiments in neutrality and internationalization not without interest to-day.

Chapters on the Caribs, the labor problem, sugar, and the government of the islands make up the second and weightier part of the book. In general, the Restoration policies of more stringent governmental and legal supervision with stricter control of trade, which set their mark on the seaboard colonies to the north, were followed also in the case of the Leeward Islands. On the part of the islands there is the same expertness in protest and evasion. After the lamentable failure of Sir Charles Wheler, the government of the islands fell by good fortune to Sir William Stapleton, whose memory is here deservedly rescued from oblivion. He was a genial Irish soldier of fortune, picturesque in speech, and blessed with so rare an administrative gift that he was able to govern four islands for fourteen years not only acceptably to the islanders but to the satisfaction of the home authorities as well.

For his materials Mr. Higham has ransacked the Record Office and the great manuscript collections in England, and has discovered a few *disjecta membra* in private possession. The mass of his facts comes

from official correspondence, Treasury and trade statistics, and the records of the Royal African Company. With the exceptions of the *Calendar of State Papers,* the *Acts of Assembly* of the islands, and a few fairly recent works on the West Indies and on colonial policy, there is little in print, as a carefully annotated bibliography shows, to aid research on His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands. If material has eluded Mr. Higham it must be in French archives and libraries, or perhaps in the islands themselves.

Readers will be appreciative of the prefatory Geographical Note, which offers a few remarks on the position and topography of the islands, and emphasizes the importance of the northeast trade-wind in the history of the Antilles, recalling the fact—obvious but easy to forget—that the sail from Jamaica to St. Kitts is not at all the same thing in time and distance as the sail from St. Kitts to Jamaica. Readers will be sorry that Mr. Higham's sketch-maps are not more informative, *i. e.,* more detailed.

There are a few trifling slips: the Triple Alliance between England, the United Provinces, and Sweden was formed in 1668, not 1670 (p. 29); the Dutch were expelled from Brazil in 1644–1654, not 1661 (p. 36); on p. 191, line 32, "imported" should read *imposed.*

VIOLET BARBOUR.

HISTORICAL NEWS

It would be a great favor if persons having copies of the number of this journal for October, 1920, which they do not need to retain would give or sell them to the managing editor.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in St. Louis, December 28–30. The Programme Committee, Professor E. B. Greene, 315 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Illinois, chairman, announces tentatively the following outline of the programme: The meeting will open on Wednesday morning, December 28, at ten o'clock, with four conferences—of history teachers, of archivists, on medieval history, and on agricultural history. On Wednesday afternoon there will be a general session on the history of France at which papers will be read by professors F. M. Fling, A. L. Guérard, E. W. Dow, C. D. Hazen, and Mr. Bernard Faÿ. The presidential address will be delivered by President Jusserand on Wednesday evening. On Thursday morning there will be three conferences—on ancient history, on modern European history, and on the recent history of the United States; in the afternoon three other conferences will be held on economic history, on military history, and on the history of the American Revolution. In the evening there will be a general session commemorating the Missouri centennial, at which papers will be read by Messrs. A. J. Beveridge, F. W. Lehman, H. B. Learned, and F. C. Shoemaker. On Friday morning there will be a conference on the history of civilization and the usual annual conference of historical societies. On Friday noon there will be a number of luncheon-conferences, of which the following are now announced: the Far East, English institutional history, Hispanic American history, history of the Great War, history of science, and colonial history. The annual business meeting of the Association will be held at 3:30 in the afternoon. The final session will be held jointly with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on Friday evening; it will be devoted to the economic history of the Mississippi Valley and there will be papers by Mrs. N. M. M. Surrey, and Professors Cardinal Goodwin, H. L. Kohlmeier, and L. B. Shippee.

Volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1918 of the American Historical Association is promised by the Government Printing Office for immediate distribution. The *Annual Report* for 1919 is in press.

Writings on American History, 1918, compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, has been printed as a supplementary volume to the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1918. A limited number of copies is at the dis-

posal of the Association and will be distributed to members upon request, addressed to the Assistant Secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL

Joseph Reinach, French journalist, diplomat, and historian, died on the 18th of April, 1921, at the age of sixty-five. He has been an important figure since the days of Thiers. He was secretary to Gambetta and was his collaborator, confidant, and literary executor. In addition to his public services as deputy from 1889 to 1897, as vice-president of the Army Commission in 1906 and 1910, as an officer on the staff of General Galliéni, and as one of the chief promotors of the revision of the Dreyfus case, he was a historian of rare gifts. Among his important publications were *Le Ministère Gambetta, Histoire et Doctrine* (1882); *La Vie Politique de Léon Gambetta* (1918); *Discours et Plaidoyers,* being the collected works of Gambetta in eleven volumes (1881–1885); *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (6 vols., 1901–1908). During the Great War he was contributor to the *Figaro* under the nom de plume "Polybe".

James P. Baxter, Litt.D., president since 1890 of the Maine Historical Society and since 1899 of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, author and editor of numerous volumes relating to the early history of Maine and of New England, died in Portland, Maine, on May 8, aged ninety years.

John W. Jordan, LL.D., librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania since 1888 and editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* died on June 11 at the age of eighty.

Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University, a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review,* sailed on September 3 for Russia, to take part in the work of the American Relief Administration in that country.

Dr. Julius Klein, associate professor of Latin-American history in Harvard University, now on leave of absence, has been appointed director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce.

Dr. James O. Knauss, former associate professor of history in Pennsylvania State College, has been appointed professor of history and political science in the Florida College for Women, Tallahassee.

Baron Sergius A. Korff has accepted a professorship of political science in the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, and will deliver during the coming winter courses on modern European history, Russian history, the Science of Government, and the History of Diplomatic Usages and Procedure.

Mr. R. D. W. Connor has resigned as secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission to become Kenan Professor of History in the

University of North Carolina. He has been succeeded by Dr. D. H. Hill, who has been at work on a history of North Carolina in the Civil War, on the R. H. Ricks Foundation, under the auspices of the Historical Commission.

Professor D. C. Schilling of Monmouth College, Illinois, has accepted an appointment as professor of history in the Michigan State Normal College of Kalamazoo.

Dr. Everett S. Brown, lecturer in history at Stanford University, has been appointed assistant professor of political science in the University of Michigan.

The following promotions are announced as occurring in the department of history in the University of Minnesota: Solon J. Buck, from associate professor to a full professorship; Mason W. Tyler and Lester B. Shippee, from assistant professors to associate professors; and George M. Stephenson, from an instructor to an assistant professor.

Professor R. G. Usher of Washington University, St. Louis, remains in England during the ensuing half-year, his leave of absence having been prolonged, and is occupied with researches in English history of the period of James I.

Dr. Henry S. Lucas, formerly an instructor in the University of Michigan, and Professor J. A. O. Larsen have been appointed assistant professors in the department of history in the University of Washington.

Professor Payson J. Treat of Stanford University is delivering, at the Imperial universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, a series of sixteen lectures on the diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan.

Mr. Basil Williams, editor of the series *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*, and author of the volume on Cecil Rhodes in that series, and of vol. IV. of the *Times History of the War in South Africa*, has been called to the chief professorship of history in McGill University.

GENERAL

About a hundred and fifty college presidents, professors, journalists, authors, and men and women of affairs attended the first session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. Those present for the four weeks of work were generally well impressed by the character of the work undertaken and the value of the opportunity presented. Lectures by Viscount Bryce, Baron Sergius A. Korff, Mr. Stephen Panaretoff, Count Paul Teleki, Signor Tommaso Tittoni, and Professor Achille Viallate attracted much attention and commanded a varying degree of interest. At another session the number of lectures might well be reduced, and arrangements made for a more precisely defined type of subject-matter and treatment.

By far the most useful offering of the Institute was the series of round-table conferences which, in form, somewhat resembled graduate

seminars. Definite suggestions as to bibliographical material, reading, and study were given in advance for each meeting. A special library was available for each group of related conferences. Conference leaders usually began their sittings with a brief lecture on the subject previously announced; this exposition was frequently supplemented by special reports on certain details and on related topics worked up by the members of the conference or volunteered by some "expert". The presence of a number of "experts" gave an unusual value and interest to the general discussions that followed these reports. Not a little zest was also afforded by the participation of those who had propaganda to disseminate. Although no unrestricted opportunities were afforded for propaganda, all sides of a case received a hearing. The discussions were, on the whole, illuminating and satisfactory. Membership in the conferences was fairly homogeneous, and the personnel was well informed, so that futile debate was rare and most special pleading, however eminent the advocate, was critically appraised. The distinguished lecturers were frequent contributors to the round-table discussions. Lord Bryce, with his astonishing alertness and varied experience, was an unending source of interest at several of the conferences.

Professors A. C. Coolidge, C. H. Haskins, R. H. Lord, and Lawrence Martin conducted two conferences dealing with problems of the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Professor W. L. Westermann was a generous contributor at one of these conferences. Various aspects of international law and treaties were studied in conferences led by Professors G. G. Wilson, J. S. Reeves, and J. W. Garner. Latin America was discussed in the conference of Dr. L. S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, and economic subjects, tariffs, and reparations, in those led by Professor F. W. Taussig and Mr. Norman Davis.

On behalf of the International Union of Academies, which is about to publish the complete writings of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Professor A. Eekhof of the University of Leyden is endeavoring to locate any original letters of Grotius that may exist in American libraries and collections. Those who have any information respecting such letters are requested to communicate with Professor Eekhof, addressing him at the University of Leyden, Leyden, Holland.

The Reformed Church of Delfshaven, Holland, proposes to erect a memorial church by way of commemorating the departure of the Pilgrims from Delfshaven in 1620. A Committee for the Pilgrims' Church has been organized for the purpose of securing funds. The general agent of the committee for America is Louis P. de Boer, 5443 W. 41st Avenue, Denver, Colorado.

The Oxford Architectural and Historical Association, Ashmolean Museum, announces the theft, in April last, from the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East, Oxford, of the left-hand figure of the memorial brass commemorating Alderman Richard Atkinson and his two wives (six-

teenth century). The missing figure is that of a lady, represented as wearing a Mary Stuart head-dress, ruffs at neck and wrists, a close-fitting bodice with puffed and slashed sleeves, and a skirt that hangs in seven folds. The hands are joined at the height of the breast, palms together, and fingers pointing upward. The brass is about nineteen inches high and six and one-half inches wide. Information that may lead to its recovery is desired.

The fourth number of the new *Revue de France* (May 1, 1921) is given over to a commemoration of Napoleon.

The Verband Deutscher Geschichtslehrer held its first meeting since the war on the 30th and 31st of March, in Leipzig. Professor Brandi (Göttingen) read a paper, "Geschichte als Gestaltung"; Professor Friedrich (Leipzig), "Gegenwartswert der Geschichtlichen Bildung"; Oberlehrer Wolf (Leipzig), "Forderungen der Gegenwart an den Geschichtsunterricht in der Volksschule".

A new historical publication has appeared in Vienna under the name of *Historische Blaetter*. It is to be a general review, with especial reference to the history of the states which composed the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Its editor is Dr. Otto H. Stowasser.

The *Journal of Negro History* for July, 1921, contains three articles: the Material Culture of Ancient Nigeria, by William L. Hansbury; the Negro in South Africa, by David A. Lane, jr.; and the Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island, by William R. Riddell. The documents printed in this issue consist of the reports of the American Convention of Abolition Societies, with appeals to Congress and addresses to the citizens of the United States.

After a break of five years, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* appears again. The last issue was vol. XXIII., nos. 1 and 2, which appeared August 6, 1914. There is no break in the enumeration of the volumes or numbers.

History for July contains papers on an Episode in Canon Law (profits in cases of partnership, the decretal *Naviganti*), by Dr. G. G. Coulton; on Social Problems in the Nineteenth Century (suggestive), by Mr. C. R. Fay; and on the Dominions and Foreign Affairs, by Professor A. F. Pollard.

A. Heilborn has published *Der Werdegang Menschheit und die Entstehung der Kultur* (Stuttgart, Bong, 1920, pp. xl, 392), by H. Klaatsch, who died in 1916. It is a work of thorough-going character, founded on anthropological and ethnographical data gathered by the author in Australia.

Primitive Society (New York, Boni and Liveright, pp. 428), by Dr. Robert H. Lowie, associate curator of the anthropological section in the American Museum of Natural History, is a successful attempt to condense into one volume of moderate compass the whole body of knowledge which investigations in all continents have accumulated in recent years.

A Text-book of European Archaeology, by Professor R. A. S. Macalister of University College, Dublin (Cambridge University Press), will be issued in three volumes, relating respectively to the palaeolithic, neolithic, and bronze ages. Of these, vol. I. will be published this autumn.

Recent studies in *Weltgeschichte* are Rachel's *Geschichte der Völker und Kulturen vom Urbeginn bis Heute* (Berlin, Parey, 1920); Jaenicke's *Weltgeschichte mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Volkswirtschaft* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920); F. Arranz Velarde's *Compendio de Historia de la Civilización segun las Investigaciones más Recientes* (Castile, Armengot, 1920, pp. 455).

G. Batault has dealt with *Le Problème Juif: la Renaissance de l'Antisémitisme* (Paris, Plon, pp. 256), the important sections of his work being devoted to Jewish exclusivism; Judaism and the spirit of revolt; Judaism and puritanism; nationalism or assimilation. Other studies in Jewish history are by Kahn, *Die Juden als Rasse und Kulturvolk* (Berlin, Welt-Verlag, 1920), and by C. Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien* (Hamburg, Gente, 1921, pp. 97).

Two volumes of F. Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Église* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) have appeared. Volume II., *Les Pères de l'Église* (1920, pp. 532), covers the fourth and fifth centuries. The second part of vol. IX. deals with *L'Église Contemporaine* (pp. 504), and covers the period 1879–1903. Worthy of mention also is Fatien's *Petite Histoire de l'Église* (Lille, Taffin-Lefort, 1921, pp. 120).

Recent studies in political science with important historical bearings are *Le Contrôle Parlementaire de la Politique Étrangère en Angleterre, en France, et aux États-Unis* (Paris, Sagot, 1921, pp. 323), by S. R. Chow; *Die Grundlagen der Politischen Parteibildung* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. vii, 181), by W. Sulzbach; *Die Diktatur: Von den Anfängen des Modernen Souveränitätsgedankens bis zum Proletarischen Klassenkampf* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1921, pp. xv, 211), by C. Schmitt-Dorotié; *Das Problem der Souveränität und die Theorie des Völkerrechts* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920), by Kelsen.

A recent study in comparative history is J. Hatschek's *Britisches und Römisches Weltreich: eine Sozialwissenschaftliche Parallele* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1921, pp. iii, 374), the first part of which deals with the civilization of sea-coast countries, his thesis being that the political characteristic of such countries is a realization that *dominium* does not lie *in imperio,* that control is not mere physical control. The second and principal section of the work makes constitutional administrative comparisons.

René Gillouin has written *Une Nouvelle Philosophie de l'Histoire Moderne,* in which he studies the philosophy of imperialism and mysticism (democratic, social, aesthetic, racial), advocating educational reform to strengthen democracy against anarchy. In this branch of thought two other books deserve mention: *Der Geist der Geschichte:*

eine Einführung in die Geschichtswissenschaft als Anleitung zu Selbständ (Berlin, Der Firn, 1920, pp. 59), by W. Nöllenberg; and *Geschichtsphilosophie* (Kempten, Kösel, 1920), by Sawicki.

The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History, by Madison Grant, has been republished by Charles Scribner's Sons (1921, pp. xxxiii, 476, price $3.50) in a "fourth revised edition with a documentary supplement". The text is substantially the same as the original edition of 1916, which was reviewed in the issue of this journal for July, 1917 (XXII. 842–844). The chief additional matter in this latest edition is the "Documentary Supplement" (pp. 275–413), the purpose of which "is to meet an insistent demand for authorities for the statements made in the body of the book". Here are brought together references to authorities with citations from them, often of considerable length, and notes by the author in further support of statements in the text. The bibliography has been enlarged to include works published since the first edition.

Maps: their History, Characteristics, and Uses, by Sir Herbert George Fordham (Cambridge University Press), is a little volume of lectures delivered before the teachers of Cambridgeshire.

Dissertations in History and English (University of Iowa Service Bulletin, vol. V., no. 30) contains useful suggestions in the mechanics of preparing a dissertation, under these heads: aids to research, methods of note-taking, arrangement of material, foot-notes, quotations, proper names, formal bibliography, and preparation of manuscript for printer.

The Macmillan Company has published *The Lands of Silence: a History of Arctic and Antarctic Exploration,* by Sir Clements R. Markham.

The Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, by R. A. Roberts, has been issued by Macmillan as no. 22 in the series *Helps for Students of History.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. G. Wells, *History for Everybody* (Yale Review, July); H. B. Learned, *The Educational Function of the National Government* (American Political Science Review, August); Ernst Troeltsch, *Der Historische Entwicklungsbegriff in der Modernen Geistes- und Lebensphilosophie,* II., *Die Marburger Schule, die Südwestdeutsche Schule, Simmel* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 3).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: P. Masson-Oursel, *Quelques Ouvrages Récents relatifs à l'Histoire du Néoplatonisme* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXI. 91–93).

An attack on the theories of Lichtenberg and Kossina, and a new theory solving the Indo-Germanic question is made by Max Neubert in *Die Dorische Wanderung in ihren Europäischen Zusammenhängen: das Prähistorische Eröffnungsstück zur Indo-Germanischen Weltgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1920).

Les Religions de la Préhistoire: l'Age Paléolithique (de Brouwer and Picard) is a study by T. Mainage, in which he states what can be learned of the earliest religious beliefs, using the small amount of material available. *Les Survivances du Culte Impérial Romain, à-propos des Rites Shintoïstes* (Paris, Picard, 1920, pp. 73), by L. Bréhier and Mgr. Batiffol, grew out of the proposal to require officials in Japan to conform to the religion of the emperor. It is a study of the manner in which the Christians met a similar difficulty in the fourth century. This small volume gives a masterly account of the imperial cult in Rome and the relation of Christians thereto. R. Reitzenstein has revised his *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1920, viii, 268), originally published in 1910. *Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte* (Christiania, Dybwad, 1920, pp. 202) is by S. Eitrem, professor of philosophy in the University of Christiania.

Das Alte Ägypten (Heidelberg, Winter, 1920) is the title of a new book by Wiedemann.

The book by L. Adametz on *Herkunst und Wanderungen der Hammiten, erschlossen aus ihren Haustierrassen* (Vienna, Verlag des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient, 1920, pp. vii, 107) is said to be the first effort to found such a work on the study of breeds of domestic animals.

C. Autran, in *Phéniciens: Essai de Contribution à l'Histoire Antique de la Méditerranée* (Paris, Geuthner, 1920, pp. xv, 146), submits the accepted theory of the origin of the Phoenicians to drastic revision. His conclusions are combatted by Professor J. H. Breasted, in a review in *Classical Philology*, XVI. p. 289.

Attention should be called to the excellent and most useful annual surveys of production in Greek and Roman history, contributed by Mr. Norman H. Baynes of University College, London, to *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, an organ of the (English) Classical Association. The latest which we have seen, that for 1918–1919, occupies pp. 97–176 in the volume for that year, published in 1920.

The *Loeb Classical Library* has been enlarged by the addition of the second volume of Mr. Godley's excellent translation of Herodotus, the tenth (of eleven) of Professor Perrin's Plutarch's *Lives*, a volume of Xenophon containing books VI. and VII. of the *Hellenica* and books I., II., and III. of the *Anabasis*, and two volumes of Apollodorus, with a large commentary by Sir James G. Frazer.

A contribution to late Byzantine literary history and to the history of Platonism is the University of Chicago dissertation of John W. Taylor on *Georgius Gemistus Pletho's Criticism of Plato and Aristotle* (Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wis., 1921).

Among recent books on Roman History may be mentioned Rosenberg's *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte* (Berlin,

Weidmann, 1921); Grosse's *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der Byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920).

A field of much interest and importance is covered by Mr. W. E. Heitland's *Agricola: a Study of Agriculture and Rustic Life in the Greco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour* (Cambridge University Press).

Guglielmo Ferrero, in *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique* (Paris, Plon, pp. 256), advances the theory that the final destruction of senatorial authority under Septimius Severus was the catastrophe from which the decline of the empire began. The author sees in the Great War a similar catastrophic breakdown of legitimate authority in modern civilization.

The sixth and last volume of Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1920) has appeared.

A careful treatment of ancient and medieval writing by a competent author may be found in a book by A. Mentz, *Geschichte der Griechisch-Römischen Schrift bis zur Erfindung des Buchdrucks mit beweglichen Lettern: ein Versuch* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1920, pp. 155).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Casson, *The Dorian Invasion Reviewed* (Antiquaries Journal, July); R. Weill, *Phéniciens, Égéens et Hellènes dans la Méditerranée Primitive* (Syria, II.); J. Kohl, *Die Homerische Frage der Chorizonten* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XLVII. 5); P. Cloché, *Le Conseil Athénien des Cinq Cents et la Peine de Mort* (Revue des Études Grecques, XXXIII. 151); E. von Stern, *Zur Beurteilung der Politischen Wirksamkeit des Tiberius und Gaius Gracchus* (Hermes, LXVI. 3); R. Laquer, *Scipio Africanus und die Eroberung von Neukarthago* (*ibid.*, no. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The following additions to the series *Translations of Christian Literature* (London, S. P. C. K.) are announced for publication this autumn: *The Dialogue of Palladius concerning the Life of Chrysostom*; *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian*; *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*; *Select Epistles of St. Cyprian treating of the Episcopate; The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran*; and *Tertullian concerning the Resurrection of the Flesh.*

The Macmillan Company will publish this autumn *The History of Christianity, A. D. 590–1314*, by Professor F. J. Foakes Jackson of Union Theological Seminary, continuing his well-known history of the earlier period.

A volume on *L'Antique Chrétienne*, the first part of a *Histoire Populaire de l'Église* (Poitiers, Texier, 1921, pp. 620), is by Abbé Emmanuel Barbier. A. Schlatter has published *Die Geschichte des Christus* (Stuttgart, Calwer, 1921, pp. 544).

J. Strzygowski's volume on *Ursprung der Christlichen Kirchenkunst* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1920, pp. xi, 204) is worthy of notice.

Volume VIII., part 2, of H. Leclercq's translation of the *Histoire des Conciles, d'après les Documents Originaux, par Charles Joseph Hefele, continuée par le Cardinal J. Hergenroether* (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1921, pp. 621–1260), has appeared.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Delehaye, *La Persécution dans l'Armée sous Dioclétien* (Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1921, 5); Cardinal Gasquet, *St. Jerome: His Life and Labors for the Church of God* (Dublin Review, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The elaborate history and description of *European Arms and Armour,* of which the late Sir Guy Laking did not live to complete more than the first of five volumes, is being continued at his request by his friend Mr. Francis Cripps-Day. Volumes II. and III. (London, Bell) are concerned with helmets and gauntlets, chain-mail, shields, and swords.

H. Idris Bell begins in the July number of the *English Historical Review* a list of original papal bulls and briefs in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum; 236 (1096–1480) are already listed.

The *Manuale Scholarium,* first published in 1481, and one of the chief sources of information concerning life in a medieval university, has been translated from the Latin into student, colloquial English, by Robert Francis Seybolt, associate professor of the history of education in the University of Illinois (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921, pp. 122). The work is in the form of a dialogue between two students who converse on such subjects as the form of matriculation, the freshman ceremony of initiation, courses of study, methods of instruction, requirements for degrees, and university life and customs. Besides the interesting and useful annotations, Professor Seybolt has added a four-page bibliography, and an appendix containing typical statutes of university rule from the codes of Erfurt, Heidelberg, and Leipzig.

A monograph on one of the great German magnates of the eleventh century is Karl H. Schmitt's *Erzbischof Adalbert I. von Mainz als Territorialfürst,* which appears as part 2 of the *Arbeiten zur Deutschen Rechts und Verfassungsgeschichte,* published by J. Haller, P. Heck, and A. B. Schmidt (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920).

Franz Pelster's *Kritische Studien zum Leben und zu den Schriften Alberts des Grossen* (Freiburg, Herder, 1920, pp. xvi, 180) is an effort to clear the ground for a scientifically written biography, which is still lacking. The author first studies the sources for such a biography, then attempts to make a chronology of Albert's life, and, finally, endeavors to date the philosophical and theological works.

The following studies of medieval church statesmen have appeared: Duc de la Salle de Rochemaure, *Gerbert Sylvestre II.* (Paris, Émile-Paul,

pp. 752); E. Göller, *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Benedikt XII.* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1920, pp. viii, 285), which is one of the *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1378,* and is an analysis of financial history that throws important light upon other phases of Benedict's administration.

Two medieval studies worthy of note are O. Wolff, O. S. B., *Mein Meister Rupertus, ein Mönchsleben aus d. 12 Jahrh.* (Freiburg, Herder, 1920, pp. vii, 202), and E. Sainte-Marie Perrin, *La Belle Vie de Sainte Colette de Corbie, 1381–1447* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. iii, 295).

A useful study illustrative of the quarrels of medieval lords with monastic houses is L. Schaudel's *Les Comtes de Salm et l'Abbaye de Senones aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1921).

P. Champion has edited *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc, Texte, Traduction, et Notes* (Paris, Champion, 2 vols.). He adds materially to the work of Quicherat, now over seventy years old. The translation is good, and the notes excellent. The introduction to the second volume, which studies the mentality and concepts of the judges, is a masterpiece. Mgr. Touchet, bishop of Orléans, has written *Vie de Sainte Jeanne d'Arc* (Poitiers, Texier, 1920, pp. xi, 216). *Les Étapes d'une Gloire Religieuse: Sainte Jeanne d'Arc* (Laurens) is by G. Goyau. It first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* and constitutes an important study of the development of opinion concerning the work of Joan of Arc. *La Véritable Jeanne d'Arc* (Paris, Fasquelle) is by J. d'Auriac.

An important volume on *Avignon au XV^e Siècle* (Monaco and Paris, 1920, pp. 723), by L. H. Lebande, is published as part of the historical programme under the patronage of the Prince of Monaco. The author has already written on Avignon in the thirteenth century, and will publish a volume on the fourteenth century, that is, the period of the Avignon popes. He recasts, in the light of documents found in the archives of Monaco, not only the revolt of Cardinal Julian della Rovere against Alexander VI., but the whole history of that troubled epoch. This volume covers only political and diplomatic history. Another will appear, on the art, customs, and life of the city, etc. G. Mollot, professor in the University of Strasburg, has published the third volume of his edition of Stephanus Baluzius, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium, hoc est Historia Pontificum Romanorum qui in Gallia Sederunt ab Anno Christi MCCCV. usque ad Annum MCCCXCIV.* (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1921, pp. 561).

Another of the useful handbooks of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has appeared, entitled *Life in a Medieval City* (London, 1920, pp. 84), as illustrated by York in the fifteenth century. The author is Edwin Benson.

In his *Traité d'Architecture et son Application aux Monuments de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1921, pp. 300) G. Des Marez, archivist of the city of Brussels, attempts to build a manual of archaeology of the Middle Ages and a history of modern architecture, using the materials available in a single city for illustrative purposes.

Recent books on medieval history, the titles of which sufficiently suggest their contents, are: K. Heissenbüttel, *Die Bedeutung der Bezeichnungen f. Volk und Nation bei den Geschichtsschreibern d. 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1920, pp. 127); P. Vidal, *Les Gestes de Joffre d'Aria et de son Fils Joffre le Poilu, Comte de Barcelone, et Marquis de Gothie, Chronique Légendaire du IX^e Siècle* (Perpignan, Barrière, 1920, pp. 116); R. His, *Das Strafrecht des Deutschen Mittelalters,* I., *Die Verbrechen und ihre Folgen im Allgemeinen* (Leipzig, Weicher, 1920, pp. xxi, 672); H. Nottarp, *Die Bistumserrichtung in Deutschland im VIII. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1920, pp. vii, 259); C. Appel, *Der Trobado Cadenet* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1920, pp. ii, 123).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Bloch, *Serf de la Glèbe: Histoire d'une Expression toute Faite* (Revue Historique, CXXXVI. 2); J. Hashagen, *Rheinisches Geistesleben im Späteren Mittelalter* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 2); E. Posner, *Das Register Gregors I.* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XLIII. 2); P. Fournier, *L'Oeuvre Canonique de Réginon de Prüm* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXI.); U. Stutz, *Reims und Mainz in der Königswahl des Zehnten und zu Beginn des Elften Jahrhunderts* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XXIX.); E. Walburg, *Date de la Composition des Recueils de Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis, dus à Benoît de Peterborough et à Guillaume de Cantorbéry* (Le Moyen Age, XXII., Sept.–Dec., 1920); R. von Heckel, *Untersuchungen zu den Registern Innozenz III.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XL.); C. H. Haskins, *The 'De Arte Venandi cum Avibus' of the Emperor Frederick II.* (English Historical Review, July); M. Viller, *La Question de l'Union des Églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le Concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274–1438), I.* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, XVII. 2–3); L. Mirot, *Paiements et Quittances de Travaux exécutés sous le Règne de Charles VI., 1380–1422* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXI.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An Outline of Modern History, by Edward M. Earle of Columbia University, published by the Macmillan Company, is a syllabus, with map studies, designed to accompany Professor Carlton Hayes's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe.* There are appendixes on Studying and Note-Taking, on Book Reviews, and on Historical Essays, as well as fourteen map studies.

Professor D. Schäfer, of Berlin, has published a *Kolonialgeschichte* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1921, 2 vols., pp. iii, 148). The first volume deals

with the period before the end of the eighteenth century, while the second covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Dr. Eduard Fueter, the Swiss scholar whose *Geschichte der Historiographie* is well known, has produced a readable *Weltgeschichte der Letzten Hundert Jahre, 1815–1920* (Zurich, Schulthess).

Le Fond d'une Querelle: Documents Inédits sur les Relations Franco-Italiennes, 1914–1921 (Paris, Grasset, 1921), by C. Sabini, is the story of the entrance of Italy into the war at a time when the two countries knew too little about each other, and thought rather ill of each other, and of the development of more cordial feeling.

The second volume of the British *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War* was published in 1912. The third and concluding volume, mainly the work of Major (now Major-General) E. D. Swinton and Captain (now Rear-Admiral) J. Luce, was completed in 1914, but delayed in publication by reason of the war. It is now published by the Stationery Office and contains the history of the battles of San-De-Pu and Mukden, the voyage of Rojestvenski's fleet, the battle of the Sea of Japan, and lesser events.

We have received from Dr. Alexander Krisztics, lecturer in the University of Budapest, a tabular *Synopsis of the Legal Position of Nationalities in Europe before the War,* which was submitted to the Peace Conference at Versailles by the Hungarian Peace Delegation. For each of some twenty-nine "nationalities", grouped politically, information is given respecting ethnical elements, the "law of nationalities in general", and the language of legislation, of administration, of the courts, of the schools and universities, and of the army.

THE GREAT WAR

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published in separate form the *Annual Report of the Director of the Division of Economics and History* (Mar. 16, 1921), devoted to a report, by James T. Shotwell, general editor, on the plans for the monumental *Economic and Social History of the World War* which is to be published by the Endowment and which is now the chief, practically the only, undertaking of the Division of Economics and History, of which Professor John Bates Clark is director. The method of organizing the proposed history has been to appoint in each country editorial heads to co-operate with the general editor. Thus the chairman of the British editorial board is Sir William Beveridge, of the French board Professor Charles Gide, of the Belgian board Dr. Henri Pirenne, of the Italian board Professor Luigi Finaudi, of the board dealing with the Baltic countries Professor Harald Westergaard. The chairmanship of the board for Austria-Hungary has been retained by the general editor, who has developed the plans for that division of the work in considerable detail; editorial boards in other countries are being organized. Nearly one hundred

monographs have already been definitely arranged for, and are announced in the report. In the majority of cases it has been possible to secure as their respective authors men who were actively engaged during the war in the activities or phases with which they will deal. But one volume is as yet announced for the United States: *Guide to American Sources for the Economic History of the War,* by Waldo G. Leland and Newton D. Mereness. The first volume to be published, on either side of the Atlantic, is *Allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration,* by Mr. J. A. Salter (Oxford, Clarendon Press), who during the war held the positions of director of ship requisitioning in the Ministry of Shipping, secretary of the Allied Maritime Transport Council, chairman of the Allied Maritime Transport Executive, and secretary of the British department of the Supreme Economic Council. The second of these volumes is *Prices and Wages in the United Kingdom, 1914–1920,* by Dr. Arthur L. Bowley, professor of statistics in the University of London.

For two years much interest has been aroused by the collection at Stanford University of materials relating to the Great War, on a scale larger and more comprehensive than has been attempted by any other American institution, possibly by any other institution in the world. The collection owes its inception to Herbert Hoover and bears his name. A preliminary account of it is now published by Professor E. D. Adams, by whom and under whose direction the collection has been made: *The Hoover War Collection at Stanford University, California: a Report and an Analysis* (Stanford University Press, pp. 82). Necessarily the report is very summary; in view of the magnitude of the collection and the lack of time for arranging it, and because of the fact that it is still in process of making, it could hardly be otherwise. The analysis groups the contents under the following heads: propaganda of delegations at the Peace Conference, publications of societies, government documents, exchanges with the Library of Congress, ordinary book-material, special purchases, posters, proclamations and orders, newspapers and periodicals, war propaganda, Baltic States, Russia and Southeastern Europe, Stanford Food Research Institute.

Two bibliographical works of considerable importance are, H. Bornecque and G. Drouilly's *La France et la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, pp. 156), which contains an analysis of two hundred French books on the war which appeared between 1914 and 1918, and which serves as a very good guide to the literature of the subject; and J. L. Kunz's *Bibliographie der Kriegsliteratur: Politik, Geschichte, Philosophie, Völkerrecht, Friedensfrage* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1920, pp. 101), covering not only books, but pamphlets, documents, etc., as late as May, 1920.

Former President Raymond Poincaré, in a well-documented volume, *Les Origines de la Guerre, Conférences prononcées en Février–Mars, 1921, à la Société des Conférences* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 272), puts the

French case in very clear and forceful terms. It is a book which adds new light to the history of the war.

The second volume of Sir Julian S. Corbett's *Naval Operations,* in the *Official History of the Great War,* to be published by Messrs. Longmans this autumn, will cover the period from the Battle of the Falkland Islands to the entrance of Italy into the war in May, 1915. It will be largely occupied with the Dardanelles Expedition.

If we understand the matter rightly, Investigating Committee No. 15 of the German National Assembly, appointed in 1919, was organized into two subcommittees, of which the first was to consider the origins of the war, the second the various movements toward peace or mediation made during the war and the reasons for their lack of success. We have now received Heft 2 of the *Beilagen* to the stenographic reports of the first, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges: Militärische Rüstungen und Mobilmachungen* (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1921, pp. 152), and two volumes of the *Stenographische Berichte* of the public sessions of the second, October 21–November 18, 1919, and April 14, 1920 (Berlin, Norddeutsche Buchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, pp. 794, 120, 84, 338), which, however, also contains the first *Beilage* of the first subcommittee, consisting of the written replies of many German officials, from Bethmann-Hollweg down, to questions laid before them by the subcommittee, as well as a special report, with appendixes, of the second subcommittee, on President Wilson's movement toward peace and its reception and results. The book first named, mostly from the pen of Count Montgelas, contains a large amount of important information concerning the military preparations of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and other powers just before the war. It represents Russia as chiefly responsible. The German government has in press a further series of fifteen volumes, additional to these books and the Kautsky series, and referring to an earlier period; these are being prepared by Dr. Lewald's commission.

The Library for American Studies in Italy (Rome, Palazzo Salviati, 271 Corso Umberto I.), an institution which deserves favor and gifts from Americans, has published as no. 2 of its bulletins a very useful list of 314 publications relating to Italy's part in the Great War, prepared by the highly competent hands of Signor Giuseppe Fumagalli, *Elenco di oltre 300 Pubblicazióni sulla Parte avuta dall'Italia nella Grande Guerra* (pp. 32).

The Oxford University Press has brought out in two volumes, as no. 3 of the Research Series of the American Geographical Society, Douglas W. Johnson's *Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts: a Study in Military Geography.*

A preface to a large, official history soon to be published is in the form of a book by Lieut.-Col. J. Revel, of the Historical Section of the General Staff, *L'Effort Militaire des Alliés sur le Front de France* (Paris, Payot). H. V. Zwehl gives a brief but clear account of the

struggle in the area between Soissons and Chateau-Thierry, in July and August, 1918, *Die Schlachten in Sommer 1918 an der Westfront* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921, pp. 40).

Among the flood of memoirs published by officers in the war, the following may be mentioned as deserving special note: General Dubail continues his *Quatre Années de Commandement, 1914–1918: Journal de Campagne,* vol. II. dealing with the *Groupes d'Armées de l'Est du 6 Janvier au 14 Août, 1915* (Paris, Fournier, 1920, pp. 408). Volume III. has recently appeared (1921, pp. 359). Vice-Admiral Ronarch, commander of the Marine Brigade, gives his recollections and regrets in *Souvenirs de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot). Jean-José Frappa, a liaison officer on the staff of General Sarrail, defends his chief, in *Makedonia* (Paris, Flammarion). The most complete account yet published of the Salonica expedition is that of Jacques Ancel, *Les Travaux et les Jours de l'Armee d'Orient* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 233), which first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.* General Pedoya, its former president, publishes *La Commission de l'Armée pendant la Grande Guerre: Documents Inédits et Secrets* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1921, pp. 405). Military operations in Italy until August 11, 1916, are dealt with by Gen. Luigi Capello, commander of one of the Italian armies, in *Note di Guerra,* I., *Dall'Inizio alla Presa di Gorizia* (Milan, Trèves). Especially important is the work of Count J. Stürgkh, *Im Deutschen Grossen Hauptquartier* (Leipzig, List, 1921, pp. 160), which records his experiences and impressions during the first ten months of the war, when he was Austro-Hungarian representative at German headquarters. He had every opportunity to study the situation, and has recorded the results of his observations very frankly.

The local history of the war absorbs many volumes. Only a few of the more interesting and important may be mentioned. The pastoral letters of Mgr. Schoepfer, bishop of Tarbes, are published in *Lourdes pendant la Guerre* (Strasburg, Le Roux). They carry the story to the reception of General Foch, who was born in Tarbes. J. Schmitz and N. Nieuwland have collected *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Invasion Allemande dans les Provinces de Namur et de Luxembourg,* II., *Le Siège de Namur,* III., *Tamines et la Bataille de la Sambre* (Paris and Brussels, Van Oest, 1920, pp. 374, 208). *Lille et l'Invasion Allemande, 1914–1918* (Paris, Perrin, 1920), is by Jean Loredan; *Les Allemands à Laon, 2 Septembre, 1914–13 Octobre, 1918* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1920), by J. Marquiset; and *Un Arrondissement de Paris pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1921, pp. xvi, 498), by P. Maréchal.

War-Time Strikes and their Adjustment, by A. M. Bing (New York, Dutton, 1921), is an account of the organization, history, and operations of the governmental agencies set up during the war, or which already existed, for mediating in labor disputes.

Books dealing with peace and its problems are: J. Brunhes and V. Camille, *La Géographie de l'Histoire: Géographie de la Paix et de la Guerre sur Terre et sur Mer* (Paris, Alcan); *L'Afrique et la Paix de Versailles* (Tours, Arrault, 1921, pp. 268), by E. Antonelli; *La Protection des Droits des Minorités dans les Traités Internationaux de 1919–1920* (Paris, Pavolozki, 1920), by Marc Vichniac; *La Propriété Industrielle, Littéraire et Artistique et les Traités de Paix* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1921), by G. Chabaud, which is an analysis of certain phases of the treaties and a discussion of their application. *La Question Adriatique* (Paris, L'Emancipatrice), by "Adriaticus", is a collection of official documents, 1914–1919, with commentary sufficient to put them in their proper setting. It is designed to show the several attempts made by various nations to solve the Adriatic problem.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anon., *Notes on Foreign* [non-English] *War Books* (Army Quarterly, January, April, July); Gen. N. N. Golovine, *Cavalry on the Front* (Cavalry Journal, July); Capt. G. C. Wynne, *The Development of the German Plan of Campaign, August–September, 1914* (Army Quarterly, July); Brig.-Gen. J. E. Edmonds, *The Austrian Plan of Campaign in 1914 and its Development* (*ibid.*); L. Dumur, *La Prise de Douaumont* (Mercure de France, July 15); Lieut.-Col. Chenet, *La Verité sur la Perte du Fort de Douaumont, d'après des Témoignages Inédits* (*ibid.*, August 1); Maj. E. N. McClellan, *The Aisne-Marne Offensive*, cont. (Marine Corps Gazette, June); Capt. Gordon Gordon-Smith, *Errors of Allied Strategy and Policy in the World War* (Infantry Journal, July); R. H. Williams, *Literature of the Peace Conference* (Canadian Historical Review, June); D. H. Miller, *The Adriatic Negotiations at Paris* (Atlantic Monthly, August); Hymans, Bourquin, de Visscher, Rolin, Grunebaum-Ballin, and Hostie, *Études sur l'Organisation et l'Oeuvre de la Société des Nations* (Revue de Droit International et de Législation Comparée, II. 1, 2); A. I., *Le Régime de l'Occupation Rhénane institué par le Traité de Versailles* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Cambridge University Press announces a series of *Cambridge Studies in English Legal History*, to be edited by an American scholar, Dr. Harold D. Hazeltine, Downing Professor of the Laws of England.

H. Prentout, professor of the history of Normandy in the University of Caen, whose studies in the earlier period of English history are well known, has written a careful and well-proportioned manual under the title, *Histoire de l'Angleterre depuis les Origines jusqu'en 1919* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

Foster's very useful *Alumni Oxonienses* is to be paralleled by a series of *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, to be edited by Dr. John Venn and Mr. J. A. Venn and published by the Cambridge University Press. Part I., con-

sisting of four volumes, will run to 1751; the second part, running from 1752 to the present time, will be undertaken if sufficient encouragement is obtained from the success of part I.

A Short History of the Jews in England (S. P. C. K.) is by the competent hands of Rev. H. P. Stokes.

Dom Bede Jarrett's *The English Dominicans* (London, Burns and Oates) recounts their history in a manner both interesting and scholarly, on the occasion of the seven-hundredth anniversary of the coming of the Dominicans to England.

H. Jensen has published *Den Engelske Revolutions Historie, 1603–1688* (Copenhagen, Gad, 1920, pp. 242).

Matthew Prior: a Study of his Public Career and Correspondence, by L. G. Wickham Legg, fellow and tutor of New College, Oxford, a work based on diplomatic and other material in British, French, Dutch, and private archives, will shortly be published by the Cambridge University Press.

Mr. Lewis Melville's *The South Sea Bubble* (London, Daniel O'Connor) devotes careful and thorough investigation to a famous and dramatic episode in economic and financial history.

Dr. Rufus M. Jones concludes the important series of books on the history of the Society of Friends put forth by him and Mr. W. C. Braithwaite, by the publication of two volumes on *The Later Periods of Quakerism* (Macmillan).

Volume II., part I., of Wolfgang Michael's *Englische Geschichte im 18. Jahrhundert* is devoted to *Das Zeitalter Robert Walpoles* (Berlin and Leipzig, Rothschild, 1920, pp. 640) and covers the period from 1717 to 1720 in very great detail. It is based on extensive research both in England and on the Continent. This is a work of great importance.

Mr. J. F. Rees, lecturer in economic history in the University of Edinburgh, has lately published *A Fiscal and Financial History of England, 1815–1918* (London, Methuen).

No. 27 of Miss Skeel's series of *Texts for Students* (London, S. P. C. K.) begins a group entitled *The Foundations of Modern Ireland,* in which Miss Constantia Maxwell, of the University of Dublin, will present select extracts from sources illustrating English rule and social and economic conditions in Ireland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Part I. is concerned with the civil policy of Henry VIII. and the Reformation. In the same series there will shortly appear an account of the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office, by Mr. C. S. S. Higham, of the University of Manchester.

British government publication: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* September 1, 1680–December 31, 1681, ed. F. H. B. Daniell. Other documentary publications are: *Year-Books of Edward II.,* 1312–1313, ed. Sir Paul Vinogradoff and L. Ehrlich (Selden Society); *The Register of Charles Bothe, Bishop of Hereford,* 1516–1536, ed. Canon A. T. Bannister (Cantilupe Society, completing their series).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. F. Tout, *The Place of St. Thomas of Canterbury in History* (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, July); E. R. Adair and F. M. G. Evans, *Writs of Assistance, 1558–1700* (English Historical Review, July); V. J. B. Torr, *Local Records of the Elizabethan Settlement* (Dublin Review, July); J. M. Manly, *The Most Mysterious Manuscript in the World: Did Roger Bacon write it and has the Key been Found?* (Harper's Magazine, July); R. K. Hannay, *The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary* (Scottish Historical Review, July); *"Reflections by the Lrd Cheife Justice Hale on Mr. Hobbes his Dialogue of the Law"*, ed. Sir Frederick Pollock and Dr. W. S. Holdsworth (Law Quarterly Review, July); W. T. Morgan, *The Ministerial Revolution in 1710 in England* (Political Science Quarterly, June); L. M. Penson, *The London West India Interest in the Eighteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Callwell, *War Councils in this Country* [Great Britain] (Army Quarterly, July); J. Bardoux, *La Crise Révolutionnaire de l'Angleterre Contemporaine: ses Origines Religieuses* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Nov.–Dec., 1920).

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Lefebre, *Quelques Publications relatives au Seizième Siècle Français* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXI.); Raymond Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours et Questions Générales Contemporaines* (Revue Historique, CXXXVI. 2).

Three volumes of the great *Histoire de la Nation Française,* edited by Gabriel Hanotaux, have appeared. Volume I., *Géographie Humaine de la France* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. lxxx, 500), is by Jean Brunhes, professor in the College of France. Volume III., *Histoire Politique: des Origines à 1515* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 590), is by P. Imbart de la Tour. It is grouped about four sets of facts: the work of Clovis, the work of Charlemagne, feudalism, and the monarchy. Volume XII. is *Histoire des Lettres* (Paris, Plon, 1921), and is divided in three parts, as follows: 1, *La Littérature Française en Langue Latine,* by Francois Picavet; 2, *Les Chansons de Geste,* by Joseph Bédier; 3, *Littérature de Langue Française: des Origines à Ronsard,* by Alfred Jeanroy.

C. de la Roncière continues his monumental *Histoire de la Marine Française* with vol. V., on *La Guerre de Trente Ans: Colbert* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 748). It is ten years since the appearance of vol. IV. The new work includes an enormous mass of material dealing with the work of Richelieu, and the great reorganization of Colbert, with its brilliant results.

La Bretagne (Paris, Boccard) is by C. le Goffic, the best-equipped writer on the subject. While the work is largely descriptive, the author knows the historical background which is essential to an interpretation

of the customs and habits of the people. A. Mousset has published *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Maison de Kergorlay en Bretagne* (Paris, Collemant, 1921, pp. cv, 540).

A contribution of notable importance to the history of the first eight years of the reign of Louis XI. is Henri Stein's *Charles de France, Frère de Louis XI.* (Paris, Picard, pp. ix, 871). The king's brother was at the centre of most of the difficulties that Louis encountered.

P. d'Estrée, who has already published a volume on *Le Maréchal de Richelieu, 1696–1758,* has now completed the biography, in *La Vieillesse de Richelieu, 1758–1788, d'après les Correspondances et Mémoires Contemporaines et d'après les Documents Inédits* (Paris, Émile-Paul).

A carefully prepared volume by A. Léman is *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces Ordinaires de France, de 1624 à 1634* (Lille, Giard, 1920, pp. iv, 217). It is more than a publication of texts; each instruction is preceded by an introduction, giving an account of the papal ambassador and of the problems with which he had to deal.

Before the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, on January 7, 1921, Louis Batiffol demonstrated that the *Mémoires* of Cardinal de Richelieu are not authentic, being the work of two compilers, who endeavored to write a history of Louis XIII. on the basis of Richelieu's papers.

J. Cordey has published vol. II. of *Correspondance du Maréchal de Vivonne relative à l'Expédition de Messine* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1920, pp. xxxvi, 364). The first volume appeared some years ago. The present work covers the period from October, 1676, to January, 1678.

The study of French law from the days of Louis XIV. to Napoleon forms the subject of *L'Enseignement du Droit Français dans les Universités de France au XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ Siècles* (Paris, Tenin, 1920, pp. 155), by A. de Curzon.

The life of *Louis XV.: Essai d'après les Documents Authentiques* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1921) is by C. Saint-André.

Marc Chassaigne has attacked the legend of a supposed martyr to free thought in the eighteenth century in *Le Procès du Chevalier de la Barre* (Paris, Gabalda, 1921, pp. xiv, 272).

The third volume of M. Marion's *Histoire Financière de la France depuis 1715* covers the period from September 26, 1792, to February 4, 1797. It is the history of paper money, emphasizing the dangers of its abuse, and recounts the tergiversations of the assembly and the misfortunes which paper money brought. The story of one of Necker's attempts at fiscal reform is by Georges Larde, *Une Enquête sur les Vingtièmes de Necker* (Paris, Letouzey, 1920, pp. vii, 136).

Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Democratie: Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 300), by A. Cochin, is a collection of studies preparatory to a history of the French Revolution which the

author had planned before his death. L. de Launay has written *Une Famille de la Bourgeoisie Parisienne pendant la Révolution: Toussaint Mareux, Membre de la Commune de 1792 et Directeur du Théâtre Saint-Antoine, et François Sallior, Membre du Bureau Central sous le Directoire, d'après leur Correspondance Inédite* (Tours, Arrault, 1921, pp. 392).

P. de La Gorce has published the fourth volume of his *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Plon, pp. 380). It covers the five years from July 27, 1794, to November 9, 1799, from the first public demand for religious liberty to the return of Napoleon from Egypt and the death of Pius VI. The Napoleonic reshaping of the situation which had been precipitated by the Revolution will form the subject of the next volume. *La Résistance au Concordat de 1801* (Paris, Plon, pp. 248) is by R. de Chauvigny.

The beginnings of a great empire are illustrated, together with matters interesting to the student of the African slave-trade, by the *Instructions Générales données de 1763 à 1870 aux Gouverneurs des Établissements Français en Afrique Occidentale,* edited by M. Christian Schefer, of which the first volume, 1763–1831, has just been published by Champion of Paris.

H. d'Almeras continues his series of volumes with *La Vie Parisienne sous la Révolution de 1848* (Paris, Michel, 1921, pp. 388). Previous volumes covered the periods of the Revolution and the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire, the Restoration, and the reign of Louis Philippe.

A study of a crisis in the history of universal suffrage is by Gaston Génique, *L'Élection de l'Assemblée Législative en 1849: Essai d'une Répartition Géographique des Partis Politiques en France* (Bedier). The author concludes that radicalism is always stupid.

A book of value for the history of the Church under the Second Empire is Albert Houtin's *Le Père Hyacinthe dans l'Église Romaine: 1827–1868* (Paris, Nourry, 1920).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Dieudonné, *Les Conditions du Denier Parisis et du Denier Tournois sous les Premiers Capétiens* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXI.); Victor Loewe, *Französiche Rheinbundidee und Brandenburgische Politik im Jahre 1698* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XX. 2); C. Pfister, *Les Voyages de Louis XIV. en Alsace,* I., *Le Voyage de 1663* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November–December, 1920); F. Lion, *Das Elsass als Problem* (Neue Rundschau, April); E. Wetterlé, *La "Langue Maternelle" en Alsace et en Lorraine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); C. Samaran, *Un Diplomate Français du XV^e Siècle: Jean de Bilhères-Lagranlas, Cardinal de Saint-Denis* (Le Moyen Age, XXII.); de la Revelière, *Nos Alliances et la Pologne* (Mercure de France, July 15); Seillière, *Joseph de Maistre et Rousseau* (Séances et

Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November–December, 1920); Prince de Condé, *Journal d'Émigration,* I., II. (Revue de Paris, June 15, July 1); L. Madelin, *Napoléon à travers le Siècle, 1821–1921* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); J. G. Prod'homme, *Napoléon, la Musique et les Musiciens* (Mercure de France, May 15); M. Liber, *Napoléon Ier et les Juifs: la Question Juive devant le Conseil d'État en 1806* (Revue des Études Juives, LXXI. 142, 143); Saint-Denis dit Ali, *Souvenirs du Second Mameluk de l'Empereur,* I., *Les Tuileries, Moscou, la Retraite de Russie,* II., *L'Ile d'Elbe* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1, 15); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Bonaparte, Membre de l'Institut* (*ibid.,* May 15); P. Adam, *Ligny et Waterloo,* I., *Ligny,* II., *Waterloo* (Revue de France, May 1, 15); F. Masson, *La Mort de l'Empereur,* I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, 15); T. Roche, *Paul-Louis Courier, Soldat de Napoléon* (Mercure de France, May 15); Joseph Reinach, *Napoléon III. et la Paix* (Revue Historique, March-April); J. M. S. Allison, *Thiers and the July Days* (Sewanee Review, July–September); J. Reinach, *La Diplomatie de la Troisième République, 1871–1914,* I., II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 1, 2).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

William Heywood, an English scholar of great accuracy and vivacious talent, who from 1879 to 1894 lived in America as editor, ranchman, and lawyer, and after that in Italy, left behind him an unfinished work on Pisa which has been posthumously published as *A History of Pisa in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge University Press).

Professor Isidoro del Lungo issues a new edition of his important contribution to Florentine history entitled *Bonifazio VIII. e Arrigo VII.* with the new title *I Bianchi e i Neri* (Milan, Hoepli).

An important body of *Mémoires* (Rome, Cuggini, 3 vols., pp. 1402), by Cardinal Dominique Ferrata, has been published.

In vol. XXIV. of the *Transactions* of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, under the title *Collectanea Hispanica,* Professor Charles U. Clark presents an elaborate treatise on Spanish palaeography and on Visigothic manuscripts, of which 213 are described.

A. Ballesteros y Beretta has published the second volume of his *Historia de España y su Influencia en la Historia Universal* (Barcelona, Salvet, pp. 776). The same author has written a *Síntesis de Historia de España* (Madrid, Torres, 1920, pp. 486).

The first part of a *Contribución al Estudio de la Administración de Barcelona por los Franceses, 1808–1814* (Barcelona, Escuela Salesiana de Arte Gráfico, 1920, pp. 214), has been published by F. Camp.

Señor Arturo Farinelli's *Viajes por España y Portugal desde la Edad Media hasta el Siglo XIX.* (Madrid, Centro de Estúdios Históricos), while ample as a bibliography of travel in the Peninsula, is more than

a mere bibliographical list, since the compiler adds many interesting comments of his own, and some quotations.

A study of the life and work of a Spanish political thinker, by E. Varagna, is *Un Grand Espagnol Apôtre du Droit des Peuples: Emilio Castelar* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1920, pp. xiv, 328).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Ferrero, *One Hundred Years of Italian Life* (Current History, September); W. Erben, *Betrachtungen zu der Italienischen Kriegstätigkeit der Schweizer* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 1); F. Ruffini, *Il Potere Temporale negli Scopi di Guerra degli Ex-Imperi Centrali* (Nuova Antologia, April 16); *id., La Questione Romana e l'Ora Presente* (*ibid.*, June 1).

GERMANY

The Bishop of Bombay (Dr. E. J. Palmer) has prepared, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published, a *Life of Otto, Apostle of Pomerania, 1060–1139,* in which he gives an English translation, the first to be made, of the second and third books of the *Life* by Ebo.

A fifth edition has been published of *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920, pp. xiv, 463), by W. Altmann and E. Bernheim; a brief *Geschichte des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, Habbel, 1920, pp. 384) is by H. Rausse; T. Mayer has written *Die Verwaltungsorganisationen Maximilians I., ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung* (Innsbruck, Verlag d. Wagnerschen Universität Buchdruch, 1920, pp. 106).

New books dealing with various phases of the Reformation in Germany are, A. v. Müller's *Luther's Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis neu Untersucht* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. x, 140); W. Knappe's *Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain und die Reformation in der Herrschaft Hohenwaldeck: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1920, pp. v, 156).

One hundred years of Protestantism in Germany is reviewed by J. B. Kissling in *Der Deutsche Protestantismus, 1817–1917: eine Geschichtliche Darstellung* (Munster, Aschendorff, 1920, 2 vols., pp. xii, 424; xii, 440).

We have just received the third volume of the *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Heilbronn,* edited by Dr. Moriz von Rauch (Stuttgart, 1916, pp. 782). It pertains to the years 1501–1524 and is published as the nineteenth volume of the *Württembergische Geschichtsquellen* of the Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte.

Otto Vitense has published a satisfactory *Geschichte von Mecklenburg* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920, pp. xxxiv, 610), in the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* series. The second volume of W. Jesse's *Geschichte der*

Stadt Schwerin (Schwerin, Bärensprung, 1920, pp. 149) deals with the nineteenth century. The first volume was published in 1913.

A study of the Treaty of Basel, made from unpublished documents in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is published by E. de Marcère under the title *La Prusse et la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Paris, Alcan).

L'Allemagne et l'Avenir de l'Europe d'après les Lettres Inédites d'un Diplomate Belge en 1848 (Paris, Berger-Levrault) is by Comte Renaud de Briey.

Moltke, by Lieut.-Col. F. E. Whitton, is the latest addition to the series of *Makers of the Nineteenth Century* (London, Constable).

The feelings of a German of the older days who still thinks the dropping of Bismarck the great blunder, and his point of view concerning Wilhelm's management of German affairs, are set down by E. Engel in *Ein Tagebuch, 1914–1919* (6 vols., 1914–1920, pp. 2056).

The fourth volume of the quarto series of *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, bearing the imprint of 1915, has just reached us. It is a beautifully printed volume of over 200 pages, illustrated with nearly seventy plates and figures. Following an historical introduction by Victor van Berchem, the contents are as follows: Les Alliances de Genève avec les Cantons Suisses, extracts from a memoir by W. Oechsli, translated and annotated by Victor van Berchem; A Genève, du Conseil des Hallebardes à la Combourgeoisie avec Fribourg et Berne, 1525–1526, by Édouard Favre; Les Efforts des Genevois pour être admis dans l'Alliance Générale des Ligues, 1548–1550, by Léon Gautier; Les Monuments de l'Alliance de 1584 conservés à Genève, by Alfred Cartier; Les Coupes de l'Alliance de 1584, by Victor van Berchem; Les Médailles rappelant les Anciennes Relations de Genève et des Cantons Suisses, 1584–1815, by Eugène Demole; and La Chute, la Restauration de la République de Genève et son Entrée dans la Confédération Suisse (1798–1815), by Charles Borgeaud.

The first volume of E. Gagliardi's *Geschichte der Schweiz von den Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart* (Zurich, Rascher, 1920, pp. viii, 283) brings the account to the end of the Italian war, in 1516.

G. Heer has published another of his studies in nineteenth-century Swiss history, under the title *Der Schweizer: Bundesrat von 1848* (Glarus, Glarner Nachrichten, 1920, pp. iv, 104).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Karl Wenck, *Die Römische Kurie in der Schilderung eines Würzburger Stiftsherrn aus den Jahren 1263–1264* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV, 3); A. L. Veit, *Aus der Geschichte der Universität zu Mainz, 1477–1731* (Historiches Jahrbuch, XL.); Preserved Smith, *Englishmen at Wittenberg in the Sixteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); Friedrich Lenz, *Karl Marx* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 3); R. Kjellen, *Die Koalitionspolitik*

im Zeitalter 1871–1914 (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLV. 1); R. Redslob, *La Constitution Prussienne* (Revue du Droit Public, XXXVIII. 2); P. Matter, *La Constitution Prussienne et les Élections du 20 Février, 1921* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2); G. Wilke, *Die Entwicklung der Theorie des Staatlichen Steuersystems in der Deutschen Finanzwissenschaft des 19 Jahrhunderts* (Finanz-Archiv, XXXVIII. 1); G. Duhamel, *Prague, Avril, 1921* (Mercure de France, July 1); F. Hartung, *Carl August von Weimar als Landesherr* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 1); A. Rosenbaum, *Bibliographie der in den Jahren 1914 bis 1918 Erschienenen, Zeitschriftenaufsätze und Bücher zur Deutschen Literaturgeschichte* (Euphorion, XII. 1, 2); Johannes Schultze, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Historischen Zeitschrift,* with letters from H. von Sybel to Max Duncker of 1857–1858 (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV, 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The next publication of the Dutch Historical Commission, expected to appear this winter, will be the first of two volumes of papal documents illustrative of the history of the Eighty Years' War for independence, edited by Mgr. A. Hensen, *Documenten over de Strijd tegen de Hervorming, uit Archieven te Roma.*

In 1922 will be published, in Professor Brugmans's attractive illustrated historical series, a volume on Prince Frederick Henry, lately completed by Professor P. J. Blok of Leyden.

No. 2 of the valuable publications of the society called Het Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief is Dr. N. W. Posthumus's second volume of the *Documenten betreffende de Buitenlandsche Handelspolitiek van Nederland in de Negentiende Eeuw* (the Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1921, pp. xv, 494), presenting documents in English, Dutch, and French concerning Anglo-Dutch commercial negotiations from 1814 to 1838. For no. 3, see under Asia, *post* (Japan).

One of the stormy characters of Dutch history is dealt with in J. S. van Veen's *De Laatste Regeeringsjaren von Hertog Arnold, 1456–1465* (Arnheim, Quint, 1920, pp. vi, 160).

S. Cuperus has published vol. II. of *Kerkelijk leven der Hervormden in Friesland tijdens de Republiek,* under the title *De Gemeente Leeuwarden* (Groningen, Meijer and Schaafsma, 1920, pp. 224).

L'Ame et la Vie d'un Peuple: la Hollande dans le Monde (Paris, Perrin, 1921) is by H. Asselin.

Belgium is to have a general historical and philological review, based on a union of all elements interested in history and philology. The first number will appear in January next. The conduct of this *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* will be in the hands of a managing committee, with its secretary in Brussels.

Volume V. of Henri Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1921, pp. xiii, 584) covers the period from the Peace of Westphalia to the French War of 1792, giving a detailed account of the Austrian régime. The book is especially important for its study of Joseph II.

Eugène Hubert, rector of the University of Liége, has already published a number of volumes since the armistice on the Austrian period of Belgian history; his address at the opening of the session of the University of Liége in October, 1920, appears in the *Rapport sur la Situation de l'Université pendant l'Année 1919–1920*, under the title "Gouverneurs Généraux et Ministres Plénipotentiaires aux Pays-Bas pendant les Dernières Années du Régime Autrichien". The same author has also published recently *Notes et Documents sur l'Histoire du Protestantisme dans le Duché de Luxembourg au XVIII. Siècle* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1920, pp. 110).

The archivist of Turnhout, Father J. E. Jansen, canon of the Premonstratensian Abbaye du Parc, has published an excellent history of his order in Belgium, topically arranged, *La Belgique Norbertine* (Averbode, Imprimerie de l'Abbaye, 1921, pp. xxvi, 407).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General Reviews: P. Chasles, *Le Bolchévisme Expliqué par l'État Social de la Russie, avec une Bibliographie* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXI. 91–93); G. Tschudnowski, *Russiche Sozialisten über den Krieg* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, IX. 2, 3).

B. Erichsen and A. Krarup have published *Dansk Historisk Bibliografi* (Copenhagen, Gad, 1920, pp. 160).

M. S. Hansson is the author of *Norges Forhold overfor Danmark i 1863–1864* (Christiania, Aschehoug, 1920, pp. 94).

Two recent books on Finland are, E. Moltesen, *Det Finske Finland: en Kulturhistorisk Oversigt* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1920, pp. 168), and *Från Finlands Frihetskrig* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1920, pp. 236), by E. Linder.

Jules Legras, whose knowledge of Russia is founded on his travels in that country for a quarter of a century, in his *Mémoires de Russie* (Paris, Payot) gives an account of his life with the Russian army. The chapter on the Roumanian front, his characterizations of Russian officers and soldiers, and his discussion of the breakdown of the army and the rise of Bolshevism, are remarkable contributions, and will give the book an important place. Ossip-Lourié's *La Révolution Russe* (Paris, Rieder, pp. 112) attempts to cover everything since 1914 in too brief compass. It is strongly sympathetic to Lenine and pictures him as an incorruptible puritan. The reminiscences of a Riga physician are recorded in W. Lieven's *Das Rote Russland, Augenblicksbilder aus den Tagen der Gros-*

sen Russischen Revolution (Berlin, pp. 212). Maurice Verstraet has published his daily notes from May, 1915, to September, 1918, under the title *Mes Cahiers Russes* (Paris, Crès).

Important first-hand accounts of the history of the White Army and of the events which attended its downfall are to be found in *V Stanye Byelikh* (In the Camp of the Whites), by G. N. Rakovski, a journalist who accompanied it, and in *Pravlenie Generala Denikina* (General Denikin's Government), by Professor K. N. Sokolov, who occupied an important post in that government (Paris, Povolozki, both).

Pohod Kornilova (The Kornilov Campaign), by Alexei Suvorin (Rostov-on-the-Don, *Novoe Vremya* Press), is an important contribution to the history of the Volunteer Army, with a vivid and intelligent account of its exploits from its formation at the beginning of 1918 down to the death of its leader.

Mr. David R. Francis has brought out, through Charles Scribner's Sons, an account of the Russian Revolution as he saw it. The book is entitled *Russia from the American Embassy, April, 1916–November, 1918.*

W. Le Queux, the historian of Rasputín, completes the striking revelations of his two preceding volumes, *Raspoutine, le Moine Scélérat* and *La Vie Secrète de la Tsarine Tragique,* with a new volume entitled, *Le Ministre du Mal: Mémoires de Teodor Rajevski, Secrétaire Privé de Raspoutine* (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. 256). P. Gilliard, former preceptor of the Grand Duke Alexis, has published *Le Tragique Destin de Nicolas II. et de sa Famille: Treize Années à la Cour de Russie, Peterhof, Septembre, 1905, Ekaterinbourg, Mai, 1918* (Paris, Payot, pp. 264). He was an eye-witness of the last days of the royal family and escaped only by grace of a "happy caprice of the Bolshevists". The volume is illustrated with sixty-two photographs.

La Pologne et les Polonais (Paris, Bossard, pp. 390), by Doctor V. Bugiel, is a résumé, geographic, ethnographic, historical, and cultural.

Les Institutions Politiques en Pologne aux XIX^e^ Siècle (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. 270) is the work of Bohdan Winiarski, who was one of the legal counsellors of the Polish delegation at the Peace Conference.

One of the most actively discussed topics of the day is dealt with in V. Rzymowski's *La Pologne et la Haute-Silésie, traduit du Polonais par T. Warynski* (Paris, Bossard, pp. 40).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre,* V., *Nicolas II. à la Tête de ses Troupes*; VI., *Nicolas II. Fidèle à l'Alliance* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1, 15); H. F. Crohn-Wolfgang, *Die Baltischen Randstaaten und ihre Handelspolitische Bedeutung* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLVI. 1); Maj. E. E. Farman, jr., *The Polish-Bolshevik Campaigns of 1920* (Cavalry Journal, July); Maj.-Gen. A. E. Martynov, *Russian Generals and Bolshevism: the Latter Days of the Russian Army* (Army Quarterly, April).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Essays on the Latin Orient, by Mr. William Miller (Cambridge University Press), contains papers on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, on the Medieval Serbian Empire, on Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest, and on the Roman, Byzantine, Frankish, Venetian, Genoese, and Turkish dominations in Greece.

Doctor Mitrovitch of the University of Geneva has written an interesting book under the title, *Une Voix Serbe* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 224). It centres about Nicholas Pashitch, whose predominance since 1881 has been the outstanding feature of Serbian political history.

La Roumanie Nouvelle (Paris, Roger, 1920, pp. 267), by A. Muzet, is a book of popular character by a Balkan expert. *Les Questions Roumaines du Temps Présent* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. iv, 186) is a collection of lectures by T. Jonesco, D. Hurmuzesco, V. Dimitriv, E. Pangrati, C. M. Sipsom, J. Gavanesco, D. Negulesco, and J. Ursu.

An effort to discuss the character of the Turkish people so that Western people may understand them is made by A. T. Wegner in *Im Hause der Glückseligkeit: Aufzeichnungen aus der Türkei* (Dresden, Sybillen Verlag, 1920, pp. vii, 212). Personal impressions of the Turks are contained in H. Myles, *La Fin de Stamboul: Essai sur le Monde Turc* (Paris, Sansot, 1921, pp. 216). Gaston Gaillard's *Les Turcs et l'Europe* (Paris, Chapelot, 1920, pp. 384) is a discussion of the Sèvres Treaty. P. Redan has written *La Cilicie et le Problème Ottoman* (Paris, Gautier-Villars, pp. viii, 148). He deals with the subject objectively, and in a well-documented volume attempts an impartial discussion.

An investigation into *Des Sources du Droit Musulman* (Algiers, Mourad ben Turqui, 1920, pp. 228) is by A. ben Cheikh Charce ben Jekkouk.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. A. Nekludoff, *Avant la Guerre Mondiale: la Paix de Bucarest de 1913* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); Jérome and Jean Tharaud, *Bolchévistes de Hongrie,* III., *La Jérusalem Nouvelle* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); A. E. R. Boak, *Greek Intrastate Associations and the League of Nations* (American Journal of International Law, July); G. Georges-Picot, *La Politique Extérieure de la République Tchécoslovaque* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2); R. Noury, *Le Poète Nédim et la Société Ottomane au XVIII^e Siècle* (Mercure de France, June 15); M. Bompard, *L'Entrée en Guerre de la Turquie,* I. (Revue de Paris, July 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The early history of the French establishments and rule in India is illustrated in detail by the series of volumes published at Pondicherry by the Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française, of which the latest is vol. I. of the *Correspondance du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichéry et de la Compagnie, 1726–1730,* edited by M. Alfred Martineau.

Sir Aurel Stein is about to publish the full report of his remarkable explorations of Central Asia in 1906–1908, supplemented by those of 1913–1916, in three large volumes entitled *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (Oxford University Press). Appendixes will contain annotated translations of Chinese inscriptions and records, by the late Édouard Chavannes, a list of the great collection of ancient manuscripts brought back, by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, notes on Tibetan documents and inscriptions by other scholars, etc.

G. Groslier, in *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* (Paris, Challamel), gives not only an account of social life as interpreted from the monuments and manuscripts available, but has illustrated his work with 200 photographs and 1,153 drawings.

As its volume for 1920, the Linschoten Vereeniging has published the *Verhaal van het Vergaan van het Jacht de Sperwer* (pp. liii, 165), by Hendrik Hamel of Gorkum, edited by Mr. B. Hoetink. Hamel was the bookkeeper of the *Sperwer,* shipwrecked on Quelpaert Island in 1653, and his book, published in 1668, relates the adventures of the crew from that date to 1665 and gives the first European description of Corea. The present edition contains much additional matter.

T. Miyaoka, formerly chargé of Japan at Washington, discusses *Le Progrès des Institutions Libérales au Japon* (Paris, Dumoulin, 1921, pp. 60); *Le Mouvement Ouvrier au Japon* (Paris, La Librairie de *l'Humanité,* 1921, pp. 110) is by F. Challaye.

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* for May contains the concluding part of the History of the Victorian Ballot, by Professor Ernest Scott; the Beginnings of Brunswick (suburb of Melbourne), by B. Cooke; and the first installment of an interesting paper by G. B. Vasey on Social Life in Melbourne in 1840, based on the diary of Anthony Beale.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty* [in India] (Quarterly Review, July); Sir Michael O'Dwyer, *India's Man-Power in the War* (Army Quarterly, July).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Saint Optat et les Premiers Écrivains Donatistes (Paris, Leroux, 1920, pp. 350) is the title of the fifth volume of P. Monceaux's *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne depuis les Origines jusqu'à l'Invasion Arabe.*

In the *Publications de la Section Historique du Maroc,* Lieut.-Col. H. de Castries has published *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. 654).

An important volume of memoirs is General von Lettow-Vorbeck's *Meine Erinnerungen aus Ostafrica* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. 302). He took command in East Africa shortly before the opening of the war.

With 3,000 Europeans and 11,000 residents of Africa, he was called upon to hold for four years a territory twice as big as Germany. At the end he had a force of 300,000 men and 130 generals. Besides the great interest which naturally attaches to such an account, the book reveals the resources and possibilities of an area not very well known.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The recent acquisitions of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress have been large and important. There have been transferred to it from the White House the letter-books of President Grant (four volumes, 1869–1877), of which two volumes are described in Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide,* p. 1, from the Navy Department the papers of Commodore John Rodgers, 1775–1836, described *ibid.,* pp. 187–188, and from the War Department the volume of letters from the Presidents relating to the city of Washington, 1791–1869, *ibid.,* p. 30. The papers of Simon Newcomb, which have been on deposit under complete restriction since 1909, are now open to investigators. Other accessions are as follows: letter-book of Samuel Davidson, a merchant of Georgetown, D. C., 1789–1809; minutes of the meetings of the Carpenters' Society of Baltimore, 1790–1804; eleven letters from Gayoso de Lemos to Winthrop Sargent, 1798–1799; papers of John Cabell Breckinridge, about 8,000 pieces, 1841–1873; diaries of Richard R. Crawford, 1843–1844, and Laura Jones Crawford, 1859, both of Georgetown, D. C.; miscellaneous letters to Oliver Wendell Holmes, about 800 pieces, 1846–1894; additions to the papers of Admiral George C. Remey, U. S. N., 1855–1920; additional papers of Admiral Charles S. Sperry, U. S. N., 1887–1909; papers of Gen. William C. Gorgas, U. S. A.; German broadsides, domestic propaganda, 1914–1918; records of activities of the National Women's Party in working for the adoption of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, 1917–1920.

The Library of Congress has published its *List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1918,* prepared by Miss Katharine Jacobs (Washington, 1921, pp. 200). The volume contains also supplementary lists of theses printed in 1914, 1916, and 1917. The output of 1918 numbers 360 dissertations, of which thirty-four are listed under the classification of history. The volume is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, at thirty-five cents.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published, as no. 38 of its Pamphlet Series, *Notes on Sovereignty from the Standpoint of the State and of the World,* by Robert Lansing, from papers previously printed in the *American Journal of International Law* and the *Proceedings* of the American Political Science Association.

Articles in the June number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* are: the Attitude of the Presbyterians in Ohio, Indiana,

and Illinois toward Slavery, 1825–1861, by Rev. John F. Lyons; Presbyterianism in Colonial New England, by Professor Frederick W. Loetscher; and the concluding installment of the Records of the Middle Association of Congregational Churches of the State of New York, 1806–1810, edited by Rev. Dr. John Quincy Adams.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for July, the second number of the new series, shows a tendency to excursions outside the field of history, into the domain of philosophy and theology. The leading articles are: the Increase and the Diffusion of Historical Knowledge, by Rev. Francis J. Betten, S. J., a plea for research in Catholic history; the Centenary of the Archdiocese of Quebec, by the late Right Reverend Lionel St. George Lindsay, dean of the cathedral chapter, Quebec; the Literary Influence of St. Jerome, by Rev. William P. H. Kitchin; and Kant under the Light of History, by Rev. M. J. Ryan. Under the caption Miscellany is an informing note by Rev. Philip Hughes on History Teaching at Louvain.

The American Society of International Law has published the *Proceedings* of its fifteenth annual meeting, held in Washington in April of the present year. Three of the papers here printed have interest for students of history: the Munitions Trade, by Lester H. Woolsey; Conditional Contraband, by Charles C. Hyde; and Continuous Voyage, by George G. Wilson.

Training for the Public Profession of the Law is the title of *Bulletin* no. 15 of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (New York, 1921, pp. 498). The author, Mr. Alfred Z. Reed, has treated this subject throughout from the historical point of view and has made it substantially a history of legal education in America. The subject is treated under the following principal headings: (1) Comparative development of law and the legal profession in England, Canada, and the United States; (2) Organization and recruiting of the legal profession in the United States; (3) Rise and multiplication of law-schools; (4) Rise of a new legal profession after the Civil War, organized in bar associations; (5) Changes in bar admission requirements; (6) Efforts to broaden the training of lawyers during the first quarter-century after the Civil War; (7) Efforts to intensify the training of lawyers during the first quarter-century after the Civil War; (8) Recent development and present condition of legal education. The appendix contains lists of law schools, statistical tables, early law-school curricula, and a bibliography.

The lectures delivered by Professor J. W. Garner in various French universities have been published under the title, *Idées et Institutions Politiques Américaines* (Paris, Giard, 1921, pp. xii, 256). These evoked a very favorable response in France, and the publication of them there was warmly received.

The Roosevelt Memorial Association, at 1 Madison Avenue, New York City, is collecting material relating to the late Theodore Roosevelt. It especially desires to secure letters written by him, or personal reminiscences concerning him, or unusual books, pamphlets, cartoons, clippings, photographs, and other material bearing upon his life and interests.

With the issue for May, 1921 (no. 67), the *Monthly List of Military Information Carded from Books, Periodicals and other Sources,* which has been published since 1915 by the library of the General Staff College, War Department, is discontinued.

Miscellaneous Essays in the History of Music (Macmillan), by O. G. Sonneck, formerly chief of the Music Division in the Library of Congress, contains several contributions to American musical history: the History of Music in America; Early American Operas; the First Edition of Hail Columbia; etc.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Rudolf Cronau (340 East 198th Street, New York City) has published in English, under the title *The Discovery of America and the Landfall of Columbus,* the substance, somewhat amplified, of the reports of his investigation respecting the landfall of Columbus and his place of burial, which originally appeared as *Amerika, die Geschichte seiner Entdeckung* (Leipzig, 1891–1892), and which was commented on at length by the late Charles K. Adams, in the *Annual Report for 1891* of the American Historical Association.

The student of the history of the Revolution, provided he can read Dutch, will find a great deal of fresh light cast on one episode of that history by a Leyden doctoral dissertation by Dr. F. W. van Wijk, *De Republiek en Amerika, 1776 tot 1782* (Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1921, pp. xxxviii, 211), in which the course of political action and especially of public opinion in the Netherlands respecting the American struggle before and after the missions of Laurens and Adams and the entrance of the Dutch into the war, Paul Jones in Holland, etc., are carefully studied. Unfortunately, war-time conditions deprived Mr. van Wijk of the use of most of the needful American sources. His book is therefore a complement to Dr. Friedrich Edler's *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution,* rather than a substitute for it.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has published as Bulletin no. 283 (May, pp. 107) a *History of the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, 1917–1919,* by Willard E. Hotchkiss and Henry R. Seager.

The *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Republican National Convention* (1920), reported by George L. Hart and published under the supervision of the general secretary of the convention, has been issued by the Tenny Press, 318 W. 39th Street, New York.

Professor A. A. Bruce of the University of Minnesota is the author of a work on the *Non-Partisan League,* which has been included in Macmillan's Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The Plattsburg Movement: a Chapter of America's Participation in the World War (Dutton), by Ralph B. Perry, tells the story of the students' camps of 1913 and of the organization of the Military Training Camps Association, discusses the government's military policy on the eve of the war, etc.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *A Journal of the Great War,* in two volumes, by Gen. Charles G. Dawes, now director of the Federal budget. General Dawes was purchasing agent in Europe for the American armies, and the journal pertains principally to matters in his department.

The War Department has published in its series *Records of the World War,* the *Field Orders of the 2d Army Corps* (pp. 40), and the *Field Orders, 1918, of the 5th Division* (pp. 175). The Historical Branch has published as Monograph no. 10, *Operations of the 2d American Corps in the Somme Offensive, August 8 to November 11, 1918* (pp. 40).

The 115th Infantry, U. S. A., in the World War, edited by F. C. Reynolds, is published by the editor, 2908 Parkwood Avenue, Baltimore.

The first volume of the *Indiana World War Records,* published by the Indiana Historical Commission, John W. Oliver, director, bears the title *Gold Star Honor Roll, 1914–1918* (Indianapolis, 1921, pp. 750). It contains, arranged by counties, brief notices of the men and women from Indiana who died while serving with the forces of the United States or of the Allies during the World War. Each of the more than 3,000 notices includes, so far as possible, the names of parents, date and place of the subject's birth, occupation, camps, service records, date and place of death and burial, and photograph.

The War History Department of the California Historical Survey Commission has issued a pamphlet (pp. 90) containing the war addresses, proclamations, and patriotic messages of Governor William D. Stephens. It is entitled *California in the War.*

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The listing of family cemeteries in New England, and so far as possible their restoration and preservation, is the object of a movement inaugurated by the Storrs Family Association at its last meeting in Connecticut. It is seeking the co-operation of historical agencies and societies in that section of the country.

Boston Common: Scenes from Four Centuries, by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, which was originally published in 1910 in a limited large-paper edition, has been brought out in a smaller and less expensive form by Houghton Mifflin Company, with the addition of a "Postscript, 1921" by the author. In this little book the story of perhaps the most historic

piece of public ground in America is told in charming fashion through the description of typical events which took place there during the four centuries which its history spans.

The Connecticut Valley Historical Society has brought out *The History of Springfield in Massachusetts for the Young: being also in some Part the History of other Towns and Cities in the County of Hampden,* by Charles H. Barrows.

The annual report of the librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society lists a number of important manuscript accessions during the past year. Among them are account books of business firms and individuals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the journal of Ensign Joseph Booth during the French and Indian War; the papers of Judge Sherman W. Adams; letters to Franklin G. Comstock of Hartford in 1835–1837, relating to the silk industry; papers of several families, especially Bull, Dodd, Newton, and Weaver; shipping and other papers of Ralph Bulkley, 1810–1830; and the correspondence of Charles McLaren, 1847–1890.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Volume XVII. of the *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* (1919, pp. 480) contains the report of the nineteenth annual meeting of the association, held in New York City in October, 1917. Among the papers printed in the present volume should be noted the following: the Representative Idea and the American Revolution, by Professor Robert M. McElroy; the First New York State Constitution, by Professor Edgar Dawson; the Earliest Years of the Dutch Settlement of New Netherland, by Worthington C. Ford; the Beginnings of Daily Journalism in New York City, by Francis W. Halsey; Federating and Affiliating Local Historical Societies, by James Sullivan; King's College and the Early Days of Columbia College, by John B. Pine; Some English Governors of New York and their Part in the Development of the Colony, by Frank H. Severance; Growth of Religious Liberty in New York City, by Nelson P. Mead; Early History of Staten Island, by Ira K. Norris; and the Landed Gentry and their Politics a Hundred Years Ago, by Dixon R. Fox. The volume also contains (pp. 278–299) Writings on New York History 1916, drawn from Miss Griffin's *Writings on American History* for the same year, and (pp. 301–428) Soldiers of the Champlain Valley chiefly in the colonial and Revolutionary wars, printed from the card-list compiled by Silas H. Paine.

The June number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains part I. of a list of references on Provençal Literature and Language, including the Local History of Southern France. The list is continued in the July number, which contains also chapter XVIII. of the History of the New York Public Library.

Longmans, Green, and Company have brought out a biography of *David Hummell Greer, Eighth Bishop of New York,* by Rev. Charles L. Slattery.

The July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains a brief sketch of Levi P. Morton.

The New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin of July contains a historical sketch of Blackwell's Island, and some documents pertaining to Stamp Act Activities in New York, 1765.

The July number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a paper by Samuel Copp Worthen on the Secession of New Jersey (1775–1776), one by Hon. Frederick W. Gnitchel on the End of Duelling in New Jersey, a Historical Address on Sussex County, by Hon. Willard W. Cutler, and a continuation of the Condict Revolutionary Record Abstracts.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired a group of ten letters written by Generals Wayne, St. Clair, Reed, and Sullivan, and by John Witherspoon relating to the mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line during the Revolution. There have also been acquired two diaries and an account book kept by Mrs. Mary Scott Siddons during the years 1887–1890.

In the October, 1920, number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* appear some Items of History of York, Pennsylvania, during the Revolution, drawn from the diaries of the Moravian congregation at York; Selections from the Correspondence of Judge Richard Peters of Belmont, ranging in date from 1793 to 1807, and including letters from Washington, Timothy Pickering, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Gen. James Wilkinson, and Rev. William Smith; some letters from the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts, comprising two letters of Cecil Calvert to Horatio Sharpe, 1755 and 1757, and two from Robert Dinwiddie to an unknown correspondent, 1755 and 1764; a sketch of Brig.-Gen. George Mathews; and a continuation of the correspondence of Thomas Rodney, contributed by Mr. Simon Gratz.

The contents of the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* include an address by Hon. Josiah Cohen entitled Half a Century of the Allegheny County Bar Association, an article by Irene E. Williams on the Operation of the Fugitive Slave Law in Western Pennsylvania from 1850 to 1860, and a continuation of the paper by John H. Niebaum on the Pittsburgh Blues, being the story of Fort Meigs.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains, besides continued articles hitherto mentioned, an extended study, by W. B. Marye, of the Baltimore County "Garrison" and the Old Garrison Roads, and Some Letters from the Correspondence of James Alfred Pearce, senator of the United States from 1843 to 1863. Among the correspondents are: Reverdy Johnson, Thomas Corwin, Samuel Houston, E. F. Chambers, and W. H. Emory, the latter being a major, afterward

a major-general, of volunteers in the United States army. The correspondence is edited by Dr. B. C. Steiner.

The completion of the equipment of the Archives Annex of the Virginia State Library has made possible the transfer to the new depository of certain records of the auditor's and treasurer's offices. The records of the Circuit Court of Charles City, with the exception of the deed and will books, have also been transferred.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the July number a series of letters to David Watson, a lawyer of Louisa Court House and an officer in the Virginia forces in the War of 1812. The letters are from Chapman Johnson, Robert Michie, Joseph C. Cabell, and Francis W. Gilmer, and were principally written from William and Mary College, between the years 1797 and 1802. One letter from Gilmer is dated at Richmond in 1818, and another from Edinburgh in 1824. This number of the *Magazine* includes also the Virginia War History Commission's Calendar of Military Histories, Narratives, and Reports, collected for the Virginia war archives. The series of Documents relating to a proposed Swiss and German Colony in the Western Part of Virginia is brought to a conclusion.

The contents of the July number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly* include the Family Register of Nicholas Taliaferro, with notes, contributed by William Buckner McGroarty; the Quaker's Attitude toward the Revolution, by Adair P. Archer; some Letters of William Byrd II. and Sir Hans Sloane relative to Plants and Minerals in Virginia (1706–1741); and a letter contributed by R. M. Hughes, from Charles C. Johnston to John B. Floyd, dated at Washington, December 16, 1831.

Recent additions to the manuscript collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission include the following: Diary of James Iredell, 1770–1772; additions to the John H. Bryan papers, 147 letters from 1783 to 1896; David Clark papers, 19 pieces, 1861–1863, relating to the Roanoke River defenses; and numerous additions to state and county archives. Twelve volumes of Revolutionary army accounts have been indexed, and the first volume of the *Moravian Records of North Carolina* is in press.

The South Carolina Historical Society has acquired as a gift from Mrs. Joseph Hume of New Orleans a collection of genealogical notes, gathered by the late Motte A. Read, Esq. The collection pertains principally to families of the South Carolina coast and numbers several thousand items.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* prints in the January number an installment of the correspondence of Ralph Izard and Henry Laurens, 1775–1777. Izard was then in London; and while the correspondence relates principally to business matters, it touches also upon public affairs.

The June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by Judge Andrew J. Cobb on the Constitution of the Confederate States: its Influence on the Union it Sought to Dissolve; a biographical sketch, by John T. Boifeuillet, of the late Senator A. O. Bacon; and a continuation of the Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks.

The University of Chicago Press has published *A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860,* by William H. Weathersby.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1920, contains a paper by J. A. Renshaw entitled Liberty Monument, being a chapter in the history of reconstruction, centering about the clash of arms in New Orleans on September 14, 1874; and two further installments of Henry P. Dart's contributions from the Cabildo Archives, one of them pertaining to criminal trials in Louisiana in the period from 1720 to 1766, the other being the judicial proceedings in what is termed the first "succession" opened in Louisiana.

WESTERN STATES

The contents of the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* include three articles, namely, Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration, by Theodore C. Blegen; the New Northwest, by O. G. Libby; and the Buffalo Range of the Northwest, by H. A. Trexler; also the Journal of William Calk, Kentucky Pioneer, edited by Lewis H. Kilpatrick. Calk's journal, though brief (March 13 to May 2, 1775), is a document of considerable value, and Mr. Kilpatrick gives an interesting sketch of the journalist's career.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* in the January number, reprints from the *Sentinel of the Northwestern Territory* the minutes of the meeting of the legislature of the Northwestern Territory in 1795. The same issue contains some personal recollections, by James R. Morris, of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and a paper by B. F. Prince on Early Journeys to Ohio. The April number contains an article by Alexander S. Wilson, M. D., on the Naga and Lingam of India and the Serpent Mounds of Ohio, and some memorial addresses on the late Professor George F. Wright.

The *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* offers in the April–June number the third selection from the Gano Papers. They are of January and February, 1813.

The Indiana Historical Commission has issued the *Proceedings of the Second Annual State History Conference,* held in Indianapolis in December, 1920. Among the papers and addresses are: Jefferson Davis a Prisoner in Macon, Georgia, after his Capture, by Capt. Joseph A. Goddard; and the Last Days of Lincoln, by Judge Robert W. McBride.

In the July issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* announcement is made that in view of the extension by the *Catholic Historical*

Review of its scope to include general church history, the Illinois *Review* will broaden its field "with a view to covering at least a part of that vast territory lying between the Alleghany Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, which otherwise would not be so completely represented". Among the contents of this number we note the following: the First Chicago Church Records, by Joseph J. Thompson; the Ancient Order of Hibernians, by Rev. Frank L. Reynolds; the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, by John Rothensteiner; Sebastien Louis Meurin, S. J., continued, by Charles H. Metzer, S. J.; and an American Martyrology, with a list of Catholic missionaries who endured martyrdom in America, by Joseph J. Thompson.

Professor James W. Thompson has presented to the University of Chicago four letters of the sixteenth century, which he discovered during the course of his investigations in the history of the Huguenots. Two of these are letters of King Henry III. and are of the year 1574; one is a letter of King Henry IV., written in 1589; and a fourth is a letter of Cardinal de Rambouillet to King Charles IX. of France, dated at Rome, December 2, 1570.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for October, 1920, has just been issued. Among its contents we note the following: the *Autobiography* of Martin Van Buren, by W. E. Beard; Pepys and the Proprietors of Carolina, by A. V. Goodpasture; The Extension of the Northern Boundary Line of Tennessee—the Matthews Line, with documents, by Robert S. Henry; the concluding installment of the marriage records of Knox County, contributed by Miss Kate White; and various notes by W. E. McElwee on Aboriginal Remains in Tennessee.

The principal contents of the June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are: Rufus King: Soldier, Editor, and Statesman, by Gen. Charles King; the Evangelical Association of Lomira Circuit, by John S. Roeseler; the First Missionary in Wisconsin (Father René Ménard), by Louis P. Kellogg; and some letters of Chauncey H. Cooke, a Wisconsin soldier in the Civil War, written from Kentucky and Mississippi, May to July, 1863, and largely pertaining to the Vicksburg campaign.

The Minnesota Historical Society announces *A History of Minnesota,* by William W. Folwell, professor emeritus of the University of Minnesota. The work is to be published in four volumes, of which the first, carrying the history to the admission of the state into the Union in 1858, has now appeared.

Articles in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: Official Encouragement of Immigration to Iowa, by Marcus L. Hansen, and the Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890, by Louis B. Schmidt. There is also a series of letters of Governor John Chambers on Indian affairs, May to July, 1845. The January number contains a paper by John E. Briggs on Iowa and the

Diplomatic Service; one by the same author on Kasson and the First International Postal Conference; one by Clarence R. Aurner on Mechanics' Institutions, and a continuation of Professor Schmidt's study.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a series of Sketches of the Mormon Era in Hancock County, Illinois, reprinted from *Gregg's Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial* of September, 1873, printed at Hamilton, Illinois.

The July number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, of the community in Iowa known as Amana.

Among the articles in the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: Missourians and the Nation during the Last Century, by the late Champ Clark; a Guide to the Study of Local History and the Collection of Historical Material, by Jonas Viles and J. E. Wrench; the Missouri and the Mississippi Railroad Debt, by E. M. Violette; the Followers of Duden, by W. T. Bek; and a further instalment of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by J. T. Edwards. The three articles last mentioned are continued in the July number, which contains also a paper by J. D. Lawson on a Century of Missouri Legal Literature, and one by Maurice Casenave on the Influence of the Mississippi Valley on the Development of Modern France.

The Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis has recently acquired the specifications of the fortifications of Fort Chartres, Kaskaskia, the Thonicas, and other fortified places of the French régime. It has also come into possession of the journal of the committee appointed by the Missouri house of representatives to investigate the report of Col. Zachary Taylor on the battle in Florida of December 23, 1837, in which he accused the Missouri Volunteers of cowardice.

Articles in the July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the Annexation of Texas and the Mississippi Democrats, by James E. Winston; the Texas Convention of 1845, by Annie Middleton; and the Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836–1842. Harris was a resident of Texas from 1836 to 1849, thereafter of California.

The principal article in the July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is by S. E. Morison on Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789–1823. There is also a narrative by James Sweeney, relating his experiences in the army and as a miner from 1855 to 1883.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June contains an article by T. C. Elliott on the Origin of the Name Oregon, in which is an account of Maj. Robert Rogers, who used the term "Ouragon" in his proposal to the Privy Council in 1765 to search for the northwest passage. As an appendix to the article are printed four documents copied from the Public Record Office, the proposals of Major Rogers of 1765 and 1772, and the petitions of Jonathan Carver of 1773. The remainder of the issue is devoted to a series of interesting letters from S. H. Taylor, written to the *Chronicle*, of Watertown, Wisconsin, during an overland journey from that town to Oregon in 1853.

The Macmillan Company will publish this fall *A History of California: the Spanish Period,* by Professor Charles E. Chapman; there will later be published a companion volume by Professor Robert G. Cleland dealing with the American period.

Walter A. Hawley is the author of a small volume entitled *The Early History of Santa Barbara, California, from the First Discoveries by Europeans to December, 1846* (Santa Barbara, Schauer).

CANADA

The University of Toronto Press has printed *The Nature of Canadian Federalism,* by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, in pamphlet form, a development of the author's article bearing the same title in the June number of the *Canadian Historical Review.*

Mr. Victor Ross's *History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce,* of which vol. I. has just been published (Toronto, Oxford University Press, pp. xvi, 516), studies not only the fifty years of that bank's existence but the history of the five other banks, in five different provinces, which have been amalgamated with it.

One of the best types of contributions to local history is *The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785–1811,* edited by A. H. Young of Trinity College, Toronto, for the Kingston Historical Society (Kingston, Ont., 1921, pp. 207). The introduction (pp. 5–72) bears evidence of careful scholarship and contains much information respecting the history and biography of a town which was an important centre of American Loyalists.

In the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K., Macmillan) there will shortly be published an account of the Archives of Canada, by the public archivist of the Dominion, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, C. M. G.

Mr. A. H. Young of the University of Toronto has published a historical and genealogical sketch of *The Revd. John Stuart, D.D., and his Family.* Dr. Stuart, a native of Pennsylvania, who emigrated to Kingston, Ontario, was a United Empire Loyalist.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

In the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla,* nos. 38, 39, and nos. 40 and 41 (double numbers), appear continuations of the study, by German Latorre, entitled Intervención Tutelar de España en los Problemas de Límites de Hispano-América, and the second section of the Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias, by Pedro Torres Lanzas. In nos. 42 and 43 is found the initial installment of the third section of the last-named contribution, and also some documents from the Archives of the Indies pertaining to Chilean cities. Numbers 44 and 45, issued as one, contain a paper read at the second Congress of Hispanic-American History and Geography, by Sr. Santiago Montoto:

Don José de Veitia Linaje y su Libro "Norte de la Contratación de las Indias"; a further installment of the Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias: III., Casa de la Contratación de Indias, by Sr. Pedro Torres Lanzas; and the first installment of the Libro de la Longitudines . . . por Alonzo de Santa Cruz . . . Cosmographo mayor, printed with an introduction by Sr. Antonio Blazquez.

As a preliminary step to the preparation of a *Dictionary of National Biography of South America* which it has projected, the Hispanic Society of America is bringing out a series of books of biographies of leading living representatives of Hispanic civilization in America. It is announced that the volumes pertaining to Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay are now ready.

Books dealing with the period of Spanish control and the revolutionary era in South America are, *La Iglesia en America y la Dominación Española: Estudio de la Época Colonial* (Buenos Aires, Lajouane, 1920, pp. 322), by L. Ayarragaray; *Memorias Históropolíticas: Ultimos Dias de la Gran Colombia y del Libertador,* vol. I. (Madrid, Gráfica Ambos Mundos, 1920, pp. 332), by J. Posada Gutiérrez; *Papeles de Bolívar* (Madrid, Edit. América, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 279, 289), by V. Lecuna.

A. R. Vazquez, in *Orientaciones Americanas* (Havana, 1921, pp. iv, 328), has discussed the situation of Costa Rica and Cuba in particular and of America in general.

John D. Kuser is the author of a work entitled *Haiti: its Dawn of Progress after Years in a Night of Revolution* (Boston, Badger).

While the external history of the Dutch rule in Brazil has been the theme of several excellent books, Dr. Hermann Wätjen's *Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1921, pp. xx, 348) finds something to add on that side, but it is mainly concerned with a more novel endeavor to expound the internal, the administrative, and especially the economic history of the Dutch occupation.

The *Revista de Economía Argentina* for July contains, under the rubric "Movimiento Económico de la República", a series of statistical summaries, chiefly for the last decade, relating to population, immigration, unemployment, transportation, labor, production, foreign commerce, finance, etc.

Volume XIV. of the series *Documentos para la Historia Argentina,* published by the section of history of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the National University of Buenos Aires, bears the title *Correspondencias Generales de la Provincia de Buenos Aires relativas a Relationes Exteriores, 1820–1824* (Buenos Aires, 1921, pp. xv, 552). The volume is brought out under the supervision of Dr. Emilio Ravignani, director of the section of history; it contains 493 documents from the archives of the Ministry of Exterior Relations, constituting the outletters of that ministry from 1820 to 1824. They are addressed to the

agents and governments of foreign countries, to the agents of Buenos Aires abroad, and to private individuals, firms, and others. Most of them are signed by Bernardino Rivadavia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Manuscript from which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence* (D. A. R. Magazine, July); Robert E. Cushman, *Constitutional Decisions by a Bare Majority of the Court* (Michigan Law Review, June); Thomas J. Cross, *The Eclecticism of the Law of Louisiana* (American Law Review, May–June); George G. Putnam, *Salem Vessels and their Voyages*, cont. (Essex Institute Historical Collections, July); Maj. Edwin N. McClellan and Capt. John H. Craige, *American Marines in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (D. A. R. Magazine, June); Edna F. Campbell, *New Orleans at the Time of the Louisiana Purchase* (Geographical Review, July); Randolph Harrison, *The Monroe Doctrine, its Origin, Meaning, and Application* (American Law Review, May–June); Peter G. Mode, *Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life* (Journal of Religion, July); Virginia Fitsgerald, *A Southern College Boy Eighty Years ago* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); J. D. Van Horne, *The Southern Attitude toward Slavery* (Sewanee Review, July–September); F. B. C. Bradlee, *The "Kearsage-Alabama" Battle* (Essex Institute Historical Collections, July); H. W. Lindley, *A Century of Quakerism* (American Friend, August 25); J. T. Smith, *The First Three American Cardinals, McCloskey, Farley, and Gibbons* (Dublin Review, July); Milton Conover, *Pensions for Public Employees* (American Political Science Review, August); B. J. Hendrick, *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* (World's Work, August, September); J. W. Garner, *La Politique Étrangère Américaine* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, XLIV. 2); Clara E. Schieber, *The Transformation of American Sentiment towards Germany, 1870–1914* (Journal of International Relations, July); Henry Morgenthau, *All in a Life-Time: Chapters from an Autobiography* (World's Work, August, September); Frank Jewett, *Why we did not Declare War on Turkey* (Current History, September); E. Chartier, *Le Canada Français: l'Église et la Paroisse Canadienne* (Revue Canadienne, XXVI. 5, 6); C. Ross, *Südamerikanische Spannungen* (Neue Rundschau, July); Marius André, *A-propos des "Centenaires Sud-Américains"* (Le Correspondant, July 10, and following numbers); B. J. Pérez Verdía, *The Glorification of Bolivar* (Inter-America, English, August); E. Pérez, *La Diplomacia Estadounidense: Monroísmo, Panamericanismo, y Panamaismo* (Cuba Contemporanea, XXVI. 103); F. G. del Valle, *Páginas para la Historia de Cuba: Documentos para la Biografía de José de la Luz y Caballero* (*ibid.*, XXVI. 102, 103); E. J. Varona, *Sobre el Problema Económico y la Reforma Constitucional* (*ibid.*, XXVI. 103).

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The

American Historical Review

EUROPE, SPANISH AMERICA, AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE

THE policy of the European powers in the question of the Spanish colonies, the train of events leading up to the famous pronunciamiento known as the Monroe Doctrine, and the effects of that declaration upon the course of contemporary politics, are no new subjects of discussion. The diplomatic action of Great Britain, the deliberations at Washington, have received detailed examination,[1] and of late years much has been done to define more accurately the attitude of the Continental powers.[2]

But on the latter side the details have not yet been filled in, nor the principles of action determined with exactitude. Just how great was the danger of intervention in the colonies? Exactly what was the positive policy of France, of Russia, of Austria? How far did the United States enter into the calculations of European statesmen? These are questions which deserve a fuller answer than they have yet received.

In such a study it will be desirable to examine only the period between March, 1822, when President Monroe declared for the recognition of the colonies, and June, 1824, by which time the colonial question had ceased to occupy the centre of the European stage. The attitude of the powers at a later period has been clearly shown by documents already published in this *Review* (XXII. 595–616).

[1] On the British side the best special article is by Col. E. M. Lloyd, "Canning and Spanish America", *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, n. s., vol. XVIII., pp. 891 ff. On the American side special attention may be called to the two articles by Mr. W. C. Ford in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine", VII. 676–696, VIII. 53–77.

[2] See Professor W. S. Robertson's two articles, one in this *Review*, XX. 781–800, on "The United States and Spain, 1822", and the other in *Amer. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, VI. 546–563, "The Monroe Doctrine abroad in 1823–1824". Also A. Rousseau, "L'Ambassade du Marquis de Talaru en Espagne, Juillet 1823–Août 1824", in *Rev. des Questions Historiques*, XC. 86–116.

The Continental power with the greatest interest in Spanish America was France. She alone, indeed, of the group loosely known as the Holy Alliance, can be said to have had colonial matters almost constantly in view during the period which it is the business of this paper to examine. An examination of the diplomatic correspondence in four foreign offices, at London, at Paris, at Vienna, and at Petrograd, reveals the fact that Prussia was at all times indifferent; that Austria and Russia began to take an active interest in the South American problem only after October, 1823; but that France was, at a far earlier date, vitally interested in the fate of the revolted dominions of Spain.

French policy in the matter of the colonies reveals from the beginning conflicting interests and points of view which have been too little recognized. No sufficient emphasis has ever been placed on the attitude of the French merchant classes toward the question of Spanish America. There was, as early as 1821, a strong and insistent demand that the markets of Spanish America be opened to French enterprise. There was a considerable body of opinion which looked forward to the recognition of the independence of the colonies as the solution of the whole problem. And this body of opinion, while it did not determine French policy, was always an element to be reckoned with.[3]

It had, too, its representative in the government. Joachim de Villèle, prime minister during the whole period under review, though a reactionary, was a reactionary of a very practical type. Commerce and finance held the first place in his mind. More than once in his letters the recognition of the colonies is advocated, though often in terms discreetly veiled.[4]

Very different, however, was the view of Montmorency, minister of foreign affairs till December, 1822, and of Chateaubriand, his successor. These men were not indifferent to the pressure of the merchants, they never advocated the forcible reconquest of the colonies, but they were entirely unwilling to admit the possibility of action in the colonial question independent of the wishes of Spain, and in disregard of legitimist principle.

In line with the divergent views of Villèle and his ministers, two policies lay open to France. She might seek an understanding with

[3] Paris, Arch. des Aff. Étr., Mém. et Docs., vol. 35, f. 161; undated, must be of about January, 1822. This memoir reveals the fact that agents are to be sent out "to open in the states of South America markets for the products of France, and to make clear the means by which solid commercial relations may be established".

[4] Joachim de Villèle, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1888–1890), III. 69 *et passim.*

Great Britain, whose commercial interests led her to favor the cause of colonial independence, and march side by side with that power. Or, on the other hand, she might seek an understanding and a settlement of another kind in concert with the Continental powers.

There was here a real choice which lay open. The possibility of an accord with the British government has been too little emphasized. As a practical matter of fact, on no less than three occasions the London Foreign Office made clear its desire for such an accord.

The first of these occasions was in April, 1822. The date suggests that the advances then made may very possibly have been prompted by the virtual recognition of the colonies by the American government in March. At any rate, at this time Lord Castlereagh, then foreign minister, proposed that France and England should consult together, and co-operate in the solution of the Spanish-American question. If some *de facto* recognition of the new states became necessary, such action ought to be concerted between the two governments.[5]

There was much to be said for this proposal. Its acceptance might have altered the whole aspect of the colonial problem, and indeed of European politics in general. But a meeting of the French council of ministers, held forthwith, determined upon rejection. The necessity of common action with the allies, the fear of offending Spain, were given as the reasons for this decision.[6]

A new occasion for a Franco-British understanding, however, was offered at the Congress of Verona. There the Duke of Wellington presented a memorandum on the colonial problem emphasizing the necessity of protecting commerce in the New World, hinting at recognition, and inviting the observations of the allied powers. He seems, too, to have definitely suggested an accord to Chateaubriand. But no accord resulted. On the contrary, the French reply actually committed France to co-operation with the allies, declaring that "a general measure taken in common by the cabinets of Europe would be the most desirable".[7]

After this declaration at Verona, it was virtually impossible for the French ministers to reverse their attitude. A third offer of co-operation, made by Canning on the eve of the Polignac interview, was at once rebuffed. The settlement of the colonial question by a congress of the powers had now become avowedly the basic principle of

[5] Paris, Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 615, f. 204, May 7, 1822.

[6] *Ibid.*, f. 211, May 13, 1822.

[7] Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone* (Paris, 1838), I. 94.

French policy. Chateaubriand had spoken to Stuart, the British ambassador, in this sense in August, 1823.[8]

What measures would the French government have proposed for the pacification of the colonies had such a congress actually met? Undoubtedly the establishment of independent Bourbon monarchies in the New World. That such was the aim of France has now been definitely established. The idea occurs again and again in the correspondence of the French ministers. It is brought forward as early as 1819 by the Duc de Richelieu.[9] It is favored in 1822 by Montmorency.[10] It was the favorite dream of Chateaubriand.[11] It was the hope of Villèle.[12] In July of 1823 a French cabinet council had approved the project, and the French ambassador at Madrid had been instructed that such was the policy of France.[13]

As to the means by which such a policy could be effected, however, it must be admitted that the French ministers were in general far from clear. There seems to have been an optimistic belief that the colonies would welcome such an arrangement. There was the precedent of the Mexican treaty of 1821, which only the obstinacy of the Spanish Cortes prevented from forming a basis of solution in that disturbed province. Why not use a congress of the powers to urge such a settlement upon both Spain and the colonies?

That it might be necessary to use force in the establishment of independent Bourbon monarchies seems hardly to have occurred to the leaders of French policy. In the correspondence of Montmorency, Chateaubriand, and Villèle over a period of more than two years there is hardly a mention of such a thing. The French premier did, indeed, on one occasion speak of "a few ships and a little money" as desirable—and sufficient—for the enterprise.[14] But barring this and two or three other similar allusions there is no evidence that the use of the French navy was ever seriously considered. There is not a sign that any offer of material aid was ever made at Madrid.

The project of independent Bourbon monarchies was not considered, indeed, as a project of aggression. It was a means of reconciling legitimacy with French commercial interest. It was dependent on the opening of the colonies to the trade of the world. It was, in

[8] London, Public Record Office, F. O. France, vol. 293, no. 395, Aug. 18, 1823.

[9] C. Calvo, *Anales de la Revolución de la América Latina* (Paris, 1865), V. 354 ff.

[10] Paris, Corr. Pol., Espagne, vol. 716, f. 27.

[11] *Ibid.*, vol. 722, f. 56.

[12] Villèle, *Mémoires*, IV. 200.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Villèle, *Mémoires*, III. 188.

the language of Villèle, a project "to render more tolerable to France by the new markets open to her commerce the sacrifices which she had made and would still have to make in Spain".[15]

The policy of France, then, has now been made clear. But it is worth while examining it from another point of view. How far, in formulating that policy, did the French ministers take into account the United States? How far did friendship or hostility to America influence their action?

That the attitude of the United States was in any sense a major factor in French diplomacy it would be absurd to assume. The despatches of the French Foreign Office in 1823 yield a surprisingly small number of references to the American government. Far less account was taken of the attitude of this country than it might be pleasant to imagine.

So far as the United States was regarded at all, however, it was not with favor or confidence. Chateaubriand had the effrontery to tell Gallatin, the American minister at Paris, that France "would not . . . in any manner interfere in the American questions" at the very time when the scheme as to Bourbon monarchies was under discussion.[16] Villèle declared jealously to Stuart that "the United States labor to counteract our measures, only for the purpose of establishing a system favorable to the democratical principles of their own government, and attaining the commercial objects of which they never lose sight".[17]

A more striking evidence of the attitude of the French ministers is to be found in their reception of Canning's suggestion,[18] made at the time of the Polignac interview, that if a congress were held to discuss the colonial question, the American government should be invited to participate. The French ministers were horrified at such an idea. When Stuart mentioned the subject to Villèle, the French premier showed undoubted signs of irritation. "He seemed to think that the meeting had better be altogether avoided if it should be found impossible to take such a measure without the intervention of that power."[19] Chateaubriand was of the same general opinion. "The United States", he wrote to Polignac, "recognized the inde-

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Writings of James Monroe,* edited by S. M. Hamilton (New York, 1902), VI. 315 n.

[17] London, Public Record Office, F. O. France, vol. 291, no. 285.

[18] Canning then stated that "he could not understand how a European Congress could discuss Spanish American affairs without calling to their councils a power so eminently interested in the result as the United States of America". *British and Foreign State Papers,* 1823–1824, p. 49.

[19] Public Record Office, F. O. France, vol. 295, no. 557, Oct. 31, 1823.

pendence of certain of the colonies a year ago. They are thus entirely disinterested, entirely outside such discussions."[20] When the Austrian chancellor Metternich emphatically rejected the suggestion of Canning,[21] the French foreign minister expressed the warmest approval of his pronouncements, even going so far as to declare that the principles laid down might serve "in case of need as a supplementary article of the public law of Europe".[22]

French policy, it is clear from these comments, took little account of the views of the American government. At the moment when President Monroe launched his famous manifesto, Chateaubriand and Villèle were planning a general European congress upon the colonial question, which should pave the way for the establishment of Bourbon monarchies in the New World, and from which the United States should be excluded.

But what of the attitude of the other Continental powers? It is

[20] Chateaubriand, *Congrès de Vérone*, II. 309–310, Nov. 6, 1823.

[21] The language of Prince Metternich deserves quotation. "In our view the United States of America can never take part in a European congress, whatever subjects may be treated there; first, because the United States are bound by none of those diplomatic agreements which the European Alliance has discussed and adopted since 1814, and to which are referred practically all questions on account of which the powers come together in a congress; secondly, because the principal aim of these congresses, the maintenance of peace and the established order in Europe, does not concern the United States; thirdly, because in great part the principles recognized and approved by the European powers are not merely foreign but opposed to the principles of the United States, to the form of their government, to their doctrines, to their customs, to the civil and political régime of their populations. There can exist amicable relations between the powers of Europe and the United States, treaties, alliances, engagements of every sort may be negotiated with them, but no common basis exists on which the United States could take part in a European congress."

"No doubt the United States are more directly interested in the future fate of the Spanish colonies than Austria, Russia, or Prussia, but the interest of these latter powers is none the less real, and none the less worthy of respect. It would perhaps be permissible to say that it is of a more elevated nature. The interest of the United States is that of their commerce, of the increase of their territory, of the extension of their power; it is an interest purely material. That of the European powers, and of the Continental powers as of the others, is an interest in the preservation, in the stability, in the material and moral well-being of the great European family, and if they should assume to deal with the future relations of Spain with her vast American provinces, it is not to divide the spoils, or obtain any positive advantage whatsoever; it is to assure themselves that those relations will not be too far incompatible with the peace and general prosperity of Europe, and will work as little harm as possible to the rights and interests of those governments which, so to speak, created America, and have ruled over it for three centuries." (Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 20616, Nov. 26, 1823.)

[22] *Ibid.*, no. 21224, Dec. 25, 1823 (encl.).

worth while to inquire just what their views portended at the time when the American manifesto was published to the world.

In November, 1823, there is, for the first time, what may fairly be called a general discussion of the colonial problem among the members of the Holy Alliance. All the allies had agreed that a congress to discuss the matter would be desirable. No step remained but the actual invitation for such a meeting, which was to come, of course, from the Spanish king.

What would be the point of view of the Austrian government in whatever assemblage might take place had for some months been abundantly clear. The clearest mind in Europe on the colonial question, it might almost be said, was Prince Metternich's. It is the fashion in these days to damn Metternich as a reactionary, but he was at least a very practical one. He had no Utopian ideas as to the reconquest of Spanish America. In July he had told Wellesley, British ambassador at Vienna, that all projects of the kind were hopeless, and that Spain would do well to confine her efforts to the preservation of Cuba.[23] Somewhat later he declared to the Russian representative that Spain should limit her efforts to the retention of the colonies which still remained faithful, and decide, at the same time, frankly to compromise with those which, on terms of mutual advantage, might consent again to become subject to her.[24] Finally, in November, he addressed to the Spanish government itself a long memorandum in which he urged such a policy upon it.[25] Platonic counsel was Metternich's sole expedient in the premises.

[23] P. R. O., F. O. Austria, vol. 178, desp. 5, July 23, 1823.

[24] Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 20516, Nov. 25, 1823.

[25] The colonies are divided into three classes. "There are some wholly under the authority of the King. There are some in which the struggle between the legitimate power and ambitious factions is not yet over. There are some which have constituted themselves independent states, and in which the struggle between the *de facto* and the *de iure* authorities has ceased. The first preoccupation of Spain should be to assure as completely and as permanently as possible the possession of the important island of Cuba, not only by measures suitable to defend it against unjust aggression, which, happily, it is not necessary to predict, but also by a régime conformable to its present condition, and based above all on the prosperity of its inhabitants. . . . The contemplation of the present and future welfare of the faithful colony cannot fail to strengthen the legitimist party where that party is still condemned to struggle against the partisans of independence; it will serve perhaps to revive the courage of friends of the ancient order in other colonies, where attachment to the monarchy is repressed rather than destroyed." This is all that Metternich has to say with regard to the second class of colonies. With regard to those actually independent he declares, "It appears to us that all that wisdom should dictate at this time is to keep open the question of legal right. It is certainly not over this immense part of the American continent that the efforts of the mother-country can now

Of Russia it is not possible to speak so definitely. Search in both Russian and Austrian archives fails to reveal the existence of any settled policy on the part of the tsar. "Everything is in confusion in America", remarked Alexander to the French ambassador, late in November, 1823. "Let us leave this chaos for a while to reduce itself to order."[26] It seems tolerably certain that no positive line of action had been determined upon at this time at Petrograd.

What, then, was the actual situation at the moment when Monroe launched his famous declaration? Were Calhoun and Monroe and Madison and Jefferson justified in their apprehensions of a desperate design on colonial liberty? Not on the basis of the facts as they stood. For Austria disbelieved in the possibility of reconquest; Russia's views had not been formulated; France was seeking a compromise through the establishment of independent Bourbon monarchies in America. And, as it is hardly necessary to point out, she had already in the Polignac interview given a binding pledge against the use of force. The only measure definitely determined upon in December, 1823, was the summoning of a congress upon the colonial question.

The invitation to that congress, in the shape of a formal request for concerted action from the Spanish king, had just gone forth when the President's message reached Europe. It is important to attempt to discover just how the attitude of the powers was influenced by the American manifesto.

One point may be stated with absolute certainty. Austria and France were as determined as ever to exclude the United States from the deliberations of Europe. The Austrian chancellor hastened to assert in lofty terms his objections to American participation in a congress,[27] and Chateaubriand told Stuart that the President's mes-

be directed with any chance of success whatsoever. In deeming it possible to regain all, she would be practically sure to lose all." (Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 21221 (encl.).

[26] Paris, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Russie, vol. 165, f. 281, Nov. 28, 1823.

[27] Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 21224, Jan. 19, 1824. "If we have expressed an absolute veto [on the admission of the United States to a congress] our action is justified, not only on principle, but also by the rules of sound policy. The grave question which will occupy the conference is not, in the light in which it is desirable to consider it, an American question; it is, and will remain in the first period of the discussion, entirely European. In the beginning of the discussion the aim will be to prevent all the children of Europe from becoming the adults of America."

"To think of drawing the United States into the council occupied with this important inquiry, to admit even the possibility that they should intervene in it by virtue of any right whatsoever, this would be to commit a great error, to renounce the security which is still to be found in a principle even when the question of fact is no longer under one's influence."

sage "struck at the principle of mediation . . . by peremptorily deciding the question of South American independence, without listening to the concessions which either of the parties at issue might be disposed to admit", and so confirmed his resolution with regard to the United States.[28]

But, on the other hand, both the French and the Austrian ministers hoped to use the message to persuade Great Britain to accept the invitation to the congress. Metternich declared to Wellesley that if Great Britain should decline "it would be imputed to her that she meant to follow the line taken by the United States".[29] "Mr. Canning", wrote Chateaubriand to Polignac, "can have no more desire than I to favor military insurrections, the sovereignty of the people, and all the beautiful things which Mr. Monroe tells us about *de facto* governments." "Point out to him that it would be a very good thing for him to accept mediation with us and the Allies."[30]

Such was not the view of the British foreign minister. As is well known, he repudiated the idea of agreement with the United States, but he also flatly rejected the invitation to the congress. His action made a formal gathering of the powers impossible. France and Austria were wholly unwilling to participate in a congress without Great Britain. The "System of the Congresses" had come to an end.

But this does not mean that all discussion of the colonial question ceased with Canning's note of January 30. For something like five months more Spanish America still engaged the earnest attention of the diplomats of the Continental powers. There was indeed more serious discussion of actual aid to Spain in February and March of 1824 than at any other time. The President's message at any rate did not prevent such discussion.

It was Russia, whose policy, as has been seen, was still unformed in November, 1823, that was now most tenacious in the belief that some action might be taken in the colonial question. In February, 1824, Pozzo di Borgo proposed that the powers "seek, in concert with the cabinet of Madrid, the means of preparing a *Spanish* force to support the royalists of America, and examine what resources

Association with the United States is dangerous. The spirit of revolt is in their very nature. "It is the basis of their life and the first condition of their existence. It is indeed so intense that only to come into contact with it would be to expose oneself to contagion."

[28] P. R. O., F. O. France, vol. 305, desp. 8, January, 1824.

[29] P. R. O., F. O. Austria, vol. 182, no. 16, Jan. 21, 1824.

[30] "Lettres Inédites de Chateaubriand", in *Revue Bleue*, Nov. 2, 1912, p. 547.

might be devoted to such an operation, and what difficulties lay in the way".[31] This suggestion was rejected by the other Continental powers as "entailing concessions and sacrifices which they might not be disposed to make in favor of Spain".[32] Undaunted by this rebuff the Russian minister urged the Conde de Ofalia to appeal to the members of the Alliance to begin a series of conferences at Paris on the colonial question. But again little headway was made. Chateaubriand was now more and more afraid that Great Britain intended to recognize the independence of the colonies, and that any sign of common action on the part of the Allies would precipitate such action.[33] He refused to take part in any negotiations on the subject of Spanish America,[34] and instructed Talaru to observe a like rule of action at Madrid.[35]

Still the tsar and his ministers seem to have clung to the idea that some kind of aid might be accorded to Spain. Alexander gave to the French ambassador the distinct impression that he was disposed to "advise strongly the sacrifice of every other interest to theories too exclusive";[36] and some weeks later Nesselrode, in speaking to the French representative of the poverty and meagre resources of Spain, asked, "Why should not the Allies aid her? What could England say, or rather what could she do, if an army of Spaniards, Russians, Prussians, and Austrians embarked on a fleet lent to the King of Spain, and paid for by his allies, to re-instate him in his rights?" "This idea, extraordinary as it is," remarked La Ferronays, "is one of a number which may have misled the Emperor, and which he would be only too disposed to follow up."[37].

But whatever the desires of Alexander, the obstacles to the policy he played with were far too great to be overcome. Metternich, as we have seen, had never favored intervention. In a memoir of February 7, 1824, he set forth the arguments which justified his attitude. It was impossible, he wrote to Nesselrode, to act without the aid of one of the maritime powers. England was definitely opposed to armed action in the colonies; France was pledged by the interview of Polignac with Canning. Assistance to Spain would probably mean war with Great Britain. The United States had

[31] Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 21816, Feb. 26, 1824 (encl.).
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Paris, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Esp., vol. 726, f. 358, Mar. 23, 1824.
[34] Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 21814, Mar. 26, 1824.
[35] *Ibid.*, no. 21814, Mar. 26, 1824 (encl.).
[36] Paris, Corr. Pol., Russie, vol. 166, f. 81, Mar. 10, 1824.
[37] *Ibid.*, f. 187, May 14, 1824.

expressed itself definitely on the South American question. All these considerations dictated a policy of inactivity.[38]

From Chateaubriand the Russian ministers received even less encouragement than from Metternich. The French foreign secretary refused even to give assurances that France would not recognize the colonies, and he would have nothing to do with any positive plan.[39] Jealousy of British trade led him rather toward a friendly than a hostile policy toward Spanish America. He wrote De Serre at Naples that the acknowledgment of the independence of the new states was only a question of time.[40] "France," declared Tatistchev, "has subordinated the considerations of policy which we follow, to the counsels of mercantile cupidity."[41]

Russia stood, it would seem, alone in her desire for an active colonial policy. Under such circumstances, it was obvious that nothing could be done. In May, 1824, Nesselrode wrote to Pozzo, "Though the Allies, by a strict interpretation of their doctrines, might be bound not to refuse a direct assistance in men and ships to Spain, that power will readily see that so rigid a reconstruction of their engagements will serve no useful purpose while England maintains its present attitude."[42]

The last phrase in the instructions just quoted deserves particular attention. It was England, not the United States, which occupied the mind of the Russian minister. It was fear of British opposition which led him to abandon the idea of aid to Spain. Nor was it only Nesselrode who assigned more importance to the attitude of Canning than to that of Monroe. Chateaubriand and Metternich did not abandon the idea of a congress on the colonial question with the arrival of the President's message in Europe; they even drew renewed hopes of British co-operation from the message; but their ardor for a congress cooled with the refusal of the British foreign secretary to participate. They, too, paid more heed to London than to Washington.

There is only one respect in which the message may have had a positive influence. It may have stimulated discussion of the scheme for Bourbon monarchies. Certain it is, at any rate, that such discussion is quite vigorous in the early months of 1824. Metternich now favored the project;[43] the Russian ambassador at Madrid took the

[38] Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 22337, May 8, 1824.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Congrès de Vérone*, II. 351.
[41] Petrograd, F. O., Reçus no. 21874, Apr. 6, 1824.
[42] Paris, Corr. Pol., Russie, vol. 167, f. 169, May 13, 1824.
[43] P. R. O., F. O. Austria, vol. 182, desp. 10, Jan. 21, 1824.

same view;[44] and Chateaubriand urged the plan with renewed vigor not only at Madrid[45] but at London.[46] The French minister, indeed, attempted to use the President's declaration to prove the immediate necessity of sending *infantes* to the New World.

But all such projects were shattered by the obstinacy of the Spanish king. His repugnance to them was "extreme and entire".[47] His assent, before they could be carried out, was of course essential.

The truth of the matter is that the Continental powers at no time in 1823 or 1824 ever had a practicable policy outlined and ready to be carried out. Nothing, indeed, but reconquest would have satisfied the Spanish king, and reconquest was never seriously considered by any power, unless perhaps by Russia. Even in the latter case, it is clear that there was never any intention to act alone.

As for the influence of the United States on the policy of the Holy Alliance, it was at all times slight. French policy was formed without consulting the wishes of the American government. France and Austria wished definitely to exclude America from any deliberation on the colonial problem, and their determination was only strengthened by the President's message. In 1824 the powers discussed the Bourbon-monarchy plan freely, and Alexander played with the idea of intervention, despite the avowed attitude of the United States. The stand taken by Monroe did not alter in any essential respect the viewpoint of the Continental powers. And, indeed, why attribute to the America of a hundred years ago the power and prestige which appertains to it among the nations of the world to-day?

DEXTER PERKINS.

[44] Petrograd, F. O., Oubril-Pozzo, Apr. 10, 1824.

[45] *Revue Bleue*, Nov. 2, 1912, p. 548. "The message ought to open the eyes of the cabinet of Madrid. Can you not show the King that it is far more desirable to place a prince of his line at the head of one of the new states, rather than to let them all escape the sovereignty of the House of Bourbon?"

[46] *Ibid.* "Mr. Canning has a clear interest in every moderate plan. Can the cabinet of London longer blind itself to the policy and desires of the American government, whose interests lead it with all its might to isolate America from Europe? . . . We believe that constitutional monarchies established in America would be a very good result, both for England and for us."

[47] Paris, Corr. Pol., Esp., vol. 726, ff. 297 and 324.

GARIBALDI'S SICILIAN CAMPAIGN AS REPORTED BY AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT

Upon Garibaldi's Thousand a bewildering collection of volumes and pamphlets of the most varied character has been published, not a little of it good literature and of primary historical importance. But the work of the heroic expedition to Sicily was necessarily promoted by its leaders for the most part clandestinely, and was semi-shrouded in mystery; it was an epopoeia wrought in defiant derision of three-fourths of the diplomats whom it concerned, while at times it caused almost equal discomfort to the other fourth; and the diplomatic records of events have been, even to this day, largely withheld from the public eye, as not shedding excessive lustre upon diplomacy as a profession.[1]

It could not be claimed that the unpublished dispatches of the American minister accredited to Turin in 1860, which we propose to examine, throw a flood of new light upon the campaign. The American representative was little more than an observer; the United States was not directly concerned in the extraordinary events related, and no possible complications of the tangled situation could require our intervention. But the dispatches do reveal some important new facts, and they are interesting for students of American diplomacy, upon the unconventional character of which they cast no discredit.

The author of the dispatches, John Moncure Daniel, of Stafford County, Virginia, had the blood of a signer of the Declaration of Independence running in his veins. He had studied law, written articles full of brilliant invective for the Richmond *Examiner,* fought several duels in consequence, and had come out to Turin in 1853, a tenderfoot diplomat, to tell the truth abroad, as he saw it, for the good of his country. His diagnosis of Italian events revealed in the earlier dispatches of his Italian mission had proved to be by no means infallible. Though Daniel always considered himself a sincere apostle of freedom, he maintained, as a fiery champion of slavery, that negroes were not to be considered men in the same

[1] This paper is based largely upon the unpublished diplomatic correspondence between John Moncure Daniel and the Secretary of State, Lewis Cass. Permission to consult the correspondence was kindly obtained for the writer by George von Lengerke Meyer when John Hay was Secretary of State.

sense as whites, and this pro-slavery taint was evidently not without influence upon his diplomatic judgment. The Virginian who in his own country advocated the secession of the Southern States could not, even though a liberal in political theory, fully sympathize with Italy's great struggles for independence and unity; his political diagnosis must often fail from want of a sympathetic understanding of the leading Italian liberals who, in the direction which they gave to events, were more logical than he.

In 1858 Daniel had been promoted from his original rank of chargé d'affaires to that of minister, but he had not enjoyed his new position long before he caused a court scandal of considerable magnitude, a scandal which is said to have led to a curious correspondence between the great Italian statesman Cavour and the Italian minister at Washington, and is more amusing for the historian than it was for Daniel. On January 24, 1859, upon the betrothal of Prince Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, cousin of Napoleon III., to Princess Clotilde, only daughter of Victor Emmanuel II., a grand ball was given at the royal palace in Turin, and the minister of the United States received the usual official invitation. Of course he was present on the festive occasion, and furthermore he took with him, as he might perhaps properly have done at a ball in Stafford County, a lady who had not been invited, Countess Marie de Solms. The breach of etiquette was exaggerated by the fact that the French countess had been notoriously unsuccessful, even more unsuccessful than most ladies of the Second Empire, in preserving her pristine virtue or even the memory of it, and as she had been born Bonaparte Wyse and was a cousin of the emperor, Daniel might have guessed that, had her presence been desired at official Bonaparte festivities, she would have been invited.

The American minister's social position had been further disturbed by the indiscreet publication in America of a letter which he had addressed to a friend in Richmond ridiculing the habitués of the Piedmontese court—a letter which thus published had in due course found its way to Turin.[2]

But if Daniel, with reason, was not a great favorite in official circles, he had good outside sources of political information, and it should be noted that in the diplomatic events of 1860 the court itself was not a little bewildered—except the level-headed, liberal

[2] These social mishaps are naturally not recorded in Daniel's diplomatic dispatches, but they are described at some length in a memoir of Daniel written by his brother, Frederic S. Daniel, for a volume entitled *The Richmond Examiner during the War, or, The Writings of John M. Daniel* (New York, 1868).

king and his most confidential ministers and aides. Daniel thought for himself with the same independence which characterized his attendance at royal functions, and the war of 1859 had opened his eyes to the methods of Austrian absolutism and to Italy's wrongs.[3] Experience of seven years enabled him to write his best dispatches in 1860—dispatches which called forth compliments from Washington; furthermore, it may be observed that when he writes to Cass with regard to translations of Italian documents which he is enclosing, he speaks of them as documents which "I have translated", a phrase which few American diplomats of any period or grade have been able or willing to use. Indeed, the history of modern diplomacy shows that it is generally considered dangerous to retain a diplomat in a country whose language he may, in an absent-minded moment and in defiance of diplomatic usage, have innocently acquired.

Garibaldi was the leading figure of 1860, and Daniel had had occasion to make his acquaintance early in the year. The general's simplicity, sincerity, and substratum of good sense made him an enigma to many diplomats, but Daniel understood him fairly well, without, however, losing his head over him. Two great national questions absorbed Garibaldi in the early spring of 1860, the proposed cession of Nice and Savoy by Piedmont to France, and a possible revolution in Southern Italy to overthrow the despotic monarchy of the Two Sicilies. The cession of Savoy and Nice had been demanded by Napoleon III. in payment of his services of 1859 in aiding Piedmont to drive the Austrians out of Lombardy, and of the resultant annexation of Central Italy. It seemed a hard bargain. Savoy was the cradle of Piedmont's royal house, and Nice was Garibaldi's beloved birthplace. But the master Italian statesman and leader, Cavour, realized that it was not the moment either to appear ungrateful or to oppose Napoleon III. The ces-

[3] In a dispatch to Cass of June 28, 1859, Daniel wrote: "It is impossible not to witness with sincere pleasure the punishment of that bad power [Austria] and the defeat of the detestable system that has so long rendered wretched many millions of men. It is necessary to live near to Austria some time to know how perfectly founded in truth are all the charges which history has brought against her; to witness the cynical reliance on pure force and fraud which her political men regard as the sole motors of the world, her settled determination to oppose everything like advancement of freedom, either among individuals or communities, and especially her presumptuous arrogance and perfect confidence in her strength to defy the hatred and do without the respect and confidence of all mankind. Her vast military organization is full of this spirit; the cruelty and brutality of her soldiery is only equalled by the cold repellant pride and ill-bred swagger of her officers."

sion of Savoy and Nice meant the bitter loss of two important provinces, but it meant also that France, having been thus paid for her valuable services, could not in the future pretend to other sacrifices on the score of Italian gratitude. Furthermore, it meant that France would not find it easy to object to new and important steps that were meditated for the complete unification of oppressed Italy; already Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Legations had been voluntarily incorporated, together with Lombardy, in the nascent Italian kingdom under Piedmontese leadership; but other vital portions of the peninsula still remained to be won—Venice, other Roman provinces, and all of Southern Italy. Savoy and Nice must then be sacrificed that the greater Italian unification might be consummated without encountering French interference.

Cavour accepted the holocaust. Deeply moved in the Franco-Piedmontese conference of March 24, 1860, at which the treaty of cession was made, he nevertheless signed the documents with a firm hand, and then, having regained his composure, and rubbing his hands together in the way that for him always indicated satisfaction, he said laughingly in the ear of the French minister, Talleyrand: "Now we are accomplices, is it not true, Baron?"[4] He meant accomplices in territorial readjustments which should effect the completion of Italian unity, to which he knew that Napoleon III. was in reality opposed.

But Garibaldi had not Cavour's clear understanding of the international situation and he was convinced that the cession of Nice was unnecessary. Any means, therefore, constitutional or revolutionary, calculated to prevent successfully its accomplishment he was ready and eager, as leader of the patriots of Nice, to adopt; on April 6, before the new Parliament had been constitutionally organized, he had failed in an effort to make an interpellation in the Chamber against the cession, and at about this same time he had called on Daniel at the American legation in Turin to ask whether the United States would offer protection or assistance to Nice if the little province should revolt against both France and Piedmont. This odd appeal to America is not mentioned either by Garibaldi in his *Mémoire,* or by his biographers, but Daniel reports it with some detail in his dispatch to Cass of April 10:

> This parliament was deemed a body entirely devoted to the Administration of Mr. Cavour. . . . The feeble minority of dissentients which it contains were thought to be without a spokesman. It appears how-

[4] Henry d'Ideville, *Journal d'un Diplomate en Italie* (Paris, 1872), pp. 116–117.

ever that they are to find one in this celebrated soldier, who up to this time has neither been supposed by others to be endowed with the faculty of discourse or been even conscious of such a power himself. The free remarks which he made the other day on the "sale of Nice" have, however, caused great commotion and irritation in the Ministry, and have found a deep echo in the popular heart. In passing the Place Carignan on Sunday evening, I saw many thousands of individuals assembled in front of the Parliamentary building to cheer Garibaldi as he left it.

Garibaldi is a native of Nice, strongly attached to its nationality, and bitterly opposed to Louis Napoleon and to his system; he is a naturalized citizen of the United States,[5] and though now a member of monarchical government, does not hesitate, as he has ever done, to declare himself a republican in principle and by conviction.[6] But though such a man, influenced by such ideas and sentiments, may make a telling speech, as he may have well led a flying column in Lombardy, yet he has not the general capacity necessary to render him a considerable statesman.

He called at my office a few days ago on an errand quite illustrative of his character. He desired to know whether the United States would give protection or assistance to Nice in case it should separate both from France and Sardinia and establish a free form of government for itself? I told him at once that the United States would interfere in no manner with such a matter; and that though I believed it to be the policy of our republic to recognize all governments that succeeded in establishing themselves and that could be regarded as responsible organizations, yet I doubted whether they would hold any intercourse, even of the most temporary character, with a mere province in rebellion against powers so much more powerful than itself as to render its immediate subjection almost a certainty. He said that he had anticipated the reply I made to his inquiry, but, in the present moment, he thought it right to leave no chance for assistance untried.

On April 12 Garibaldi finally made in Parliament his futile interpellation, in which, indeed, he himself had cherished little faith; and during these same days, acting along lines much better suited to his nature as a man of downright action, he projected a raid on

[5] Daniel was in error in referring to Garibaldi as a naturalized citizen of the United States. On April 2, 1851, Garibaldi had obtained from Mayor Kingsland of New York an American passport as one who had "declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States". But the general never took the final steps requisite to naturalization.

[6] Garibaldi's political feeling was fundamentally sound, but his political phraseology was not conventional. Daniel's statement of the general's position was accurate; the latter often declared his platform in much the same words, as when he wrote, for example, to an English woman, Mrs. Carolina Phillipson, on Jan. 12, 1869: "The Republic is nothing more nor less than the system of government emanating from the free will of the majority; and as the condition in which you live [in England] is this, you are therefore a Republican." In "Lettere di Garibaldi a Carolina Phillipson", published in the review *L'Italia Moderna*, anno V., II. 484 (Rome, July 15, 1907).

Nice for the purpose of smashing the ballot-boxes during the elections fixed for April 15, in order to gain time for a campaign of popular persuasion against cession.[7]

In the meantime, however, the other and greater national issue that compelled Garibaldi's patriotism forged rapidly to the fore—the rousing of Southern Italy from the long bondage in which it had been held by an anti-national, despotic government. Three great revolutions, not to mention lesser attempts at insurrection, had taken place in Sicily in less than a half-century, and all had been ruthlessly suppressed by the Neapolitan Bourbons; many Sicilian patriots stoically supported chains or exile, and the bitter struggle for liberty continued; on April 4, at the very hour when Garibaldi was fuming about his native Nice, an unsuccessful revolt had been attempted in Palermo; thirteen of the insurgents were executed ten days later by the Neapolitan government. The persecutions, the cruelty, the vexations of the police of the Two Sicilies, had reached such excesses in Sicily and also on the mainland that even Gorchakov, Russian minister of foreign affairs at St. Petersburg, had protested against them as contrary to the interests of the king himself. The indomitable patriots had long looked earnestly for assistance to Piedmont, where many of their exiles had found an asylum, and all eyes now turned eagerly for leadership to Garibaldi and to his disbanded "Hunters of the Alps", a volunteer corps which had rendered signal service in the campaign of 1859 against Austria.

Of course the Piedmontese government had no grounds for openly attacking the Neapolitan kingdom, but it had every reason to wish that a liberal government, national in feeling, might be established there. It was in a dispatch of April 21 that Daniel

[7] An Englishman, Laurence Oliphant, who was to have participated in the ballot-box smashing, gives a lengthy account of the project and the abandonment of it, in his *Episodes in a Life of Adventure* (Edinburgh–London, 1887), pp. 165–179. Oliphant was so disappointed and so disgusted with the people of Nice at their not having resisted annexation to France, that he took revenge by casting a vote in favor of it himself. "Of course I had no right whatever to vote," he said, "but that made no difference, provided you voted the right way. As for voting 'No', that was almost impossible. The 'No' tickets were very difficult to procure, while the 'Yeses' were thrust into your hands from every direction. If ever ballot-boxes deserved to be smashed and their contents scattered to the winds, these did."

Daniel also took the view that the plebiscites, which resulted in overwhelming votes in favor of cession, were not fairly held. In his dispatch of April 17 he wrote to Cass: "Popular elections of this sort in France and Sardinia, I may be permitted to remark, are of little worth considered as true expositions of the popular will."

brought this Piedmontese point of view to the knowledge of his chief in Washington, reporting a note which he understood that Cavour had recently addressed to the government of Naples:

> He [Cavour] calls the attention of that Government to the late territorial modifications of Italy and informs it that an "Italian policy is the only one proper and salutary to any Italian State, and by such alone can the peace of Italy be secured". He declares that it is the desire of the Sardinian Government to preserve amicable relations with Naples and is ready to settle all difficulties which may give to Naples "erroneous views" of the intentions of Piedmont. But he concludes by telling the Government of Naples that these amicable sentiments can become practical things only when the cry of Italian Independence shall have the same signification in Naples and Sicily as in Piedmont and Sardinia and when the "Italian policy" shall be adopted in Messina and Gaeta.

Daniel added that although the note containing this communication from Cavour had not been published, nevertheless he believed its purport, as reported, was authentic. We have no precise knowledge of the sources of the American minister's information, but they were in this case manifestly excellent; on April 15, Victor Emmanuel II., king of Piedmont, had, indeed, upon Cavour's advice, written a letter to Francis II., king of the Two Sicilies, which began by calling the latter's attention to the change in political conditions wrought by the victories of Magenta and Solferino, and then continued:

> We have thus arrived at a moment when it is possible that Italy be consolidated into two powerful states, one of the North, the other of the South; let these two, accepting the same national policy, support the great principle of the hour, *national independence*. But in order to carry out this plan, it is, I believe, essential that Your Majesty should renounce the course which you have hitherto followed. . . . Let us show to the Holy Father the necessity of granting the necessary reforms; let us unite our states in bonds of true friendship, from which will certainly follow our country's greatness. Grant a liberal constitution at once to your subjects, surround yourself with the men who are most esteemed for their sacrifices to the cause of liberty, remove every suspicion from the minds of your people.[8]

Neither Cavour nor Victor Emmanuel II. could have really expected that the liberal counsels offered in this frank and trenchant letter would be followed, but the course outlined was certainly the only possible salvation for the despotic crown of Francis II., and it was in full accord with the opinions held by the governments of England and France and with the grave counsels which their diplomatic representatives were urging upon the king at Naples. Six

[8] Published in Chiala's preface to the fourth volume of Cavour's *Lettere* (Turin, 1885), p. cxxi.

weeks before Victor Emmanuel II. sent his letter, Elliot, British minister at Naples, had "used all the arguments in his power to persuade the [Neapolitan] Government to pause in its course", and had frankly declared to it that he "felt convinced that the destruction both of His Majesty and of the Dynasty was inevitable unless wiser counsels were listened to".[9] The French minister, Bernier, made repeated representations of the same tenor to the Neapolitan government, informing Paris that "real evils and incontestable wrongs" were the cause of the periodic revolts in Sicily. "There is only one means of pacifying Sicily", wrote the French vice-consul at Messina, "namely to free her from the humiliating and degrading yoke of the police, a yoke which she has suffered far too long for the honor of civilized Europe." Yet such was the king's alarm over the insurrectionary movements at this time that the police were ordered to augment, not diminish, their blind ferocity, and to arrest on the unsupported evidence of spies not only those who showed sympathy with attempts at insurrection, but even those who talked about them or asked for news of them.[10]

The liberal institutions granted in Piedmont twelve years before and now carried into the northern and central Italian provinces just annexed, were in too striking contrast with this repressive system of the Two Sicilies for both governmental systems to be able to maintain themselves side by side in what was in reality one country. Lord John Russell pointed to the contrast between them and declared that it was neither probable nor desirable that the difference should long continue.[11] Cavour, similarly minded, might have said of Italy what Lincoln had said of the United States two years before: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. This country cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." And Cavour, like Lincoln, was determined that it should become all free.

Daniel thought that the South could not liberate itself alone,[12] and he was right. But preparations for help from outside had been going on for months; indeed, the idea of an expedition of exiles and of liberals from other parts of Italy to help the Sicilian revo-

[9] *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Naples, presented to both Houses of Parliament* (London, 1860), pp. 43–44.

[10] *Documents Diplomatiques, 1860, Affaires Étrangères* (Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), pp. 128, 129, 134.

[11] *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Naples*, p. 44.

[12] Dispatch of May 10.

lutionists had begun to be discussed by Garibaldi in New York many years before.[13] At this moment two important organizations of liberals recently founded in Northern Italy with the programme of consummating Italian unification, namely, the National Society, and the Committee of the Million Rifles Fund, were concentrating their attention upon Sicily; men, muskets, and money for "unknown" destination had begun to find their way to Genoa; Garibaldi was known to be visiting in a villa at Quarto, about four miles distant, and many of the men arriving were from his old corps of faithful, fearless Hunters of the Alps. Apropos of these proceedings Daniel wrote to Cass on April 21: "Unless some unforeseen circumstance arises there will be no war this year; but there will be revolutions, if it is in the power of intrigue to make them."

The Neapolitan government, in spite of its army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, and its numerous war vessels cruising night and day along the coasts of Sicily, became demoralized with fear, and shrieked its protests at Turin and at various other courts of Europe. Several times false reports that Garibaldi had sailed for Sicily threw the government of that island into a panic and raised correspondingly the morale of the revolutionists, who had a blind faith that he would come; in fact, the great leader was hesitating only because of uncertain information upon the true state of the insurrection there. On April 30, the great decision was made, and on May 10, Daniel was able to draft the most dramatic dispatch of his diplomatic career:

> I have to announce the most startling and significant event that has occurred in Italy during the year. I refer to the expedition of Garibaldi to the island of Sicily. . . .
>
> Garibaldi sailed from the Gulf of Genoa on the 5th of May 1860 with 2,200 men, with good arms and provisions, and with several pieces of cannon. . . . He chartered three large steamers belonging to a Sardinian line of boats. . . . The place of embarcation and rendezvous was Quarto, a village near the city of Genoa. The whole business was conducted without concealment or disguises. Its progress was known to every one even here in Turin. The assemblage and embarcation met with no hindrance or interference, great or small, direct or indirect, from the Sardinian authorities. . . . The men who compose Garibaldi's corps are for the most part the same who served under him in the campaign of last summer. The leaders are his old officers. . . .
>
> The day after sailing the expedition landed for water and to complete its organization at Talamone, a little port on the confines of Tuscany and the Papal States. . . . Such arrangements having been effected, the steamers sailed again for their uncertain destination, and nothing

[13] Tuckerman, "Garibaldi", published in the *North American Review*, XCII. 17 (Boston, January, 1861).

further has been heard of them up to the hour of writing. Intelligence has however been received from Naples, where the Government is said to be in a state of consternation. The whole Neapolitan fleet is cruising around Sicily to intercept the expedition. . . .

Daniel, though correct in his general statements, has committed here several errors of detail. The ships were two in number, not three, and they were not chartered, but seized with the connivance of the manager of the company which owned them; they were seized on the 5th, but sailed only on the 6th, early in the morning, and they carried about 1140, not 2200, volunteers. But the English minister, Hudson, quoting his consul at Genoa who had witnessed the final preparations and departure, was hardly more accurate in his dispatches to Lord Russell; he estimated the number of volunteers embarked at only 400, and he too mentions a third steamer. As to Garibaldi's "good arms and provisions . . . and cannon", it may be added that his arms were for the most part old muskets, his provisions scanty, and from Genoa or vicinity he took no cannon. These errors are of interest as indicating that, in fact, much secrecy had been observed by the Garibaldian leaders in their preparations, although every one knew, "even in Turin", that *something* was being prepared.

In this same dispatch Daniel continued:

> Here in Turin the Government takes no pains to contradict the general belief of its participation in this strange movement. . . . Apart from the private sources which enable me to say with almost absolute confidence that this expedition has been gotten up under the patronage and with the assistance of the Sardinian Government, the mere facts that . . . arms, soldiers and cannon were embarked almost on the outskirts of Genoa itself, and that this whole armament sailed peaceably out of the Gulf of Genoa, where Sardinia keeps a large fleet, a great garrison, a watchful police, and whose cliffs bristle with forts and artillery—these public facts render it impossible even for the passing observer to doubt for a moment that this is the act of the Sardinian Government itself. In a movement organized on so vast a scale it would have been impossible to have taken even a single step without the full knowledge and authority of the powers at Turin. This is *undeclared war* of Sardinia against Naples. It does not suit the convenience of the Government here to avow that they undertake hostilities against the king of the Two Sicilies to drive him away, abolish the separate existence of that country, and to unite his territory to their own. They have no tangible ground for a Declaration of War. Hence they pursue their object under the name of Garibaldi.
>
> In private and unofficial conversations it is argued that unless this expedition had been permitted they would have been engaged in conflict with the Pope and the king of Naples at Bologna. The re-organization of the Papal army, the concentration of troops at Gubbio, and the

evident concert of the king of Naples with Lamoricière, give colour to this view. Hence the friends of the Government think that it was both justifiable and adroit to strike the first blow and disconcert the plan of the enemy by an insurrectionary assault on his own home.

In dispatch No. 145 I stated what seemed to me the present policy of the ultra Italian party. . . . Deserted by France, they have no idea of carrying on the struggle with Austria on the present footing. At the same time there can be no peace till Venice is wrested from the hands of that power. Hence it behooves them to unite the entire peninsula to the south of the Po under one head, and they can only effect this object by revolutionizing the kingdom of Naples, expelling the Bourbon dynasty, and then by procuring a popular vote for annexation to Piedmont, as they have already done in Parma, Modena, Tuscany and in the Legations. All their energies and intrigues have for some time past been directed to these results. A revolution in Naples and the consolidation of that country in the Subalpine kingdom before the end of this year is a matter of life or death to the Italian party. . . .

The countenance given to these measures by the English Minister in Turin, amounting almost to participation in them, is to me very surprising. That he could or would have done so without the direction of his superiors at London is impossible. . . .

It only remains to give my own opinion as to the probabilities of Garibaldi's success. . . . The greatest danger which Garibaldi has to run is in the passage by sea. Naples has a considerable number of vessels of war. Garibaldi's steamers could stand no chance if they came in reach of them, and, though a vessel of passage can outstrip most ships of war in a race of speed, they might be so headed and surrounded by a fleet that they would have to risk the cannon shot, and a few broadsides would end the affair by sinking the whole expedition in the sea. On the other hand I am confident that in the last emergency the English or Sardinian squadrons cruising over the same ground would interfere in some way to the advantage of the expedition. The chances that it escapes the dangers of the voyage are equal. But should Garibaldi effect a landing, I have no doubt at all as to his success. Should he fairly land, the days of the Bourbon Dynasty at Naples are numbered and the separate existence of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies will soon have place in history alone.

These concluding paragraphs offered as daring and fortunate a prophecy as it often falls to the lot of a diplomat to make: unquestionable success of the Garibaldian arms, once they were landed, not only in Sicily, but also in the Neapolitan provinces; speedy expulsion of the Bourbon dynasty from Italy, neck and crop; and an immediate plebiscite for total annexation of the Two Sicilies to the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel II.

The fulfilment of the prophecy was to prove complete, to the letter. Garibaldi's progress from the day of his landing turned out, indeed, to be one unbroken series of military successes alike in Sicily and on the Neapolitan mainland; the great plebiscite, an over-

whelming vote in favor of annexation, was held on October 21; and consolidation of the Two Sicilies in the Italian state was definitely proclaimed by royal decree on December 17, as Daniel had said, "before the end of the year".

But this extraordinary outcome of the hazardous expedition was, on May 10, quite other than a foregone conclusion. The difficulties to be overcome, military and diplomatic, were well-nigh insurmountable; both of the great leaders, Garibaldi and Cavour, foresaw them and hesitated long before the final cast of the dice was made. One factor, and one alone, made for success: the burning, unquenchable, irresistible desire of the Italian people, from Sicily to the Alps, for freedom from foreign domination, for political liberty, and for peace through national unity. And, as Daniel wrote, "There could be no peace till Venice was wrested from the hands of Austria", and unification of the entire peninsula was achieved. The men from the north of Italy who largely composed the Thousand gladly offered their lives in Garibaldi's campaign, not merely to free their southern brothers from despotic government, but because they saw in this liberation the unification of Italy; patriots of the Veneto and the Trentino firmly believed that battles heroically won in the overthrow of the despotic Neapolitan government were in reality victories also in the great struggle for the expulsion of hated Austria from Venice and Trent. It was the consuming passion of Italian unification that was carrying all before it, and it was because Daniel, though secessionist in his own country, now saw the inevitable necessity for unity in Italy, that he was able to forecast events so truly.

It appears to me clear [he wrote in another dispatch] that one of those great movements of nations and races which have from time to time altered the political condition and relative proportions of European States is now on foot in this peninsula. What passes here is not the work of individuals, of factions, or even of parties. It is the general sentiment and unanimous volition of nearly all the inhabitants of Italy. There is an universal determination of all its people—Romans, Tuscans, Neapolitans, and Lombards—to do away with their former system of divided government and to unite in one body. When twenty millions of people, having already some general bonds and means of union at their command, become possessed of an idea and wish so general and deeply seated as that which now prevails here it is quite impossible to resist or thwart them. A nation under such circumstances accomplishes its destiny with the force and certainty of the elements, blind to consequences and deaf to both menace and persuasion. The Emperor of France during the last winter did use all the means that statecraft could devise to stem or turn the general current of affairs

in Italy; but he had not more success than king Canute when he commanded the tide of the German ocean to rest at low water.[14]

As Daniel stated, at the date of his dispatch of May 10, Cavour had made no effort to deny the charges of complicity, on the part of the Piedmontese government, in Garibaldi's expedition.[15] We now know that Cavour privately admitted such complicity; indeed, on the same day that Daniel wrote, he declared that "circumstances had induced the government to oppose no effective obstacles to the expedition".[16] A tempest of diplomatic protest, particularly from Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France, had since May 6 beaten heavily upon Cavour's head; but France, probably on account of the impending parliamentary ratification at Turin of the cession of Nice and Savoy, had shown less displeasure than he expected, and on May 17 he wrote privately to Colonel Cugia in Bologna, "Garibaldi's expedition was openly favored by England and mildly opposed by France".[17] With regard to British complicity, then, Daniel was also right. And if England could openly favor Garibaldi, Piedmont, an *Italian* liberal power, could *a fortiori* justify herself for doing so.

On May 7, Garibaldi's steamers had put in at Talamone, a small port on the almost deserted coast of the Tuscan *maremma,* where they took on ammunition, water, and provisions;[18] two days later at Porto San Stefano, a few miles farther south, they took on coal, and then stood out to sea, avoiding the ordinary steamer routes and laying their course for the northwestern corner of Sicily. As Colonel Nino Bixio, "the second of the Thousand", commanding one of the steamers, emphatically declared, they had been extremely lucky at Porto San Stefano, having obtained coal in abundance, "enough to carry them to Sicily, and if necessary to Hell".[19] He was convinced that it would not now take them long to reach one destination or the other.

[14] Dispatch of June 12.

[15] *L'Opinione,* Cavour's foremost newspaper, refrained, undoubtedly by government order, from any mention of the expedition until May 10.

[16] Letter to Vice-Admiral Francesco Serra. Cavour, *Lettere,* VI. 560.

[17] B. Ricasoli, *Lettere e Documenti* (Florence, 1890), V. 82; Cavour, *Lettere,* III. 251.

[18] Unpublished documents containing a few new details of interest regarding the landing at Talamone are given by Michel, "I Mille nelle Acque dell' Argentario", in the historical review *Il Risorgimento Italiano,* III. 1004–1009 (Turin, December, 1910).

[19] Ippolito Nievo, "Da Quarto a Palermo", an important diary of one of the Thousand published in the review *La Lettura* (Milan, May, 1910), p. 386. This diary has not been used by the principal historians of the expedition.

The fortunate landing of the expedition at Marsala on the western point of Sicily on May 11, under the very guns of Neapolitan men-of-war, was reported by Daniel in his dispatches of May 15 and June 4, but of Garibaldi's brilliant victory against overwhelming odds at Calatafimi, his arduous march upon Palermo, and the almost miraculous storming of the Sicilian capital on May 27, no details were given. The negotiations, however, between Garibaldi and the representatives of the Neapolitan government for the capitulation of Palermo were described with caustic observations upon the weakness and demoralization of the Neapolitans.

The rapidity and completeness of Garibaldi's success, and the fact that thousands of Sicilian patriots had rallied to his banner on the march upon Palermo, so strengthened the position of Italian nationalists before the world that operations in northern Italy to reinforce the movement in its triumphant progress could now be carried on more openly,[20] and early in June events transpired which gave a more direct interest to Daniel's dispatches as they arrived in Washington—namely, events in which the complicity of American citizens and of at least one American official figured unequivocally.

In the outfitting of the Thousand, American collaboration had not been entirely lacking; the financial report of the Million Rifles Fund gives as its first item the receipt of 6850 lire transmitted from New York directly to the hands of Garibaldi on the eve of his departure from Genoa. In the course of the Sicilian and Neapolitan campaigns numerous other cash contributions were received by the Million Rifles Fund from various parts of the United States, from New Orleans to San Francisco and Portland, Oregon; the total contributions from New York City alone equalled those from all England. The greater number of American subscribers were of Italian origin; Italians in America had then, as they have to-day, deep and loyal interest in events in their mother country, as well as in those of their country of adoption; but the lists contained the

[20] Diplomatic opposition, however, had by no means ceased. Cavour's position was well defined in a statement made by Napoleon III. to Nigra, Piedmontese minister in Paris, and reported by the latter to Cavour in a remarkable letter of July 13: "Now you have against you nearly all of the cabinets. Lord John Russell is not very keen for the annexation of Sicily (he read me a dispatch from Berlin in this sense); Mr. de Schleinitz proposes collective representations to Piedmont to assure the integrity of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Prince Gorchakov accuses me of favoring the revolution and declares that Russia will never be found in the revolutionary camp; he proposes a naval intervention in favor of the King of Naples, and he announces formally that Russia will never *permit* the annexation of Sicily to Piedmont." The letter was first published in the historical review *Il Risorgimento Italiano*, IX. 277–281 (Turin, 1916).

names of many who could lay no claim to Italian blood—names such as Smith, Webster, and Brown.[21] Colonel Samuel Colt of Hartford, Connecticut, gave one hundred revolvers and revolver-carbines, which arrived in time to arm as many men of what is generally known as the second expedition, which sailed from Genoa on the night of June 9–10, under the American flag. The Colt revolver-carbines, which could fire five shots without being re-loaded, proved, it has been said, a determining factor in the repulse of the Neapolitan cavalry in Garibaldi's hard-won victory of Milazzo[22] on July 20. The second expedition in reinforcement of Garibaldi, commanded by the general's oldest and most trusted lieutenant, Colonel Giacomo Medici, consisted of from 2200 to 2400 men, transported on three steamers, the *Washington,* the *Franklin,* and the *Oregon.* On the night preceding, a vanguard of the expedition comprising from 900 to 1000 men had left Genoa on the American clipper *Charles and Jane* in tow of the little Piedmontese steamer *Utile,* the force being under the command of Major Clemente Corte. The *Utile* and the clipper were captured by a Neapolitan warship and taken in triumph to Gaeta, but Medici with the other vessels reached Castellamare, Sicily, in safety on June 17, via Cagliari. Daniel reported events to Cass as follows:

> The telegraph this morning [June 19] brings the statement that *an American clipper,* towed by a small steam vessel, laden with troops and arms for Garibaldi and bound for Sicily, has been captured by Neapolitan vessels of war.
>
> I have also lately learned that three French passenger steam-boats, old and in bad condition, have been purchased by, or at least in the name of, a person at Genoa who claims the title of an American citizen. These vessels then hoisted the American flag and, having been severally christened the *Washington,* the *Franklin* and *Oregon,* got up steam and left Genoa without cargo. It is supposed that they are engaged in the affairs of Sicily.
>
> I have this morning addressed notes to the Consulates of Genoa, Spezia and Leghorn, requesting further information relative to these vessels. . . .
>
> That more of Garibaldi's vessels have not been captured, indeed that all of them have not been captured, is a striking proof of the weakness which pervades the whole organization of the Neapolitan Government. It possesses a large and expensive fleet, which cruises around Sicily, yet this is the first thing that they have done. On the other hand the

[21] Enrico Bessana and Giuseppe Finzi, *Reso-conto di tutta la Gestione del Fondo del Milione Fucili* (Milan, February, 1861).

[22] The only known revolver-carbine of this lot that has been preserved is in the possession of the well-known Risorgimento scholar in Milan, Comm. Ambrogio Crippa, whose father used it with deadly effect at Milazzo.

publicity with which the various reinforcements[23] are sent to Garibaldi is complete. Days before the vessels set out, their proposed departure, the force that they will convey, and even the hour of their leaving Genoa or Leghorn is known to everyone here and sometimes announced in the newspapers. When the appointed hour arrives, and the vessels are loaded, the men assemble in the most frequented parts of those cities, the expedition sails with the regularity of a packet-boat, and some days after, their safe arrival at a Sicilian port is chronicled by the telegraph as if it were part of the regular business of the world.[24]

In soliciting information regarding the departure of the three steamers of Medici's expedition, "bearing the American flag", and reported "to be engaged in the movements of General Garibaldi between Sicily and Naples", Daniel wrote to W. L. Patterson, American consul at Genoa: "While I have neither the right nor the disposition to interfere with these affairs, it is proper that this Legation should be informed, so far as possible, of the truth of this report."

This gratuitous protestation by Daniel that he had "no disposition to interfere", is not without interest, particularly when taken in connection with an inadvertent admission to Cass that he, Daniel, had held a conversation with Garibaldi regarding affairs in the Two Sicilies "a short time previously to his departure".[25] That Patterson did not need this suggestion will be seen from his reply:

On the 8th inst. Mr. Finzi and Mr. William De Rohan a citizen of the U. S. from Philadelphia appeared at this Consulate and before me concluded and signed the contract of purchase on the part of Mr. De Rohan of three steamers, the *Washington* 469.59 tons, the *Oregon* 126.99 tons and the *Franklin* 233 tons. The money was paid by Mr. De Rohan and a formal delivery of the vessels was made into his hands. Of the

[23] In the preparation of the Medici expedition the Piedmontese government even ordered a special train which collected the Garibaldian volunteers at different stations and took them to Genoa. Cadolini, "Garibaldi nel 1860", published in *La Nuova Rivista di Fanteria* (Rome, May 15, 1910), p. 411.

[24] The first expedition of reinforcements was one to which due importance has never been given by historians. As La Farina declared on May 17, Garibaldi's most urgent need in Sicily was of arms and ammunition. Accordingly, on May 25, under command of Major Carmine Agnetta, an expedition of sixty volunteers in charge of 3000 muskets and 100,000 cartridges left Genoa on board the *Utile*, which was little more than a tugboat. For evidence of assistance from the Piedmontese government in the preparation of this expedition, consult H. Nelson Gay, "Garibaldi und die Tausend", published in the *Deutsche Revue* (Stuttgart, December, 1910). The *Utile* landed men and cargo safely at Marsala on June 2.

[25] Dispatch of June 19, in which Daniel says that Garibaldi had declared to him, apropos of possible unreadiness of the Neapolitans to throw off their despotic government, that "Liberty itself must sometimes be forced on the people for their future good".

Washington Mr. De Rohan took command himself, and he appointed to the commands of the others Mr. J. W. Nevins a native of the U. S. and Mr. Or[ri]goni a naturalized citizen of the U. S.

It was my private opinion that the purchaser of these vessels intended to employ them in the transportation of men and munitions from this [port] to Sicily. At least rumor said so. But inasmuch as the conditions of the law were complied with and the contract of sale and purchase a valid one, I could not allow my private opinion as to the ultimate destination of these vessels to interfere to prevent my official confirmation of the purchase. Nor had I the right to refuse.

These vessels cleared from this port on the evening of the 9th inst. for Athens, Greece, bearing I am told the American flag, which their ownership and papers authorized them to wear. I am likewise credibly informed that after leaving this port they put into Cornegliano a short distance from this city on the western coast and took on board men and munitions of war. These vessels were, or at least two of them, the *Washington* and the *Oregon,* at Cagliari on the 11th inst. I have heard nothing of them since.

It is amusing to read Patterson's statement that he had been "told" that the vessels had sailed under the American flag. The exact truth was that on the afternoon of June 9, in company with De Rohan, he had been rowed out to the *Washington* as she was about to leave the harbor of Genoa, had spent several hours on board while she was taking on arms, uniforms, and stores, and before going ashore had hoisted the American flag on her himself.[26] Mr. J. West Nevins, who figured as the commander of the *Oregon,* was a friend and secretary of Patterson and took part in the expedition at his own expense and risk. As Felice Orrigoni wrote to Garibaldi from the deck of the *Franklin* in Sicilian waters on June 17: "The American consul in Genoa, Mr. L. Patterson, did everything that he could for us, at the risk of losing his position."[27] There is no question but that he and Commodore William De Rohan were as loyal and enthusiastic Garibaldians as any of the Italian patriots who were ready to risk their lives and their position that Italy might be free and united.

De Rohan was a *bona fide* sea-captain, an old friend and admirer of Garibaldi, whom he had first met at Montevideo in the forties and to whom he had presented a sword at Gibraltar in 1850, when the defeated and proscribed hero was on his way to exile in the United States. Just how the American now came to participate in

[26] Testimony of Colonel Peard, an English member of the expedition, who was in the rowboat which took De Rohan and Patterson out to the *Washington.* Peard's Diary, published in the *Cornhill Magazine* (London, June, 1908), p. 813.

[27] G. E. Curàtulo, *Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele, Cavour* (Bologna, 1911), p. 185.

Garibaldi's great Sicilian undertaking is not known. The first record that we have of his presence in Italy at this time is a letter which he addressed to King Victor Emmanuel on May 28. He was devoted to the Italian cause, and for the services which he rendered in this second expedition and in the subsequent development of events he might quite properly be called "Garibaldi's American", as Colonel Peard who went out with him on the *Washington* was known as "Garibaldi's Englishman". De Rohan impressed the Italian patriots as a man of action and, generally speaking, of sound judgment.[28] The three vessels had been purchased in Marseilles for 752,489.55 lire by Finzi of the Million Rifles Fund, and had been made over to De Rohan with a regular bill of sale in Patterson's consular office, in order that they might sail under the protection of the American flag, being American property, commanded by American citizens and in part manned by American sailors. On June 8, however, De Rohan signed a declaration for Finzi to the effect that although the American was figuring in the ships' papers as owner of the three vessels *Amsterdam, Helvétie,* and *Belgienne,* which had been rechristened *Franklin, Washington,* and *Oregon,* Finzi was in reality the owner. De Rohan promised to transfer the ships back to Finzi's name immediately upon the latter's request.[29] The Italian patriots certainly took a chance with De Rohan, notwithstanding this written declaration, but the American proved more than worthy of their confidence.

If only a straw owner of the ships, De Rohan was by no means a mere figurehead as commander of the *Washington*; his whole heart was in the expedition and he bore a prominent and gallant part in the guidance of his little fleet of three American ships through the perils and difficulties of their voyage, exhibiting true Garibaldian energy and daring, and earning the esteem and gratitude of his volunteers and their chiefs.

At Cagliari, their port of call, the Piedmontese governor made some difficulties about allowing the *Washington* and her sister ships to proceed, so De Rohan went on shore to call on His Excellency. Peard tells the story:

> At first there seemed some hesitation about his being admitted, but the American was not to be done. He walked in and insisted on the great man being sent for. After some few words he said, "Are you an Italian in heart or only in name?" and then, advancing towards him

[28] Curàtulo, *ibid.*; Michele Amari, *Carteggio* (Turin, 1896), II. 96.

[29] A. Luzio, "Le Spedizioni Medici-Cosenz", published in the review *La Lettura* (Milan, June, 1910), p. 485.

and pointing to a couple of decorations he wore, added, "Those decorations you wear have been given you by your country; will you now in return betray her interests and disgrace those ribbons you have received from her?" The Governor jumped off his feet as if he feared he was going to be eaten, but, when he found De Rohan had no such cannibal intention, recovered himself, and at length gave his word she should leave as soon as her steam was up, and he kept his promise.[30]

The most dangerous hours of the voyage were now at hand with the approach to the shores of Sicily, and De Rohan was determined to leave untried no means that could contribute to the safe conduct of the expedition. A letter was accordingly dispatched, addressed by him to Captain Palmer of the *Iroquois,* an American war-ship then stationed in the harbor of Palermo for the protection of American interests. De Rohan informed the captain of the *Iroquois* of the route that he was taking but did not state the cargo that he was carrying; he hoped that Palmer would cruise off the coast and meet him, and if occasion should require, protect the American flag. By the same post Medici wrote to Garibaldi suggesting that he use his good offices with Palmer to further the realization of De Rohan's hope.[31]

But need for this assistance was eventually removed, for the Piedmontese admiral commanding in these waters had made up his mind that De Rohan's vessels should be safely escorted for the remainder of their voyage by one or more Piedmontese war-ships; thus protected, the *Washington* on the evening of June 17 sailed into the port of Castellamare, the *Franklin* and *Oregon* considerably astern.[32] Nearly 2500 men, about 8000 rifles and muskets, and an enormous number of cartridges were thus safely landed, and the completion of Garibaldi's great task in Sicily was assured.[33]

What Captain Palmer would have done, if the escort had not

[30] Peard's Diary, p. 815. The reason for the hesitation of Comm. A. Mathieu, governor of the province of Cagliari, to allow the *Washington* to proceed was undoubtedly Cavour's telegraphic order, received for transmission to Admiral Persano, for the arrest of Mazzini, who was erroneously reported to be on the ship. C. di Persano, *Diario* (Turin, 1880), pp. 36–37.

[31] Curàtulo, *Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele, Cavour,* p. 180. In a letter written on board the *Washington* and published in the *Illustrated London News* of July 7, 1860, p. 19, one of the volunteers declared: "I am not at liberty to tell you how much we owe Captain De Rohan for his exertions in this expedition."

[32] Persano, *Diario,* p. 45; Peard's Diary, pp. 815–816.

[33] As Luzio says, had it not been for this Medici expedition and that ot Cosenz which De Rohan took out on the *Washington* and *Provence* from Genoa on his second trip on July 2, Garibaldi's heroic taking of Palermo would have been in vain, or at best Sicily alone would have been redeemed from Bourbon despotism. Luzio, *Le Spedizioni Medici-Cosenz,* p. 481.

been provided by the Piedmontese navy, it would be useless to surmise, but we know what he had already done for Garibaldi some two weeks before when the general was almost in despair over lack of ammunition. The incident is described by an Englishman who had the story from Palmer's own lips a few months later. The American captain had been present by request on May 30 at the negotiations for an armistice carried on between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan general Letizia on board the English man-of-war *Hannibal* in Palermo harbor. When the turbulent discussion over the conditions of the agreement had terminated,

> Garibaldi sauntered up to Palmer in as unsuspicious a manner as possible, while Mundy happened to be speaking a word or two to the Neapolitan, and whispered in his ear, "Can't you let me have a little powder?" But this would have compromised the neutrality of the United States, and Captain Palmer therefore replied, "I'm sorry I can't; but I think I can tell you of a friend of mine who can", at the same time indicating with his finger an American merchantman that chanced to be in the harbor. Garibaldi took the hint, went to the vessel, and obtained what he wanted. Later he confessed that, at the time he was threatening to go on fighting the overwhelming force of his enemies, he had scarcely a cartridge left.[34]

From what source the American merchantman obtained the powder is not stated.

The American clipper *Charles and Jane* was a part of Medici's expedition and should have joined De Rohan's merchant fleet at Cagliari. Her capture by the Neapolitans was naturally a matter of grave concern to Patterson, who answered Daniel's request for information with the following second dispatch of June 20:

> On the evening of the 8th inst. an American ship the *Charles and Jane,* Samuel Donnel master, cleared and left this port under the following circumstances:—
>
> Capt. Donnel having discharged his cargo from New Orleans and being unchartered for a cargo home was about proceeding to Trapani on the western end of Sicily to purchase a cargo of salt on account of his owners. On the 7th inst. the day before he sailed he called upon me and stated that a proposition had been made to him by certain parties offering him a very remunerating sum of money to take men and munitions of war to Cagliari in the island of Sardinia; he wished to know of me if he would run any risk in taking such freight. I told him he had a perfect right without fear of molestation to take any cargo from this port to Cagliari that the authorities of the place, being ports within the same kingdom, allowed him to depart with. But that

[34] A. S. Bicknell, *In the Track of the Garibaldians* (London, 1861), p. 236. Persano wrote in his *Diario,* p. 13, under date of Palermo, June 8: "The English admiral and the American commander, Mr. Palmer, are the ones who have shown me the greatest sympathy for the Italian cause."

a cargo contraband of war for Sicily would endanger his vessel. He told me that the freight was for Cagliari, and, having closed with the terms of the proposers, he cleared as I have stated on the evening of the 8th *"for Trapani touching at Cagliari"* where his cargo was to be delivered.

The Captain having unsettled business with his consignees here could not leave with his ship but departed the day after to Cagliari, where he expected to find her. I received a letter from him dated from that place on the 11th inst.; his ship had not arrived and he was awaiting her with some anxiety.

On yesterday Capt. De Negri, in the Sardinian mercantile marine, deposed before me that on the 10th inst. whilst proceeding to Genoa off the island of Elba he saw a small steamer with a ship in tow taken possession of by a large steamer which he recognized as a Neapolitan and which with the prizes proceeded in the direction of Naples.

Now as the *Charles and Jane* which left the harbor on the evening of the 8th did not go to sea until the morning of the 9th and as she was in tow of a small tug steamer and as from the distance and direction with the winds then prevailing the *Charles and Jane* should have been at that time off Elba in her course to Cagliari I infer she was the vessel captured by the Neapolitan. From the facts I have stated and the place of capture you will see at once that the capture was unlawful. I have written to our Minister at Naples and placed him in possession of these facts, of which in this note I have the honor to inform you. . . .

P.S. Since writing the foregoing Capt. Donnel has arrived from Cagliari in search of his vessel. There is a rumor that the vessel has been demanded by our Minister at Naples supported by the Representatives of the other powers—nothing is known of the result as yet.

P.S. I have this instant received telegraphic dispatch from the Hon. J. R. Chandler saying that the *Charles and Jane was* captured and now at Gaeta. He had applied to the Government.

Immediately upon receipt of Patterson's dispatch regarding the *Charles and Jane* Daniel addressed a note to the Piedmontese minister of foreign affairs requesting official information upon the capture.[35] Cavour replied as follows:

TURIN, le 23 Juin 1860.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Je m'empresse de répondre à la Note que vous avez bien voulu m'adresser pour me demander des renseignements sur la capture de deux bâtiments dont l'un Sarde l'autre Américain par une Frégate Napolitaine.

Les informations que le Gouvt. a reçu de ses Agens à Naples confirment que ce fait s'est passé en haute mer, à quinze milles du Cap Corso. Le petit vapeur Sarde *Utile* remorquait de Gênes à Cagliari le navire Américain *Charles and Jane* qui était chargé de passagers.

Le Frégate Napolitaine *Fulminante* qui rencontra ces deux bâtiments, après avoir reconnu leur nationalité respective, les força par deux coups de canon à la suivre à Gaète où équipages et navires sont tenus sous les feux de la Forteresse et gardés par des factionnaires Napolitains.

[35] Note of June 22.

A la demande du Marquis de Villamarina qui n'a été informé de ce fait que fort tard (car on a refusé de lui transmettre un télégramme que le Délégat Consulaire Sarde à Gaète lui avait expédié à cet effet) les Capitaines des deux navires dont il s'agit ont été conduits à Naples, où l'on permit aux Ministres Américain et Sarde de les visiter à bord de la Frégate Napolitaine *Archimède.*

Après avoir entendu les explications du Capitaine du vapeur Sarde *Utile,* le Marquis de Villamarina a déclaré que la capture de ce bâtiment était nulle et illégale. Je n'ai pas le moindre doute que de son côté le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, qui a tant d'intérêt à maintenir la liberté des mers et qui a toujours défendu avec une infatigable énergie les droits de la navigation, prendra aussi les mesures nécessaires pour faire respecter son pavillon.

J'ajouterai que l'Agent Consulaire Sarde à Gaète a offert ses services et des secours pécuniaires au Capitaine et aux passagers du Clipper Américain capturé, qui l'ont remercié en assurant n'avoir besoin de rien.

Agréez, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma considération tres distinguée.

C. Cavour.[36]

A Monsieur Daniel,
Ministre des Etats Unis d'Amérique à Turin.

In a dispatch of June 26, Daniel reported to Cass the contents of these letters of Patterson and Cavour, and added:

The American Minister at Naples has demanded the release of the [American] vessel and cargo. . . . The Sardinian Government considers the capture of both vessels void and illegal on account of the scene of their taking and the port of their destination. Hence the Sardinian Minister at Naples has demanded the release of the Sardinian steamer and acts in concert with the Minister of the United States. . . . Your Minister in Naples will doubtlessly [*sic*] furnish full details of what passes there.

The Neapolitan authorities thought that the American flag was probably being fraudulently carried by De Rohan's ships and by the *Charles and Jane,*[37] and immediately upon the arrival of the latter at Gaeta a Neapolitan naval officer boarded her and demanded of first officer J. W. Watson, acting captain, the consignment of the ship's papers. Watson is reported to have replied in substance as follows: "I refuse to consign my papers to pirates, who seize and cannonade without showing their own colors and who have insulted the American flag. I will cede only to force, and if I am compelled to cede, my government has a sufficient number of war-ships to re-

[36] Hitherto unpublished, as also the other diplomatic documents given in this study.

[37] On June 22, Ippolito Garron, Neapolitan consul in Genoa, wrote to Patterson to ask whether he had authorized these ships to fly the American flag. Patterson replied under the same date that all of these ships had the right to fly the American flag as they were the property of American citizens.

duce the whole Kingdom of Naples to ashes. In short, I will consign my papers to my own consul only." The Neapolitan went away and soon afterward a higher official appeared accompanied by a man who represented himself to be the American consul, but again Watson refused to show his papers because the so-called consul could not prove himself to be such. "The conduct of Captain Watson in this affair", wrote a Garibaldian on the ship, "is above all praise. The American government knows how to command respect, and in this lies all our hope." [38]

Six days later Watson, still a prisoner, was taken to Naples on board the Neapolitan war-ship *Archimede,* that he might confer with the American minister, Joseph R. Chandler, who had been doing everything in his power, but with indifferent success, to obtain authentic information regarding the capture. Chandler looked upon the incident as presumably a grave breach of international law, and was working on it in close touch with the Sardinian minister, Villamarina; upon receipt of the first news he had summoned Captain Palmer to come over at once from Palermo, if possible, with the *Iroquois,* and he was now on the point of dispatching an American diplomatic attaché to Gaeta. He was acting with dignity and circumspection, and also with firmness; while the Neapolitan government, finding itself in an embarrassing position, proved courteous. Chandler discovered that the papers of the *Charles and Jane* now brought to him by Watson were not altogether regular; in fact Watson admitted that their irregularity had led him to delay in appealing to the American legation at Naples. The papers contained no clearance for Cagliari and failed to state that mate Watson had been charged with temporary command. It seemed discreet to the American minister, therefore, to leave the papers in Watson's hands. Their irregularity had no bearing upon the Neapolitan violation of the freedom of the seas in visiting the ship and in interfering with her voyage, and it was on the ground of this violation that Chandler, on June 18, decided to address a formal protest to Carafa, acting Neapolitan minister of foreign affairs:

After conversation with Watson upon the subject of his capture, and the condition of the crew of his vessel, the undersigned requested

[38] Mario Menghini, *La Spedizione Garibaldina,* pp. 334–340. Angelo Ottolini, "Voluntari Garibaldini Catturati dai Borboni", published in the *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento,* V. 316–321 (Rome, April–June, 1918). The Garibaldians were evidently still uncertain as to the extent to which they would be supported by the Piedmontese government.

to see the "Papers" of the captured ship; these were promptly exhibited.

The "Register" showed that the captured ship was called the *Charles and Jane,* and that she was built and owned in the town, or city, of Bath in the state of Maine, in the United States of America. The Register was perfect.

The "Role d'equipage" showed that the crew was, with the exception of two men, composed entirely of citizens of the United States: a proportion of citizens much larger than is usually found on board of American vessels. . . . Watson, being asked in what latitude and longitude he was when captured, stated that "he had not taken the latitude" but the record on the "log book" of the ship shews that she was captured in making a voyage from one port to another in the Kingdom of Sardinia and while distant fifteen (15) miles North East from Cap Corse, the northern extremity of the Island of Corsica.

The place in which the ship was captured was then on the High Seas, the Great Common Way of Nations. It was far distant from the coast of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, north even of the most northern boundary of the Papal States, on the Mediterranean side, and in that situation, being of a nation in peace and amity with the King of the Two Sicilies, and departing from, and going to, a port of a nation (Sardinia) at peace also with His Sicilian Majesty, it follows of course that the ship *Charles and Jane* was, not only not liable to capture, but was by the laws of nations exempt from even visitation.

It follows then that the Commander of the Neapolitan cruiser had no right to arrest the progress of the ship—had no right to board her, had no right to divert her from her course, to take her as a prize into Gaeta or any other port. And hence not only is such an arrest of progress, such a boarding and such diversion and capture an unlawful injury to the owners of the ship, but the boarding itself even without the other wrongs is an affront to the flag of the United States, for which it is the duty of the undersigned to seek redress.

In the situation of the case, the undersigned can have no doubt that His Excellency the Commander Carafa will admit the justice of his demand for the release of the captured ship; for compensation to its owners and reparation to the United States for the injury to their flag.

The claims made by the undersigned then are three:

First. The immediate release of the ship *Charles and Jane* in the condition in all respects in which she was when captured on the High Seas.

Second. Compensation to the owners or their representative for the loss consequent on the capture.

Three. Reparation to the Government of the United States for the violation of its sovereignty, by capturing on the Great High Way of Nations a ship owned by citizens of that nation, and sailing under the sanctity of the national flag.[39]

The satisfaction obtained by Chandler for these claims was

[39] Chandler to Cass, June 23, 1860. I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson for the communication of this dispatch, and of other dispatches of Chandler to Cass.

neither immediate nor complete. A certain delay was to have been expected owing to a change of ministry and the preparation of a new Neapolitan constitution; finally, on June 28, de Martino, the new minister of foreign affairs, advised Chandler that the order had been given for full release of the *Charles and Jane,* but added that the release must be regarded "purely as an act of favor and of deference to the Government of the United States". The Neapolitan government wished it understood that it made "the most ample protest against all reclamation whatsoever founded upon the assumed illegality of the capture and its consequences". Chandler, now certain of the ship's immediate release, thanked de Martino for his "expression of deference to the United States Government", but firmly declared that he "did not feel at liberty to make any concessions in the case upon the right of the Neapolitan [war-ship] in the capture".[40] The diplomatic discussion over legal rights might have gone on endlessly—had it not been abruptly terminated by the end of the Neapolitan kingdom itself. The question of the American clipper was the last question which the United States had with the Bourbons of Naples, and it was never settled.

On July 9, the *Charles and Jane,* in tow of the Piedmontese warship *Tripoli,* returned safely with "passengers and cargo" to Genoa, where most of the released volunteers shipped on the steamer *Amazon,* leaving that port on July 15 for Sicily, and joined Garibaldi just in time to participate in the bloody battle of Milazzo.

Other expeditions to Sicily from Piedmontese ports followed with much regularity, but none were captured. The total number of volunteers transported soon reached twenty thousand, and offers for active service were received from many other citizens of the United States who wished to "lend a hand".[41] American diplomatic

[40] Chandler to Cass, June 30, 1860.

[41] One of these offers came from William Thomas Sampson, then a cadet in the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and in 1898 commander of the victorious American fleet at Santiago; the offer was transmitted in the following unpublished letter preserved in the archives of the Museo del Risorgimento, Castello Sforzesco, Milan:

U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., U. S. A.,
Nov. 20, 1860.

GEN. GARIBALDI,

Sir.

Will the war of liberty be of still sufficient duration to justify our lending a hand? Mr. Sampson and myself will have ended a four years' course of study at this institution the coming summer, and if the war is to continue so that we

dispatches from Turin continued to report Garibaldi's victorious progress, and as Daniel wrote to Cass, the revolution of Southern Italy pursued an uninterrupted course to its goal, which was "the formation of a great Italian Kingdom".

H. Nelson Gay.

can have some encouragement to come over, please inform us. He is a young man of very fair talents, and stands at the head of our class.

Very respectfully,

T. Steece.

WEBSTER'S SEVENTH OF MARCH SPEECH AND THE SECESSION MOVEMENT, 1850

THE moral earnestness and literary skill of Whittier, Lowell, Garrison, Phillips, and Parker have fixed in many minds the anti-slavery doctrine that Webster's 7th of March speech was "scandalous treachery", and Webster a man of little or no "moral sense", courage, or statesmanship. That bitter atmosphere, reproduced by Parton and von Holst, was perpetuated a generation later by Lodge.[1]

Since 1900, over fifty publications throwing light on Webster and the Secession movement of 1850 have appeared, nearly a score containing fresh contemporary evidence. These twentieth-century historians—Garrison of Texas, Smith of Williams, Stephenson of Charleston and Yale, Van Tyne, Phillips, Fisher in his *True Daniel Webster,* or Ames, Hearon, and Cole in their monographs on Southern conditions—many of them born in one section and educated in another, brought into broadening relations with Northern and Southern investigators, trained in the modern historical spirit and freed by the mere lapse of time from much of the passion of slavery and civil war, have written with less emotion and more knowledge than the abolitionists, secessionists, or their disciples who preceded Rhodes.

Under the auspices of the American Historical Association have appeared the correspondence of Calhoun, of Chase, of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, and of Hunter of Virginia. Van Tyne's *Letters of Webster* (1902), including hundreds hitherto unpublished, was further supplemented in the sixteenth volume of the "National Edition" of Webster's *Writings and Speeches* (1908). These two editions contain, for 1850 alone, 57 inedited letters.

Manuscript collections and newspapers, comparatively unknown to earlier writers, have been utilized in monographs dealing with the situation in 1850 in South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Tennessee, published by universities or historical societies.

The cooler and matured judgments of men who knew Webster personally—Foote, Stephens, Wilson, Seward, and Whittier, in the last century; Hoar, Hale, Fisher, Hosmer, and Wheeler in recent years—modify their partizan political judgments of 1850. The new printed evidence is confirmed by manuscript material: 2,500 letters

[1] *Cf.* Parton with Lodge on intellect, morals, indolence, drinking, 7th of March speech, Webster's favorite things in England; references, note 63, below.

of the Greenough Collection available since the publication of the recent editions of Webster's letters and apparently unused by Webster's biographers; and hundreds of still inedited Webster Papers in the New Hampshire Historical Society, and scattered in minor collections.[2] This mass of new material makes possible and desirable a re-examination of the evidence as to (1) the danger from the secession movement in 1850; (2) the reasons for Webster's change in attitude toward the disunion danger in February, 1850, and for his 7th of March speech; (3) the effects of his speech and attitude upon the secession movement.

During the session of Congress of 1849–1850, the peace of the Union was threatened by problems centring around slavery and the territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War: California's demand for admission with a constitution prohibiting slavery; the Wilmot Proviso excluding slavery from the rest of the Mexican acquisitions (Utah and New Mexico); the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico; the abolition of slave trade in the District of Columbia; and an effective fugitive slave law to replace that of 1793.

The evidence for the steadily growing danger of secession until March, 1850, is no longer to be sought in Congressional speeches, but rather in the private letters of those men, Northern and Southern, who were the shrewdest political advisers of the South, and in the official acts of representative bodies of Southerners in local or state meetings, state legislatures, and the Nashville Convention. Even after the compromise was accepted in the South and the secessionists defeated in 1850–1851, the Southern states generally adopted the Georgia platform or its equivalent declaring that the Wilmot Proviso or the repeal of the fugitive slave law would lead the South to "resist even (as a last resort) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union". Southern disunion sentiment was not sporadic or a party matter; it was endemic.

The disunion sentiment in the North was not general; but Garrison, publicly proclaiming "I am an abolitionist and therefore for the dissolution of the Union", and his followers who pronounced "the Constitution a covenant with death and an agreement with hell", exercised a twofold effect far in excess of their numbers. In the North, abolitionists aroused bitter antagonism to slavery; in the South they strengthened the conviction of the lawfulness of slavery and the

[2] Manuscripts in the Greenough, Hammond, and Clayton Collections (Library of Congress); Winthrop and Appleton Collections (Mass. Hist. Soc.); Garrison (Boston Public Library); N. H. Hist. Soc., Dartmouth College; Middletown (Conn.) Hist. Soc.; and in the possession of Mrs. Alfred E. Wyman.

desirability of secession in preference to abolition. "The abolition question must soon divide us", a South Carolinian wrote his former principal in Vermont. "We are beginning to look upon it [disunion] as a relief from incessant insult. I have been myself surprised at the unusual prevalence and depth of this feeling."[3] "The abolition movement", as Houston has pointed out, "prevented any considerable abatement of feeling, and added volume to the current which was to sweep the State out of the Union in 1860."[4] South Carolina's ex-governor, Hammond, wrote Calhoun in December, 1849, "the conduct of the abolitionists in congress is daily giving it [disunion] powerful aid". "The sooner we can get rid of it [the union] the better."[5] The conclusion of both Blair of Kentucky and Winthrop[6] of Massachusetts, that "Calhoun and his instruments are really solicitous to break up the Union", was warranted by Calhoun's own statement.

Calhoun, desiring to save the Union if he could, but at all events to save the South, and convinced that there was "no time to lose", hoped "a decisive issue will be made with the North". In February, 1850, he wrote, "Disunion is the only alternative that is left us".[7] At last supported by some sort of action in thirteen Southern states, and in nine states by appointment of delegates to his Southern Convention, he declared in the Senate, March 4, "the South is united against the Wilmot proviso, and has committed itself, by solemn resolutions, to resist, should it be adopted". "The South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession." "The Southern States . . . cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with honor and safety, in the Union."[8]

That Beverley Tucker rightly judged that this speech of Calhoun expressed what was "in the mind of every man in the State" is confirmed by the approval of Hammond and other observers; their judgment that "everyone was ripe for disunion and no one ready to make

[3] Bennett, Dec. 1, 1848, to Partridge, Norwich University. MS. Dartmouth.

[4] Houston, *Nullification in South Carolina*, p. 141. Further evidence of Webster's thesis that abolitionists had developed Southern reaction in Phillips, *South in the Building of the Nation*, IV. 401–403; and unpublished letters approving Webster's speech.

[5] Calhoun, *Corr.*, Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1899, vol. II.), pp. 1193–1194.

[6] To Crittenden, Dec. 20, 1849, Smith, *Polit. Hist. Slavery*, I. 122; Winthrop MSS., Jan. 6, 1850.

[7] Calhoun, *Corr.*, p. 781; *cf.* 764–766, 778, 780, 783–784.

[8] *Cong. Globe*, XXI. 451–455, 463; *Corr.*, p. 784. On Calhoun's attitude, Ames, *Calhoun*, pp. 6–7; Stephenson, in *Yale Review*, 1919, p. 216; Newbury, in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XI. 259; Hamer, *Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1847–1852*, pp. 49–54.

a speech in favor of the union"; the testimony of the governor, that South Carolina "is ready and anxious for an immediate separation"; and the concurrent testimony of even the few "Unionists" like Petigru and Lieber, who wrote Webster, "almost everyone is for southern separation", "disunion is the . . . predominant sentiment". "For arming the state, $350,000 has been put at the disposal of the governor." "Had I convened the legislature two or three weeks before the regular meeting," adds the governor, "such was the excited state of the public mind at that time, I am convinced South Carolina would not now have been a member of the Union. The people are very far ahead of their leaders." Ample first-hand evidence of South Carolina's determination to secede in 1850 may be found in the *Correspondence of Calhoun,* in Claiborne's *Quitman,* in the acts of the assembly, in the newspapers, in the legislature's vote "to resist at any and all hazards", and in the choice of resistance-men to the Nashville Convention and the state convention. This has been so convincingly set forth in Ames's *Calhoun and the Secession Movement of 1850,* and in Hamer's *Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1847–1852,* that there is need of very few further illustrations.[9]

That South Carolina postponed secession for ten years was due to the Compromise. Alabama and Virginia adopted resolutions accepting the Compromise in 1850–1851; and the Virginia legislature tactfully urged South Carolina to abandon secession. The 1851 elections in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi showed the South ready to accept the Compromise, the crucial test being in Mississippi, where the voters followed Webster's supporter, Foote.[10] That Petigru was right in maintaining that South Carolina merely abandoned immediate and separate secession is shown by the almost unanimous vote of the South Carolina State Convention of 1852,[11] that the state was amply justified "in dissolving at once all political connection with her co-States", but refrained from this "manifest right of self-government from considerations of expediency only".[12]

In Mississippi, a preliminary convention, instigated by Calhoun, recommended the holding of a Southern convention at Nashville in

[9] Calhoun, *Corr.,* Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1899, vol. II.), pp. 1210–1212; Toombs, *Corr.* (*id.,* 1911, vol. II.), pp. 188, 217; Coleman, *Crittenden,* I. 363; Hamer, pp. 55–56, 46–48, 54, 82–83; Ames, *Calhoun,* pp. 21–22, 29; Claiborne, *Quitman,* II. 36–39.

[10] Hearon, *Miss. and the Compromise of 1850,* p. 209.

[11] A letter to Webster, Oct. 22, 1851, Greenough MSS., shows the strength of Calhoun's secession ideas. Hamer, p. 125, quotes part.

[12] Hamer, p. 142; Hearon, p. 220.

June, 1850, to "adopt some mode of resistance". The "Resolutions" declared the Wilmot Proviso "such a breach of the federal compact as . . . will make it the duty . . . of the slave-holding states to treat the non-slave-holding states as enemies". The "Address" recommended "all the assailed states to provide in the last resort for their separate welfare by the formation of a compact and a Union". "The object of this [Nashville Convention] is to familiarize the public mind with the idea of dissolution", rightly judged the Richmond *Whig* and the Lynchburg *Virginian*.

Radical resistance men controlled the legislature and "cordially approved" the disunion resolution and address, chose delegates to the Nashville Convention, appropriated $20,000 for their expenses and $200,000 for "necessary measures for protecting the state . . . in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso", etc.[13] These actions of Mississippi's legislature one day before Webster's 7th of March speech mark approximately the peak of the secession movement.

Governor Quitman, in response to public demand, called the legislature and proposed "to recommend the calling of a regular convention . . . with full power to annul the federal compact". "Having no hope of an effectual remedy . . . but in separation from the Northern States, my views of state action will look to secession."[14] The legislature supported Quitman's and Jefferson Davis's plans for resistance, censured Foote's support of the Compromise, and provided for a state convention of delegates.[15]

Even the Mississippi "Unionists" adopted the six standard points generally accepted in the South which would justify resistance. "And this is the Union party", was the significant comment of the New York *Tribune*. This Union Convention, however, believed that Quitman's message was treasonable and that there was ample evidence of a plot to dissolve the Union and form a Southern confederacy. Their programme was adopted by the State Convention the following year.[16] The radical Mississippians reiterated Calhoun's constitutional guarantees of sectional equality and non-interference with slavery, and declared for a Southern convention with power to recommend "secession from the Union and the formation of a Southern confederacy".[17]

"The people of Mississippi seemed . . . determined to defend

[13] Mar. 6, 1850. *Laws* (Miss.), pp. 521–526.

[14] Claiborne, *Quitman*, II. 37; Hearon, p. 161 n.

[15] Hearon, pp. 180–181; Claiborne, *Quitman*, II. 51–52.

[16] Nov. 10, 1850, Hearon, pp. 178–180; 1851, pp. 209–212.

[17] Dec. 10, Southern Rights Assoc. Hearon, pp. 183–187.

their equality in the Union, or to retire from it by peaceable secession. Had the issue been pressed at the moment when the excitement was at its highest point, an isolated and very serious movement might have occurred, which South Carolina, without doubt, would have promptly responded to."[18]

In Georgia, evidence as to "which way the wind blows" was received by the Congressional trio, Alexander Stephens, Toombs, and Cobb, from trusted observers at home. "The only safety of the South from abolition universal is to be found in an early dissolution of the Union." Only one democrat was found justifying Cobb's opposition to Calhoun and the Southern Convention.[19]

Stephens himself, anxious to "stick to the Constitutional Union", reveals in confidential letters to Southern Unionists the rapidly growing danger of disunion. "The feeling among the Southern members for a dissolution of the Union . . . is becoming much more general." "Men are now [December, 1849] beginning to talk of it seriously who twelve months ago hardly permitted themselves to think of it." "Civil war in this country better be prevented if it can be." After a month's "farther and broader view", he concluded, "the crisis is not far ahead . . . a dismemberment of this Republic I now consider inevitable."[20]

On February 8, 1850, the Georgia legislature appropriated $30,000 for a state convention to consider measures of redress, and gave warning that anti-slavery aggressions would "induce us to contemplate the possibility of a dissolution".[21] "I see no prospect of a continuance of this Union long", wrote Stephens two days later.[22]

Speaker Cobb's advisers warned him that "the predominant feeling of Georgia" was "equality or disunion", and that "the destructives" were trying to drive the South into disunion. "But for your influence, Georgia would have been more rampant for dissolution than South Carolina ever was." "S. Carolina will secede, but we can and must put a stop to it in Georgia."[23]

Public opinion in Georgia, which had been "almost ready for immediate secession", was reversed only after the passage of the Compromise and by means of a strenuous campaign against the Seces-

[18] Claiborne, *Quitman*, II. 52.

[19] July 1, 1849. *Corr.*, p. 170 (Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1911, vol. II.).

[20] Johnston, *Stephens*, pp. 238–239, 244; Smith, *Political History of Slavery*, I. 121.

[21] *Laws* (Ga.), 1850, pp. 122, 405–410.

[22] Johnston, *Stephens*; p. 247.

[23] *Corr.*, pp. 184, 193–195, 206–208, July 21. Newspapers, see Brooks, in *Miss. Valley Hist. Review*, IX. 289.

sionists which Stephens, Toombs, and Cobb were obliged to return to Georgia to conduct to a successful issue.[24] Yet even the Unionist Convention of Georgia, elected by this campaign, voted almost unanimously "the Georgia platform" already described, of resistance, even to disruption, against the Wilmot Proviso, the repeal of the fugitive slave law, and the other measures generally selected for reprobation in the South.[25] "Even the existence of the Union depended upon the settlement"; "we would have resisted by our arms if the wrong [Wilmot Proviso] had been perpetuated", were Stephens's later judgments.[26] It is to be remembered that the Union victory in Georgia was based upon the Compromise and that Webster's share in "strengthening the friends of the Union" was recognized by Stephens.

The disunion movement manifested also dangerous strength in Virginia and Alabama, and showed possibilities of great danger in Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Arkansas. The majority of the people may not have favored secession in 1850 any more than in 1860; but the leaders could and did carry most of the Southern legislatures in favor of uniting for resistance.

The "ultras" in Virginia, under the lead of Tucker, and in Alabama under Yancey, frankly avowed their desire to stimulate impossible demands so that disunion would be inevitable. Tucker at Nashville "ridiculed Webster's assertion that the Union could not be dissolved without bloodshed". On the eve of Webster's speech, Garnett of Virginia published a frank advocacy of a Southern Confederacy, repeatedly reprinted, which Clay declared "the most dangerous pamphlet he had ever read".[27] Virginia, in providing for delegates to the Nashville Convention, announced her readiness to join her "sister slave states" for "mutual defence". She later acquiesced in the Compromise, but reasserted that anti-slavery aggressions would "defeat restoration of peaceful sentiments".[28]

[24] Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, pp. 163–166.

[25] Ames, *Documents*, pp. 271–272; Hearon, p. 190.

[26] 1854, *Amer. Hist. Review*, VIII. 92–97; 1857, Johnston, *Stephens*, pp. 321–322; *infra*, pp. 267, 268.

[27] Hammond MSS., Jan. 27, Feb. 8; Virginia Resolves, Feb. 12; Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 246; N. Y. *Tribune*, June 14; M. R. H. Garnett, *Union Past and Future*, published between Jan. 24 and Mar. 7. Alabama: Hodgson, *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 281; Dubose, *Yancey*, pp. 247–249, 481; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 13; Cobb, *Corr.*, pp. 193–195, 207. President Tyler of the College of William and Mary kindly furnished evidence of Garnett's authorship; see J. M. Garnett, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI. 255.

[28] Resolutions, Feb. 12, 1850; *Acts*, 1850, pp. 223–224; 1851, p. 201.

In Texas there was acute danger of collision over the New Mexico boundary with Federal troops which President Taylor was preparing to send. Stephens frankly repeated Quitman's threats of Southern armed support of Texas.[29] Cobb, Henderson of Texas, Duval of Kentucky, Anderson of Tennessee, and Goode of Virginia expressed similar views as to the "imminent cause of danger to the Union from Texas". The collision was avoided because the more statesmanlike attitude of Webster prevailed rather than the "soldier's" policy of Taylor.

The border states held a critical position in 1850, as they did in 1860. "If they go for the Southern movement we shall have disunion." "Everything is to depend from this day on the course of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri."[30] Webster's conciliatory Union policy, in harmony with that of border state leaders, like Bell of Tennessee, Benton of Missouri, Clay and Crittenden of Kentucky, enabled Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri to stand by the Union and refuse to send delegates to the Nashville Convention.

The attitude of the Southern states toward disunion may be followed closely in their action as to the Nashville Convention. Nine Southern states approved the Convention and appointed delegates before June, 1850, six during the critical month preceding Webster's speech: Georgia, February 6, 8; Texas and Tennessee, February 11; Virginia, February 12; Alabama, just before the adjournment of the legislature, February 13; Mississippi, March 5, 6.[31] Every one of the nine seceded in 1860–1861; the border states (Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri) which kept out of the Convention in 1850 likewise kept out of secession in 1861; and only two states which seceded in 1861 failed to join the Southern movement in 1850 (North Carolina and Louisiana). This significant parallel between the action of the Southern states in 1850 and in 1860 suggests the permanent strength of the secession movement of 1850. Moreover, the alignment of leaders was strikingly the same in 1850 and 1860. Those who headed the secession movement in 1850 in their respective states were among the leaders of secession in 1860 and 1861: Barnwell and Rhett in South Carolina; Yancey in Alabama; Jefferson Davis and Brown in Mississippi; Garnett, Goode, and Hunter in Virginia; Johnston in Arkansas; Clingman in North Carolina. On the other hand, nearly

[29] Stephens, *Corr.*, p. 192; *Globe*, XXII. II. 1208.

[30] Boston *Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 23.

[31] South Carolina, *Acts*, 1849, p. 240, and the following *Laws* or *Acts*, all 1850: Georgia, pp. 418, 405–410, 122; Texas, pp. 93–94, 171; Tennessee, p. 572 (*Globe*, XXI. I. 417, Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 161); Mississippi, pp. 526–528; Virginia, p. 233; Alabama, *Weekly Tribune*, Feb. 23, *Daily*, Feb. 25.

all the men who in 1850 favored the Compromise, in 1860 either remained Union men, like Crittenden, Houston of Texas, Sharkey, Lieber, Petigru, and Provost Kennedy of Baltimore, or, like Stephens, Morehead, and Foote, vainly tried to restrain secession.

In the states unrepresented at the Nashville Convention—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, and Louisiana—there was much sympathy with the Southern movement. In Louisiana, the governor's proposal to send delegates was blocked by the Whigs.[32] "Missouri", in case of the Wilmot Proviso, "will be found in hearty co-operation with the slave-holding states for mutual protection against . . . Northern fanaticism", her legislature resolved.[33] Missouri's instructions to her senators were denounced as "disunion in their object" by her own Senator Benton. The Maryland legislature resolved, February 26: "Maryland will take her position with her Southern sister states in the maintenance of the constitution with all its compromises." The Whig senate, however, prevented sanctioning of the convention and sending of delegates. Florida's governor wrote the governor of South Carolina that Florida would co-operate with Virginia and South Carolina "in any measures in defense of our common Constitution and sovereign dignity". "Florida has resolved to resist to the extent of revolution", declared her representative in Congress, March 5. Though the Whigs did not support the movement, five delegates came from Florida to the Nashville Convention.[34]

In Kentucky, Crittenden's repeated messages against "disunion" and "entangling engagements" reveal the danger seen by a Southern Union governor.[35] Crittenden's changing attitude reveals the growing peril, and the growing reliance on Webster's and Clay's plans. By April, Crittenden recognized that "the Union is endangered", "the case . . . rises above ordinary rules", "circumstances have rather changed". He reluctantly swung from Taylor's plan of dealing with California alone, to the Clay and Webster idea of settling the "whole controversy".[36] Representative Morehead wrote Crittenden, "The extreme Southern gentlemen would secretly deplore the settlement of this question. The magnificence of a Southern Confederacy . . . is a dazzling allurement." Clay, like Webster, saw "the alternative, civil war".[37]

[32] White, *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc.*, III. 283.

[33] *Senate Miscellaneous*, 1849–1850, no. 24.

[34] Hamer, p. 40; *cf.* Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 162; *Cong. Globe*, Mar. 5.

[35] Coleman, *Crittenden*, I. 333, 350.

[36] Clayton MSS., Apr. 6; *cf.* Coleman, *Crittenden*, I. 369.

[37] Smith, *History of Slavery*, I. 121; Clay, Oct., 1851, letter, Curtis, *Webster*, II. 584–585.

In North Carolina, the majority appear to have been loyal to the Union; but the extremists—typified by Clingman, the public meeting at Wilmington, and the newspapers like the Wilmington *Courier*—reveal the presence of a dangerously aggressive body "with a settled determination to dissolve the Union" and frankly "calculating the advantages of a Southern Confederacy". Southern observers in this state reported that "the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law or the abolition of slavery in the District will dissolve the Union". The North Carolina legislature acquiesced in the Compromise but counselled retaliation in case of anti-slavery aggressions.[38] Before the assembling of the Southern convention in June, every one of the Southern states, save Kentucky, had given some encouragement to the Southern movement, and Kentucky had given warning and proposed a compromise through Clay.[39]

Nine Southern states—Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, and Tennessee—sent about 176 delegates to the Nashville Convention. The comparatively harmless outcome of this convention, in June, led earlier historians to underestimate the danger of the resistance movement in February and March when backed by legislatures, newspapers, and public opinion, before the effect was felt of the death of Calhoun and Taylor, and of Webster's support of conciliation. Stephens and the Southern Unionists rightly recognized that the Nashville Convention "will be the nucleus of another sectional assembly". "A fixed alienation of feeling will be the result." "The game of the destructives is to use the Missouri Compromise principle [as demanded by the Nashville Convention] as a medium of defeating all adjustments and then to . . . infuriate the South and drive her into measures that must end in disunion." "All who go to the Nashville Convention are ultimately to fall into that position." This view is confirmed by Judge Warner and other observers in Georgia and by the unpublished letters of Tucker.[40] "Let the Nashville Convention be held", said the Columbus, Georgia, *Sentinel*, "and let the undivided voice of the South go forth . . . declaring our determination to resist even to civil war."[41] The speech of Rhett of South Carolina, author of the convention's "Address", "frankly and boldly unfurled the flag of disunion".

[38] Clingman, and Wilmington Resolutions, *Globe*, XXI. I. 200–205, 311; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 25; Cobb, *Corr.*, pp. 217–218; Boyd, "North Carolina on the Eve of Secession", in Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1910), pp. 167–177.

[39] Hearndon, *Nashville Convention*, p. 283.

[40] Johnston, *Stephens*, p. 247; *Corr.*, pp. 186, 193, 194, 206–207; Hammond MSS., Jan. 27, Feb. 8.

[41] Ames, *Calhoun*, p. 26.

"If every Southern State should quail . . . South Carolina alone should make the issue." "The opinion of the [Nashville] address is, and I believe the opinion of a large portion of the Southern people is, that the Union cannot be made to endure", was delegate Barnwell's admission to Webster.[42]

The influence of the Compromise is brought out in the striking change in the attitude of Senator Foote, and of Judge Sharkey of Mississippi, the author of the radical "Address" of the preliminary Mississippi Convention, and chairman of both this and the Nashville Convention. After the Compromise measures were reported in May by Clay and Webster's committee, Sharkey became convinced that the Compromise should be accepted and so advised Foote. Sharkey also visited Washington and helped to pacify the rising storm by "suggestions to individual Congressmen".[43] In the Nashville Convention, Sharkey therefore exercised a moderating influence as chairman and refused to sign its disunion address. Convinced that the Compromise met essential Southern demands, Sharkey urged that "to resist it would be to dismember the Union". He therefore refused to call a second meeting of the Nashville Convention. For this change in position he was bitterly criticized by Jefferson Davis.[44] Foote recognized the "emergency" at the same time that Webster did, and on February 25, proposed his committee of thirteen to report some "scheme of compromise". Parting company with Calhoun, March 5, on the thesis that the South could not safely remain without new "constitutional guarantees", Foote regarded Webster's speech as "unanswerable", and in April came to an understanding with him as to Foote's committee and their common desire for prompt consideration of California. The importance of Foote's influence in turning the tide in Mississippi, through his pugnacious election campaign, and the significance of his judgment of the influence of Webster and his speech have been somewhat overlooked, partly perhaps because of Foote's swashbuckling characteristics.[45]

That the Southern convention movement proved comparatively innocuous in June is due in part to confidence inspired by the conciliatory policy of one outstanding Northerner, Webster. "Webster's speech", said Winthrop, "has knocked the Nashville Convention into a cocked hat."[46] "The Nashville Convention has been

[42] Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, X. 161–162.

[43] *Cyclopedia Miss. Hist.*, art. "Sharkey".

[44] Hearon, pp. 124, 171–174. Davis to Clayton (Clayton MSS.), Nov. 22, 1851.

[45] *Globe*, XXI. I. 418, 124, 712; *infra*, p. 268.

[46] MSS., Mar. 10.

blown by your giant effort to the four winds."[47] "Had you spoken out before this, I verily believe the Nashville Convention had not been thought of. Your speech has disarmed and quieted the South."[48] Webster's speech occasioned hesitation in the South. "This has given courage to all who wavered in their resolution or who were secretly opposed to the measure [Nashville Convention]."[49]

Ames cites nearly a score of issues of newspapers in Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia reflecting the change in public opinion in March. Even some of the radical papers referred to the favorable effect of Webster's speech and "spirit" in checking excitement. "The Jackson (Mississippi) *Southron* had at first supported the movement [for a Southern Convention], but by March it had grown lukewarm and before the Convention assembled, decidedly opposed it. The last of May it said, 'not a Whig paper in the State approves'." In the latter part of March, not more than a quarter of sixty papers from ten slaveholding states took decided ground for a Southern Convention.[50] The *Mississippi Free Trader* tried to check the growing support of the Compromise, by claiming that Webster's speech lacked Northern backing. A South Carolina pamphlet cited the Massachusetts opposition to Webster as proof of the political strength of abolition.[51]

The newer, day by day, first-hand evidence, in print and manuscript, shows the Union in serious danger, with the culmination during the three weeks preceding Webster's speech; with a moderation during March; a growing readiness during the summer to await Congressional action; and slow acquiescence in the Compromise measures of September, but with frank assertion on the part of various Southern states of the right and duty of resistance if the compromise measures were violated. Even in December, 1850, Dr. Alexander of Princeton found sober Virginians fearful that repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act would throw Virginia into the Southern movement and that South Carolina "by some rash act" would precipitate "the crisis". "All seem to regard bloodshed as the inevitable result."[52]

To the judgments and legislative acts of Southerners already quoted, may be added some of the opinions of men from the North.

[47] Anstell, Bethlehem, May 21, Greenough Collection.

[48] Anderson, Tenn., Apr. 8, *ibid.*

[49] Goode, *Hunter Corr.*, Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1916, vol. II.), p. 111.

[50] Ames, *Calhoun*, pp. 24–27.

[51] Hearon, pp. 120–123; Anonymous, *Letter on Southern Wrongs . . . in Reply to Grayson* (Charleston, 1850).

[52] *Letters*, II. 111, 121, 127.

Erving, the diplomat, wrote from New York, "The real danger is in the fanatics and disunionists of the North". "I see no salvation but in the total abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso." Edward Everett, on the contrary, felt that "unless some southern men of influence have courage enough to take grounds against the extension of slavery and in favor of abolition . . . we shall infallibly separate".[53]

A Philadelphia editor who went to Washington to learn the real sentiments of the Southern members, reported February 1, that if the Wilmot Proviso were not given up, ample provision made for fugitive slaves and avoidance of interference with slavery in the District of Columbia, the South would secede, though this was not generally believed in the North. "The North must decide whether she would have the Wilmot Proviso without the Union or the Union without the Wilmot Proviso."[54]

In answer to inquiries from the Massachusetts legislature as to whether the Southern attitude was "bluster" or "firm Resolve", Winthrop wrote, "the country has never been in more serious exigency than at present". "The South is angry, mad." "The Union must be saved . . . by prudence and forbearance." "Most sober men here are apprehensive that the end of the Union is nearer than they have ever before imagined." "God Preserve the Union is my daily prayer", wrote General Scott.[55]

Webster, however, as late as February 14, believed that there was no "serious danger". February 16, he still felt that "if, on our side, we keep cool, things will come to no dangerous pass".[56] But within the next week, three acts in Washington modified Webster's optimism: the filibuster of Southern members, February 18; their triumph in conference, February 19; their interview with Taylor about February 23.

On February 18, under the leadership of Stephens, the Southern representatives mustered two-thirds of the Southern Whigs and a majority from every Southern state save Maryland for a successful series of over thirty filibustering votes against the admission of California without consideration of the question of slavery in New Mexico and Utah. So indisputable was the demonstration of Southern power to block not only the President's plan but all Congressional legislation, that the Northern leaders next day in conference with Southern representatives agreed that California should be admitted with her free constitution, but that in New Mexico and Utah govern-

[53] Winthrop MSS., Jan. 16, Feb. 7.

[54] Philadelphia *Bulletin*, in McMaster, VIII. 15.

[55] Winthrop MSS., Feb. 10, 6.

[56] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI. 533; XVIII. 355.

ment should be organized with no prohibition of slavery and with power to form, in respect to slavery, such constitutions as the people pleased—agreements practically enacted in the Compromise.[57]

The filibuster of the 18th of February, Mann described as "a revolutionary proceeding". Its alarming effect on the members of the Cabinet was commented upon by the Boston *Advertiser,* February 19. The New York *Tribune,* February 20, recognized the determination of the South to secede unless the Missouri Compromise line were extended to the Pacific. February 22, the Springfield *Republican* declared that "if the Union cannot be preserved without the extension of slavery, we allow the tie of Union to be severed". It was on this day, too, that Webster decided "to make a Union speech and discharge a clear conscience".

That same week (apparently February 23) occurred the famous interview of Stephens and Toombs with Taylor which convinced the President that the Southern movement "means disunion". This was Taylor's judgment expressed to Weed and Hamlin, "ten minutes after the interview". A week later the President seemed to Horace Mann to be talking like a child about his plans to levy an embargo and blockade the Southern harbors and "save the Union". Taylor was ready to appeal to arms against "these Southern men in Congress [who] are trying to bring on civil war" in connection with the critical Texas boundary question.[58]

On this 23d of February, Greeley, converted from his earlier and characteristic optimism, wrote in his leading editorial, "instead of scouting or ridiculing as chimerical the idea of a Dissolution of the Union, we firmly believe that there are sixty members of Congress who this day desire it and are plotting to effect it. We have no doubt the Nashville Convention will be held and that the leading purpose of its authors is the separation of the slave states . . . with the formation of an independent Confederacy." "This plot . . . is formidable." He warned against "needless provocation" which would "supply weapons to the Disunionists". A private letter to Greeley from Washington, the same day, says: "H— is alarmed and confident that blood will be spilt on the floor of the House. Many members go to the House armed every day. W— is confident that

[57] Stephens, *War between the States,* II. 201–205, 232; *Cong. Globe,* XXI. I. 375–384.

[58] Thurlow Weed, *Life,* II. 177–178, 180–181 (Gen. Pleasanton's confirmatory letter). Wilson, *Slave Power,* II. 249. Both corroborated by Hamline letter, Rhodes, I. 134. Stephens's letters, N. Y. *Herald,* July 13, Aug. 8, 1876, denying threatening language used by Taylor "in my presence", do not nullify evidence of Taylor's attitude. Mann, *Life,* p. 292. Private Washington letter, Feb. 23, reporting interview, N. Y. *Tribune,* Feb. 25.

Disunionism is now inevitable. He knows intimately nearly all the Southern members, is familiar with their views and sees the letters that reach them from their constituents. He says the most ultra are well backed up in their advices from home." [59]

The same February 23, the Boston *Advertiser* quoted the Washington correspondence of the *Journal of Commerce*: "excitement pervades the whole South, and Southern members say that it has gone beyond their control, that their tone is moderate in comparison with that of their people". "Persons who condemn Mr. Clay's resolutions now trust to some vague idea that Mr. Webster can do something better." "If Mr. Webster has any charm by the magic influence of which he can control the *ultraism* of the North and of the South, he cannot too soon try its effects." "If Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri go for the Southern movement, we shall have disunion and as much of war as may answer the purposes either of Northern or Southern fanaticism." On this Saturday, February 23, also, "several Southern members of Congress had a long and interesting interview with Mr. Webster". "The whole subject was discussed and the result is, that the limitations of a compromise have been examined, which are satisfactory to our Southern brethren. This is good news, and will surround Mr. Webster's position with an uncommon interest." [60]

"Webster is the only man in the Senate who has a position which would enable him to present a plan which would be carried", said Pratt of Maryland.[61] The *National Intelligencer,* which had hitherto maintained the safety of the Union, confessed by February 21 that "the integrity of the Union *is* at some hazard", quoting Southern evidence of this. On February 25, Foote, in proposing to the Senate a committee of thirteen to report some scheme of compromise, gave it as his conclusion from consultation with both houses, that unless something were done at once, power would pass from Congress.

It was under these highly critical circumstances that Webster, on Sunday, February 24, the day on which he was accustomed to dine with his unusually well-informed friends, Stephens, Toombs, Clay, and Hale, wrote to his only surviving son:

> I am nearly broken down with labor and anxiety. I know not how to meet the present emergency, or with what weapons to beat down the

[59] *Weekly Tribune,* Mar. 2, reprinted from *Daily,* Feb. 27. *Cf.* Washington *National Intelligencer,* Feb. 21, quoting: Richmond *Enquirer*; Wilmington *Commercial*; Columbia *Telegraph.*

[60] New York *Herald,* Feb. 25; Boston *Daily Advertiser,* Feb. 26.

[61] *Tribune,* Feb. 25.

Northern and Southern follies, now raging in equal extremes. . . . I have poor spirits and little courage. *Non sum qualis eram.*[62]

Mr. Lodge's account of this critical February period shows ignorance not only of the letter of February 24, but of the real situation. He misquotes von Holst and from unwarranted assumptions draws like conclusions. Before this letter of February 24 and the new cumulative evidence of the crisis, there falls to the ground the sneer in Mr. Lodge's question, "if [Webster's] anxiety was solely of a public nature, why did it date from March 7 when, prior to that time, there was much greater cause for alarm than afterwards?" Webster *was* anxious before the 7th of March, as so many others were, North and South, and his extreme anxiety appears in the letter of February 24, as well as in repeated later utterances. No one can read through the letters of Webster without recognizing that he had a genuine anxiety for the safety of the Union; and that neither in his letters nor elsewhere is there evidence that in his conscience he was "ill at ease" or "his mind not at peace". Here as elsewhere, Mr. Lodge's biography, written nearly forty years ago, reproduces anti-slavery bitterness and ignorance of facts (pardonable in 1850) and seriously misrepresents Webster's character and the situation in that year.[63]

By the last week in February and the first in March, the peak of the secession movement was reached. Like others who loved the Union, convinced during this critical last week in February of an "emergency", Webster determined to make his "Union Speech" and "push the skiff from the shore alone". "We are in a crisis," he wrote again June 2, "if conciliation makes no progress." "It is a great emergency that the country is placed in", he said in the Senate, June 17. "We have," he wrote in October, "gone through the most important crisis which has occurred since the foundation of the government." A year later he added at Buffalo, "if we had not settled these agitating questions [by the Compromise] . . . in my opinion, there would have been civil war". In Virginia, where he had known the situation even better, he declared, "I believe in my conscience that a crisis was at hand, a dangerous, a fearful crisis".[64]

Rhodes's conclusion that there was "little danger of an overt act of secession while General Taylor was in the presidential chair" was based on evidence then incomplete and is abandoned by more recent

[62] *Writings and Speeches,* XVI. 534.

[63] Lodge's reproduction of Parton, pp. 16–17, 98, 195, 325–326, 349, 353, 356, 360. Other errors in Lodge's *Webster,* pp. 45, 314, 322, 328, 329–330, 352.

[64] *Writings and Speeches,* XVI. 542, 568; X. 116; Curtis, *Life,* II. 596; XIII. 434.

historians. It is moreover significant that, of the speeches cited by Rhodes, ridiculing the danger of secession, not one was delivered *before* Webster's speech. All were uttered *after* the danger had been lessened by the speeches and attitude of Clay and Webster. Even such Northern anti-slavery speeches illustrated danger of another sort. Hale of New Hampshire "would let them go" rather than surrender the rights threatened by the fugitive slave bill.[65] Giddings in the very speech ridiculing the danger of disunion said, "when they see fit to leave the Union, I would say to them 'Go in peace'".[66] Such utterances played into the hands of secessionists, strengthening their convictions that the North despised the South and would not fight to keep her in the Union.

It is now clear that in 1850 as in 1860 the average Northern senator or anti-slavery minister or poet was ill-informed or careless as to the danger of secession, and that Webster and the Southern Unionists were well-informed and rightly anxious. Theodore Parker illustrated the bitterness that befogs the mind. He concluded that there was no danger of dissolution because "the public funds of the United States did not go down one mill". The stock market might, of course, change from many causes, but Parker was wrong as to the facts. An examination of the daily sales of United States bonds in New York, 1849–1850, shows that the change, instead of being "not one mill", as Parker asserted, was four or five dollars during this period; and what change there was, was downward before Webster's speech and upward thereafter.[67]

We now realize what Webster knew and feared in 1849–1850. "If this strife between the South and the North goes on, we shall have war, and who is ready for that?" "There would have been a Civil War if the Compromise had not passed." The evidence confirms Thurlow Weed's mature judgment: "the country had every appearance of being on the eve of a Revolution."[68] On February 28, Everett recognized that "the radicals at the South have made up their minds to separate, the catastrophe seems to be inevitable".[69]

On March 1, Webster recorded his determination "to make an honest truth-telling speech and a Union speech". The Washington correspondent of the *Advertiser,* March 4, reported that Webster will

[65] Mar. 19, *Cong. Globe,* XXII. II. 1063.

[66] Aug. 12, *ibid.,* p. 1562.

[67] *U. S. Bonds* (1867). About 112–113, Dec., Jan., Feb., 1850; "inactive" before Webster's speech; "firmer", Mar. 8; advanced to 117, 119, May; 116–117 after Compromise.

[68] E. P. Wheeler, *Sixty Years of American Life,* p. 6; *cf.* Webster's Buffalo Speech, Curtis, *Life,* II. 576; Weed, *Autobiography,* p. 596.

[69] Winthrop MSS.

"take a large view of the state of things and advocate a straightforward course of legislation essentially such as the President has recommended". "To this point public sentiment has been gradually converging." "It will tend greatly to confirm opinion in favor of this course should it meet with the decided concurrence of Mr. Webster." The attitude of the plain citizen is expressed by Barker, of Beaver, Pennsylvania, on the same day, "do it, Mr. Webster, as you can, do it as a bold and gifted statesman and patriot; reconcile the North and South and *preserve* the *Union*". "Offer, Mr. Webster, a liberal compromise to the South." On March 4 and 5, Calhoun's Senate speech reasserted that the South, no longer safe in the Union, possessed the right of peaceable secession. On the 6th of March, Webster went over the proposed speech of the next morning with his son Fletcher, Edward Curtis, and Peter Harvey.[70]

It was under the cumulative stress of such convincing evidence, public and private utterances, and acts in Southern legislatures and in Congress, that Webster made his Union speech on the 7th of March. The purpose and character of the speech are rightly indicated by its title, "The Constitution and the Union", and by the significant dedication to the people of Massachusetts: "Necessity compels me to speak true rather than pleasing things." "I should indeed like to please you; but I prefer to save you, whatever be your attitude toward me."[71] The malignant charge that this speech was "a bid for the presidency" was long ago discarded, even by Lodge. It unfortunately survives in text-books more concerned with "atmosphere" than with truth. The modern investigator finds no evidence for it and every evidence against it. Webster was both too proud and too familiar with the political situation, North and South, to make such a monstrous mistake. The printed or manuscript letters to or from Webster in 1850 and 1851 show him and his friends deeply concerned over the danger to the Union, but not about the presidency. There is rarest mention of the matter in letters by personal or political friends; none by Webster, so far as the writer has observed.

If one comes to the speech familiar with both the situation in 1850 as now known, and with Webster's earlier and later speeches and private letters, one finds his position and arguments on the 7th of March in harmony with his attitude toward Union and slavery,

[70] Webster to Harvey, Apr. 7, MS. Middletown (Conn.) Hist. Soc., adds Fletcher's name. Received through the kindness of Professor George M. Dutcher.

[71] *Writings and Speeches*, X. 57; "Notes for the Speech", 281–291; Winthrop MSS., Apr. 3.

and with the law and the facts. Frankly reiterating both his earlier view of slavery "as a great moral, political and social evil" and his lifelong devotion to the Union and its constitutional obligations, Webster took national, practical, courageous grounds. On the fugitive slave bill and the Wilmot Proviso, where cautious Whigs like Winthrop and Everett were inclined to keep quiet in view of Northern popular feeling, Webster "took a large view of things" and resolved, as Foote saw, to risk his reputation in advocating the only practicable solution. Not only was Webster thoroughly familiar with the facts, but he was pre-eminently logical and, as Calhoun had admitted, once convinced, "he cannot look truth in the face and oppose it by arguments".[72] He therefore boldly faced the truth that the Wilmot Proviso (as it proved later) was needless, and would irritate Southern Union men and play into hands of disunionists who frankly desired to exploit this "insult" to excite secession sentiment. In a like case ten years later, "the Republican party took precisely the same ground held by Mr. Webster in 1850 and acted from the motives that inspired the 7th of March speech".[73]

Webster's anxiety for a conciliatory settlement of the highly dangerous Texas boundary situation (which incidentally narrowed slave territory) was as consistent with his national Union policy, as his desires for California's admission as a free state and for prohibition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia were in accord with his opposition to slavery. Seeing both abolitionists and secessionists threatening the Union, he rebuked both severely for disloyalty to their "constitutional obligations", while he pleaded for a more conciliatory attitude, for faith and charity rather than "heated imaginations". The only logical alternative to the union policy was disunion, advocated alike by Garrisonian abolitionists and Southern secessionists. "The Union . . . was thought to be in danger, and devotion to the Union rightfully inclined men to yield . . . where nothing else could have so inclined them", was Lincoln's luminous defense of the Compromise in his debate with Douglas.[74]

Webster's support of the constitutional provision for "return of persons held to service" was not merely that of a lawyer. It was in accord with a deep and statesmanlike conviction that "obedience to established government . . . is a Christian duty", the seat of law is "the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the universe".[75] Offensive as this law was to the North, the only logical alternatives were

[72] *Writings and Speeches,* XVIII. 371–372.

[73] Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress,* I. 269–271.

[74] *Works,* II. 202–203.

[75] *Writings and Speeches,* XVI. 580–581.

to fulfil or to annul the Constitution. Webster chose to risk his reputation; the extreme abolitionists, to risk the Union. Webster felt, as his opponents later recognized, that "the habitual cherishing of the principle", "resistance to unjust laws is obedience to God", threatened the Constitution. "He . . . addressed himself, therefore, to the duty of calling the American people back from revolutionary theories to . . . submission to authority."[76] As in 1830 against Haynes, so in 1850 against Calhoun and disunion, Webster stood not as "a Massachusetts man, but as an American", for "the preservation of the Union".[77] In both speeches he held that he was acting not for Massachusetts, but for the "whole country" (1830), "the good of the whole" (1850). His devotion to the Union and his intellectual balance led him to reject the impatience, bitterness, and disunion sentiments of abolitionists and secessionists. "We must wait for the slow progress of moral causes", a doctrine already announced in 1840, he reiterated in 1850.[78]

The earlier accounts of Webster as losing his friends are at variance with the facts. Cautious Northerners naturally hesitated to support him and face both the popular convictions on fugitive slaves and the rasping vituperation that exhausted sacred and profane history in the epithets current in that "era of warm journalistic manners"; Abolitionists and Free Soilers congratulated one another that they had "killed Webster". In Congress no Northern man save Ashmun of Massachusetts supported him in any speech for months. On the other hand, Webster did retain the friendship and confidence of leaders and common men North and South, and the tremendous influence of his personality and "unanswerable" arguments eventually swung the North for the Compromise. From Boston came prompt expressions of "entire concurrence" in his speech by 800 representative men, including George Ticknor, William H. Prescott, Rufus Choate, Josiah Quincy, President Sparks and Professor Felton of Harvard, Professors Woods, Stuart, and Emerson of Andover, and other leading professional, literary, and business men. Similar addresses were sent to him from about the same number of men in New York, from supporters in Newburyport, Medford, Kennebeck River, Philadelphia, the Detroit Common Council, Manchester, New Hampshire, and "the neighbors" in Salisbury. His old Boston Congressional district triumphantly elected Eliot, one of Webster's most loyal supporters, by a vote of 2,355 against 473 for Charles Sumner. The Massachusetts legislature overwhelmingly defeated a proposal to

[76] Seward, *Works*, III. 111–116.
[77] *Writings and Speeches*, X. 57, 97.
[78] *Ibid.*, XIII. 595; X. 65.

instruct Webster to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. Scores of unpublished letters in the New Hampshire Historical Society and the Library of Congress reveal hearty approval from both parties and all sections. Winthrop of Massachusetts, too cautious to endorse Webster's entire position, wrote to the governor of Massachusetts that as a result of the speech, "disunion stock is already below par".[79] "You have performed the responsible duties of a national Senator", wrote General Dearborn. "I thank you because you did not speak upon the subject as a Massachusetts man", said Reverend Thomas Worcester of Boston, an overseer of Harvard. "Your speech has saved the Union", was the verdict of Barker of Pennsylvania, a man not of Webster's party.[80] "The Union threatened . . . you have come to the rescue, and all disinterested lovers of that Union must rally round you", wrote Wainwright of New York. In Alabama, Reverend J. W. Allen recognized the "comprehensive and self-forgetting spirit of patriotism" in Webster, "which, if followed, would save the Union, unite the country and prevent the danger in the Nashville Convention". Like approval of Webster's "patriotic stand for the preservation of the Union" was sent from Green County and Greensboro in Alabama and from Tennessee and Virginia.[81] "The preservation of the Union is the only safety-valve. On Webster depends the tranquility of the country", says an anonymous writer from Charleston, a native of Massachusetts and former pupil of Webster.[82] Poinsett and Francis Lieber, South Carolina Unionists, expressed like views.[83] The growing influence of the speech is testified to in letters from all sections. Linus Child of Lowell finds it modifying his own previous opinions and believes that "shortly if not at this moment, it will be approved by a large majority of the people of Massachusetts".[84] "Upon sober second thought, our people will generally coincide with your views", wrote ex-Governor and ex-Mayor Armstrong of Boston.[85] "Every day adds to the number of those who agree with you", is the confirmatory testimony of Dana, trustee of Andover and former president of Dartmouth.[86] "The effect of your speech begins to be felt", wrote ex-Mayor Eliot of Boston.[87] Mayor Huntington

[79] Mar. 10. MS., "Private", to Governor Clifford.

[80] Mar. 11, Apr. 13. Webster papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., cited hereafter as "N. H.".

[81] Mar. 11, 25, 22, 17, 26, 28. Greenough Collection.

[82] May 20. N.H.

[83] Apr. 19, May 4. N.H.

[84] Apr. 1. Greenough.

[85] *Writings and Speeches*, XVIII. 357.

[86] Apr. 19. N.H.

[87] June 12. N.H. Garrison childishly printed Eliot's name upside down, and between black lines, *Liberator*, Sept. 20.

of Salem at first felt the speech to be too Southern; but "subsequent events at North and South have entirely satisfied me that you were right . . . and vast numbers of others here in Massachusetts were wrong". "The change going on in me has been going on all around me." "You saw farther ahead than the rest or most of us and had the courage and patriotism to stand upon the true ground."[88] This significant inedited letter is but a specimen of the change of attitude manifested in hundreds of letters from "slow and cautious Whigs".[89] One of these, Edward Everett, unable to accept Webster's attitude on Texas and the fugitive slave bill, could not "entirely concur" in the Boston letter of approval. "I think our friend will be able to carry the weight of it at home, but as much as ever." "It would, as you justly said," he wrote Winthrop, "have ruined any other man." This probably gives the position taken at first by a good many moderate anti-slavery men. Everett's later attitude is likewise typical of a change in New England. He wrote in 1851 that Webster's speech "more than any other cause, contributed to avert the catastrophe", and was "a practical basis for the adjustment of controversies, which had already gone far to dissolve the Union".[90]

Isaac Hill, a bitter New Hampshire political opponent, confesses that Webster's "kindly answer" to Calhoun was wiser than his own might have been. Hill, an experienced political observer, had feared in the month preceding Webster's speech a "disruption of the Union" with "no chance of escaping a conflict of blood". He felt that the censures of Webster were undeserved, that Webster was not merely right, but he had "power he can exercise at the North, beyond any other man", and that "all that is of value will declare in favor of the great principles of your late Union speech".[91] "Its tranquilizing effect upon public opinion has been wonderful"; "it has almost the unanimous support of this community", wrote the New York philanthropist Minturn.[92] "The speech made a powerful impression in this state. . . . Men feel they can stand on it with security."[93] In Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Pittsfield (with only one exception) the speech was found "wise and patriotic".[94] The sender of a resolution of approval from the grand jury of the

[88] Dec. 13. N.H.

[89] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI. 582.

[90] Winthrop MSS., Mar. 21 and Apr. 10, 1850, Nov. 1851; Curtis, *Life*, II. 580; Everett's *Memoir*; Webster's *Works* (1851), I. clvii.

[91] Apr. 17, to Webster. *Liberator*, Dec. 27, 1850, May 8, 1856. Curtis, *Life*, II. 429 n.

[92] Apr. 4. N.H.

[93] Barnard, Albany, Apr. 19. N.H.

[94] Mar. 15, 28. N.H.

United States court at Indianapolis says that such judgment is almost universal.[95] "It is thought you may save the country . . . you may keep us still united", wrote Thornton of Memphis, who soberly records the feeling of thoughtful men that the Southern purpose of disunion was stronger than appeared in either newspapers or political gatherings.[96] "Your speech has disarmed—has quieted the South;[97] has rendered invaluable service to the harmony and union of the South and the North".[98] "I am confident of the higher approbation, not of a single section of the Union, but of all sections", wrote a political opponent in Washington.[99]

The influence of Webster in checking the radical purposes of the Nashville Convention has been shown above.[100]

All classes of men from all sections show a substantial and growing backing of Webster's 7th of March speech as "the only statesmanlike and practicable way to save the Union". "To you, more than to any other statesman of modern times, do the people of this country owe their national feeling which we trust is to save this Union in this its hour of trial", was the judgment of "the neighbors", the plain farmers of Webster's old New Hampshire home.[101] Outside of the Abolition and Free Soil press, the growing tendency in newspapers, like that of their readers, was to support Webster's logical position.[102]

Exaggerated though some of these expressions of approval may have been, they balance the exaggerated vituperation of Webster in the anti-slavery press; and the extremes of approval and disapproval both concur in recognizing the widespread effect of the speech, "No speech ever delivered in Congress produced . . . so beneficial a change of opinion. The change of feeling and temperament wrought in Congress by this speech is miraculous."[103]

The contemporary testimony to Webster's checking of disunion is substantiated by the conclusions of Petigru of South Carolina, Cobb of Georgia in 1852, Allen of Pennsylvania in 1853, and by Stephens's mature judgment of "the profound sensation upon the

[95] June 10. Greenough.

[96] Mar. 28. Greenough.

[97] H. I. Anderson, Tenn., Apr. 8. Greenough.

[98] Nelson, Va., May 2. N.H.

[99] Mar. 8. Greenough.

[100] Pp. 255–256.

[101] August, 1850; 127 signatures. N.H.

[102] Ogg, *Webster*, p. 379; Rhodes, I. 157–158.

[103] New York *Journal of Commerce*, Boston *Advertiser*, Richmond *Whig*, Mar. 12; Baltimore *Sun*, Mar. 18; Ames, *Calhoun*, p. 25; Boston *Watchman and Reflector*, in *Liberator*, Apr. 1.

public mind throughout the Union made by Webster's 7th of March speech. The friends of the Union under the Constitution were strengthened in their hopes and inspired with renewed energies."[104] In 1874 Foote wrote, "The speech produced beneficial effects everywhere. . His statement of facts was generally looked upon as unanswerable; his argumentative conclusions appeared to be inevitable; his conciliatory tone . . . softened the sensibilities of all patriots."[105] "He seems to have gauged more accurately [than most] the grave dangers which threatened the republic and . . . the fearful consequences which must follow its disruption", was Henry Wilson's later and wiser judgment.[106] "The general judgment," said Senator Hoar in 1899, "seems to be coming to the conclusion that Webster differed from the friends of freedom of his time not in a weaker moral sense, but only in a larger, and profounder prophetic vision." "He saw what no other man saw, the certainty of civil war. I was one of those who . . . judged him severely, but I have learned better." "I think of him now . . . as the orator who bound fast with indissoluble strength the bonds of union."[107]

Modern writers, North and South—Garrison, Chadwick, T. C. Smith, Merriam, for instance[108]—now recognize the menace of disunion in 1850 and the service of Webster in defending the Union. Rhodes, though condemning Webster's support of the fugitive slave bill, recognizes that the speech was one of the few that really altered public opinion and won necessary Northern support for the Compromise. "We see now that in the War of the Rebellion his principles were mightier than those of Garrison." "It was not the Liberty or Abolitionist party, but the Union party that won."[109]

Postponement of secession for ten years gave the North preponderance in population, voting power, production, and transportation, new party organization, and convictions which made man-power and economic resources effective. The Northern lead of four million people in 1850 had increased to seven millions by 1860. In 1850, each section had thirty votes in the Senate; in 1860, the North had a majority of six, due to the admission of California, Oregon, and Minnesota. In the House of Representatives, the North had added seven to her majority. The Union states and territories built during

[104] *War between the States,* II. 211.

[105] *Civil War* (1866), pp. 130–131.

[106] *Slave Power,* II. 246.

[107] *Scribner's Magazine,* XXVI. 84.

[108] Garrison, *Westward Expansion,* pp. 327–332; Chadwick, *The Causes of the Civil War,* pp. 49–51; Smith, *Parties and Slavery,* p. 9; Merriam, *Life of Bowles,* I. 81.

[109] Rhodes, I. 157, 161.

the decade 15,000 miles of railroad, to 7,000 or 8,000 in the eleven seceding states. In shipping, the North in 1860 built about 800 vessels to the seceding states' 200. In 1860, in the eleven most important industries for war, Chadwick estimates that the Union states produced $735,500,000; the seceding states $75,250,000, "a manufacturing productivity eleven times as great for the North as for the South".[110] In general, during the decade, the census figures for 1860 show that since 1850 the North had increased its man-power, transportation, and economic production from two to fifty times as fast as the South, and that in 1860 the Union states were from two to twelve times as powerful as the seceding states.

Possibly Southern secessionists and Northern abolitionists had some basis for thinking that the North would let the "erring sisters depart in peace" in 1850. Within the next ten years, however, there came a decisive change. The North, exasperated by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the high-handed acts of Southerners in Kansas in 1856, and the Dred Scott *dictum* of the Supreme Court in 1857, felt that these things amounted to a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the opening up of the territory to slavery. In 1860 Northern conviction, backed by an effective, thorough party platform on a Union basis, swept the free states. In 1850, it was a "Constitutional Union" party that accepted the Compromise and arrested secession in the South; and Webster, foreseeing a "remodelling of parties", had prophesied that "there must be a Union party".[111] Webster's spirit and speeches and his strengthening of federal power through Supreme Court cases won by his arguments had helped to furnish the conviction which underlay the Union Party of 1860 and 1864. His consistent opposition to nullification and secession, and his appeal to the Union and to the Constitution during twenty years preceding the Civil War—from his reply to Hayne to his seventh of March speech—had developed a spirit capable of making economic and political power effective. Men inclined to sneer at Webster for his interest in manufacturing, farming, and material prosperity, may well remember that in his mind, and more slowly in the minds of the North, economic progress went hand in hand with the development of union and of liberty secured by law.

Whether we look to the material progress of the North from 1850 to 1860 or to its development in "imponderables", Webster's policy and his power over men's thoughts and deeds were essential factors in the ultimate triumph of the Union, which would have been at least

[110] *Preliminary Report*, Eighth Census, 1860; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, p. 28.

[111] Oct. 2, 1850. *Writings and Speeches*, XVI. 568–569.

dubious had secession been attempted in 1850. It was a soldier, not the modern orator, who said that "Webster shotted our guns". A letter to Senator Hoar from another Union soldier says that he kept up his heart as he paced up and down as sentinel in an exposed place by repeating over and over, "Liberty and Union now and forever, one and inseparable".[112] Hosmer tells us that he and his boyhood friends of the North in 1861 "did not argue much the question of the right of secession", but that it was the words of Webster's speeches, "as familiar to us as the sentences of the Lord's prayer and scarcely less consecrated, . . . with which we sprang to battle". Those boys were not ready in 1850. The decisive human factors in the Civil War were the men bred on the profound devotion to the Union which Webster shared with others equally patriotic, but less profoundly logical, less able to mould public opinion. Webster not only saw the vision himself; he had the genius to make the plain American citizen see that liberty could come through union and not through disunion. Moreover, there was in Webster and the Compromise of 1850 a spirit of conciliation, and therefore there was on the part of the North a belief that they had given the South a "square deal", and a corresponding indignation at the attempts in the next decade to expand slavery by violating the Compromises of 1820 and 1850. So, by 1860, the decisive border states and Northwest were ready to stand behind the Union. Lincoln, born in a border state and bred in the Northwest, and on Webster's doctrine, "the Union is paramount", when he accepted the Republican platform in 1864 summed up the issues of the long struggle in Webster's words of 1830, repeated in briefer form in the 7th of March speech, "Liberty and Union".[113]

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

[112] *Scribner*, XXVI. 84; *American Law Review*, XXXV. 804.

[113] Nicolay and Hay, IX. 76.

DOCUMENTS

Washington in 1834; Letter of Robert C. Caldwell

THE following letter, presenting an entertaining picture of Washington in 1834 and some interesting glimpses of President Jackson, was written by Robert C. Caldwell to his father, Colonel Samuel Caldwell, of Franklin, Ohio. For the opportunity to print it we are indebted to Professor George M. Whicher, of Hunter College, New York City, whose great-grandmother was in 1834 the wife of Colonel Caldwell. This lady, born Margaret Patterson, was thrice married. Her first husband was Samuel Venable, of Lexington, Kentucky. This letter passed at her death to her daughter by this first marriage, Mrs. Stephen Whicher (Mary Venable), from whom it descended to Professor Whicher.

The letter is written on a double sheet of paper, 14 by 17 inches in size; the four pages are entirely filled save the small space which was left to be the front and back of the folded letter when ready for mail. There is no sign of direction or postmark, or indication of the postage, from which it may be inferred that the letter was transmitted by some friend.

Colonel Samuel Caldwell, a proprietor in Franklin before 1810, and holder of various offices in its early days, was a state senator of Ohio in 1824, 1825, 1828, and 1829, and at the time when the letter was written was an associate judge of the court of common pleas for Warren County.[1] Robert C. Caldwell was appointed second lieutenant in the Marine Corps October 17, 1834, first lieutenant March 3, 1845, and died November 13, 1852.

WASHINGTON CITY 29th Dec. 1834

Dear Father,

Probably you think long by this time to receive a letter from me and as I have an abundance of leisure whenever I choose to curtail my curiosity and confine myself to my room, I have concluded to write you and try if I can fill, in such measure as to be interesting to you, this mammoth sheet. Well I have seen a great many new things and great men, since I came here, but before I proceed to tell you about them you must first hear how I arrived here and when.—I wrote you last as I was about to leave Cin.[2] on Wednesday the 3rd inst. Arrived safely

[1] *History of Warren County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1882), pp. 423, 424, 427, 519–521, 550.

[2] Cincinnati.

on Saturday at 10 o'clock P. M. at Wheeling. Took stage next morning at 10 o'clock and arrived (via Washington, Brownsville, Union,[3] Cumberland and Hagerstown) at Frederictown[4] on Tuesday evening at 4 o'clock. Next morning took the rail-road to Baltimore, 60 miles, and arrived at Balt. early in the evening having traveled at the rate of 15 miles per hour, part of the way by horse-power and part by steam. Almost all the towns from Wheeling to Baltimore are flourishing inland towns, and Frederic especially. Balt. is a curious city—the Monumental City. Among its curiosities are the Washington Monument—the battle monument, the public fountains—the shot towers—the Cathedral—and the shipping.—The Washington Monument is built of white marble and is 180 feet in hight.. I ascended it and had a bird's eye view of all the city—and the prospect over the surrounding country and far, far down the bay is very delightful. The shipping, consisting of Frigates, Brigs, Schooners, Sloops and what not, some sailing up and some sailing down the bay, moving with the fleetness of birds and as if by some magic influence, contrasts very happily with the vessels at the wharf, which with their masts and yards all stripped of their sails, look like a deadened forest on the beach. These, you know, were the first vessels I had ever seen with a mast and sails.

Well, the Cathedral I cannot pretend to describe particularly; it is the Roman Cath. church and is the largest in America—is filled with splendid and curious paintings and as a curiosity is a considerable source of revenue to the church, as they charge 25 cents for every person who visits it.—The shot towers are merely great tall cones built of brick, immensely high. The public fountains are merely natural springs, very large and strong, which have, for the convenience of the city, been walled up with hewn stone, and very handsomely adorned. There are some three or four of them.

On the 12th, passed from Balt. here, by stage in 5 hours, distance 40 miles—arrived here at 2 o'clock on Friday the 12 inst.—put up at Brown's Hotel[5]—boarding $1.25 per day—dear enough, but 25 cents per day cheaper than Gadsby's.[6] On the 17th found a genteel and comfortable boarding-house at $1.00 per day a few doors from Brown's on the opposite side of Pa. Avenue and removed to it, where I now am writing this letter.—But to return a little. On my arrival, found Taylor Webster and Gen. Taylor of Newport[7] boarding at the same house, made my arrival known to them soon and they treat me with great friendship and politeness. I get into my own room and all things arranged; I overhaul my letters of Introduction. Find among the most

[3] Uniontown, Pa.

[4] Frederick, Md.

[5] The Indian Queen Hotel, kept by Jesse Brown, on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between Sixth and Seventh streets.

[6] The National Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue and Sixth Street.

[7] Gen. James Taylor (1759–1848), of Newport, Ky., quartermaster general of Hull's forces in 1812, and in 1834 probably the largest landed proprietor in the Ohio Valley. Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky* (second ed., Covington, 1882), pp. 114–115. He was a first cousin of Col. Richard Taylor, Zachary Taylor's father. A. R. Watson, *Some Notable Families of America* (New York, 1898), p. 19. See also *American Historical Register*, I. 57–58.

prominent of them Micajah T's[8] to Martin Van B. So off I goes at a proper hour in the day to call upon the Gent.—find him in—he receives me with a hearty welcome and presents me by letter to the Prest.—where, calling, I meet Maj. Donaldson[9] who reads Mr. Whitchers[10] letter and leads me in and introduces me, in propria persona, to Gen. Jackson. I see no change in the Gen since I saw him in Cincin.[11]—he received me very cordially indeed—in company with him I found Amos Kendal and Bell of Tennessee, Speaker of the House,[12] and two or three others, to all of whom I was cordially introduced and then invited to sit and spend the evening in familiar chit-chat which of course I did.—dispersed at a seasonable hour with an invitation to take a family dinner with the Prest. and Maj. D. and family on a specified day, which invitation I of course accepted.

Well the day came round, and 3 o'clock, the dining hour, found me introduced into the anti-chamber along with Col. ———— (somebody, I've forgotten his name) and Col. ———— somebody else, whose name I cannot call either, and presently the Maj. D. and the Prest. entered and there we sat some 15 minutes or so chatting, when the Porter informed the Maj. dinner was ready—lead by the porter we passed out of the Anti-chamber, through a spacious Hall and entered another very finely furnished room which was darkened by the window-curtains and blinds, and contained two tables richly laden with fine plate and dishes and tall splendid lamps burning on either table—around one table were the chairs which showed that that was the one at which we were to sit—so we were seated—what attracted my attention first was the very nicely folded Knapkin on each plate, with a slice of good light bread in the middle of it.—Well, all being seated, the Gen. asked a blessing, then the servants about the table, I believe one to every man, commenced—"Will you have some roast beef?—some corn beef?—some boiled beef?—some beef stake?"[13]

Well, the beef being through with, away goes your plate and a clean one comes. "Will you have this kind or that kind or the other kind of fish?" Fish being through, a new plate and then some other dish. Then a new plate and some other dish—then a new plate and the pies—then the desert—then and in the mean time the wines—sherry, madaira, and champagne which are filled into the glasses by the Butler, and then with a significant nod of the head drink one another's health

[8] Meaning, no doubt, Micajah T. Williams, of Cincinnati, surveyor general for Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan.

[9] Maj. Andrew Jackson Donelson, the president's wife's nephew. See *American Historical Review,* XXIII. 355–356.

[10] Stephen Whicher had married the writer's half-sister, Mary Venable.

[11] Jackson was at Cincinnati, "over one boat", in the preceding summer.

[12] Amos Kendall, fourth auditor of the treasury; John Bell.

[13] The reader who is struck by the amplitude of the provision may like to compare the grave conversation of Washington's best waiter with Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith over a small dinner to be given, that same winter, to Miss Martineau. "'Yesterday at Mrs. Woodbury's there was only 18 in company and there were 30 dishes of meat'. . . . But I carried my point in only having 8 dishes of meat, tho' I could not convince Henry it was more genteel than a grander dinner". *First Forty Years of Washington Society,* pp. 360–362.

—then after so long a time, all of which made very agreeable by miscellaneous conversation we rise from table and retire again to the chamber whence we had come, where being seated and in conversation in high glee, in comes a servant with a dish of coffee for each of us. Well, must drink it of course—so directly aside looking at my watch find it almost 7 o'clock, I conclude it must be time for me to retire. So I takes the Prest. by the hand and says "Gen., I bid you good-night and it will always be my pride to do you honour." Well says the Gen. "You can do it in no way better than by learning your duty and dischargeing it faithfully. Improve your opportunities and you will no doubt make a first-rate officer." These words the Gen. spoke with an air of characteristic frankness and in the presence of those gentlemen before named, so that I could not but look upon them as very flattering testimonials. With a hearty shake of the hand I bid the Gen. Adieu —then taking leave of the other gentlemen I retired quite gratified at the hospitality and friendship I had recd.

But I find myself rather ahead of my story. Meanwhile between the time that I recd the invitation and eat the dinner, I saw Gen Lipton, H. and E. Hayward, Reynolds, Cass, and Dickerson,[14] of my own Corps Maj. Weed, Col. Henderson, Col. Brown, Adjt Howle, Capt Twigs [?], Lieut. Tyler and Doct. Kearney—besides several other officers of different grades whose names (except Gen Jesup and Col. Craughan)[15] I cannot pretend to recollect and I expect hardly their faces. Well now for some of the strange things I have seen.

The Capitol. I wish I possessed the faculty of noticeing things minutely and then the ability to describe them lucidly and accurately, I would then portray to you this building. It is said that there is not another Edifice in the known world that combines in such sweet proportions, as does this, the excellencies of grandeur, magnificence, superbness, splendour, beauty and simplicity. It is built of solid white marble blocks, and I think scarcely a wooden floor or step about it—all stone and floors brick. You have frequently seen engravings of it, and probably you may now see somewhere on the walls of the public house you are at the picture hanging; if so it will give you a better idea of the external appearance of the building than I can give you with my pen. The principal front is East—and most splendid it is (but here I begin to meet the difficulty; I cannot describe with any justice; however to make up for the lameness of what I may say and to give you a more perfect idea of the building, I will try to procure and have franked to you, a description by the Architect himself, which you will find mystified by technics, but the most of which you will be able to understand.)[16] I was saying the front east,—and the West;—what

[14] Probably the reference is to Lewis Cass, secretary of war, and Mahlon Dickerson, secretary of the navy. The members of the writer's own corps here mentioned are, apparently, Maj. Elijah J. Weed, quartermaster of the corps, Col. Archibald Henderson, colonel commandant U. S. M. C. 1834–1859, Capt. Parke G. Howle, Capt. Levi Twiggs, First Lieut. Henry B. Tyler, and Surgeon John A. Kearney, U. S. N.

[15] Maj.-Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, quartermaster general U. S. A. 1818–1860; Col. George Croghan, inspector general 1825–1849.

[16] *Guide to the Capitol of the United States* (Washington, 1834), "by

is it? Why a front also grand, elegant. The ends North and South are also elegant fronts—the building is four stories including the basement story—this lowest is cut off into rooms and halls chiefly formed by the arches that sustain the superstructure—two of these spacious rooms are devoted to Refectories or Eating houses for the members—towards the close of the session the houses sit from 10 A. M. till 2 A. M. of the following day sometime, and then it is that they make use particularly of these houses—they call for Mutton Soup, or turtle soup, or Oyster Soup, or beef stake or Coffee or tea or rum, just as they choose, and get whatever they call for.—Congress furnishes the keepers with house and fire-wood free of charge and then regulates, by rule, the price of everything, so that they cannot be imposed upon, and one member of the House told me that none but Members were admitted there and another told me anybody who pleases may go and eat if he pays the established fare; so, how that matter stands, exactly, I cannot say, for I have never gone to eat. The second story is divided into rooms and halls—one for the U. S. Court—one for the Library of Congress—then some jury and committee rooms—the third story into rooms for the several standing Committees of both Houses—and the fourth story consists of the Chambers of the two Houses of Congress (i.e.) excepting the central part of the building which consists of but one story from the base of the 2nd story—that is, it is carried up in a circle through all the stories to the very top of the great dome—this is what is called the rotunda which is lit from the top of the Dome, which contains some grand pieces of sculpture and some excellent paintings illustrative of scenes which occurred during the Infancy of the Republic, and principally during the Revolutionary War.[17] These sculptures and paintings are set in niches in the wall, made on purpose to receive them.—A Bronze statue of Jefferson stands out in the floor[18] and two elegant statues lately executed by Persico, a famed Italian Artist, which are set each on a temporary pedestal of wood—one is the representation of the God of War—Mars as the Romans called him—and the other the Goddess of Peace—carved from white (and I suppose Italian) marble—they have been the work of years—the artist is here now; a very swarthy and excessively jovial Italian—he takes great pride in brushing them up and keeping them in complete order. I have not yet learned what Congress is to give him for the work, but have no doubt but the sum will be immense.[19]

Robert Mills, Engineer and Architect", who however was not architect of the Capitol. That office was abolished in 1829, Charles Bulfinch then retiring; Mills was appointed architect in 1836. The pamphlet is not excessively technical, though it is excessively occupied with the opinions of Mills. The young lieutenant's statements as to the interior arrangements of the Capitol are not always accurate.

[17] Referring to Trumbull's four paintings. The other four are of later execution.

[18] Afterward placed in the grounds of the White House, but now once more in the rotunda of the Capitol.

[19] In 1837 these figures were set up in niches in the east portico; see pl. 117 in Glenn Brown's *History of the United States Capitol* (Washington, 1900), vol. I. Successive appropriation acts, beginning in 1829, show the total pay-

The Library of Congress is one of the interior curiosities which I have not yet had time to examine, but shall take some early opportunity of doing so.—The two chambers, in their internal arrangement, very much resemble the Senate Chamber at Columbus—so much for the inside of the Capitol, now for round about awhile. A lot of probably two acres lies spread out before the East front; very beautifully indeed laid off into walks and flower-beds—it is true at this season of the year the trees and shrubbery and bushes are not loaded with flowers and blossoms and fruit, yet the very mention of them, some of whose names have hardly an existence save in some poetic or classical association—I say the very mention of the names of these rare exotics has a tendency to stir up the imagination to painting of all their gay decorations—all sorts and varieties of evergreens etc. etc. etc.—Directly in front of the Central door of the Capitol is a fish-pond—it is of oval shape, perhaps 2 rods wide by 3 rods long and some ten or twelve feet deep—paved in the bottom with hewn stone and built up around of the same material—then a few bushels of beautiful clean gravel thrown in—the water as clear as crystal and a beautiful cerulean blue—then caged in this miniature sea are great varieties of little fish—this pond is fenced round with an iron railing.[20] Near the top of the stone wall you can discover an orifice of perhaps thirty square inches, through which the water flows toward the Capitol, but you see it no more till you come round to the entrance of the basement story on the West, where, right in front of the very entrance it gushes out of a rich marble fountain, made for the purpose, into a large marble bowl which sits on a marble pedestal, a convenient hight for one to wash at. From this fountain, overflowing the bowl, it runs through a smooth, square gutter cut in rock for perhaps two rods, then falls with the continued roar of a miniature cataract into another fish-pond, just like the last excepting that it is square, instead of oval. Right in the Centre of this pool of water stands what is currantly denominated "the Naval Monument".[21] It is built chiefly of white marble, but, as I cannot command the technic's of the Sculptor's Art, I cannot pretend to give you a picture of this curiosity. I can, however, tell by whom erected and for what purpose, which I do by telling you what is engraved on its several squares. On the East side are written, in the marble, these words; (viz) "Erected to the memory of Capt. Richard Somers, Lieutenants James Caldwell, James Decatur, Henry Wadsworth, Joseph Israel and John Dorsey who fell in the differant attacks that were made on the city of Tripoli in the year of our Lord 1804 and in the 28th year of the Independence of the United States." These words are on the South side; (viz) "The love of Glory inspired them, *Fame* has crowned their deeds, History records the event, the children of Columbia admire, and Commerce laments their fall." On the North

ment to have been $24,000. The signing of the contract was Adams's last action as president; *Memoirs*, VIII. 104, 123. Luigi Persico was a Neapolitan artist who had lived in Lancaster, Philadelphia, and elsewhere in America since 1819. W. U. Hensel, *An Italian Artist in Old Lancaster* (Lancaster, 1912); *Works of James Buchanan*, III. 56–59.

[20] See pl. 90 in Glenn Brown, *op. cit.*

[21] Now in Annapolis. See pl. 89, *ibid.*

Side, these words; (viz) "As a small tribute of respect to their memory, and of admiration of their valor, so worthy of imitation, their brother Officers have erected this Monument." So you see I am not the first Caldwell that ever entered the American Navy. Who this namesake was, by blood and origin, I know not,[22] but the name he has already immortalized, and here it stands, imperishable as the marble. Well, so be it. I covet not the glory of any man, nor do I feel disposed to boast vainly; but I frankly declare this, that it is my determination to *deserve* promotion, if in my power; and to *obtain* it as speedily as possible. And if, as circumstances, of which I shall presently speak, seem to indicate, it is my lot to have been thrown into the Navy in just the nick of time, when we may have some active defense of our rights to make, be assured your name shall not be disgraced, nor your memory dishonoured, by the cowardice of one who holds both *sacred.* My temper is pacific, my voice is still for peace; but should circumstances in our national affairs bring about a war, I shall be responsible only for the *result.* If I die, it shall be at my post.—But hold! my pen seems given to digressions—we will have a word or two about the French War hereafter. I will now return to my story.

The President's House is the next curiosity. It is built very much in external appearance like the Capitol excepting the Domes—and excepting that, although an immensely large house, it is small compared to the Capitol—it is a Capitol in miniature—and all that I can say of it is, that in the inside it seems to a stranger to be curiously arranged, so much so that he might with ease get lost in it. It is most richly and elegantly furnished, and comes up to my idea of a Royal Palace. On the outside it is commanding and magnificently grand. The yard and grounds around it are gratefully and gracefully adorned with trees, shrubbery, grass borders and walks. The Palace stands in the center of probably a ten acre lot and fronts North and south. On the east and west ends of the ten acre lot, or "President's square" as it is called, stand the four departments of State, Treasury, War and Navy.[23] (The Treasury building was burned down, you remember, but its place is here yet.) These buildings are very spacious—built of brick—rather antiquated in appearance. But I will tire myself and weary you if I continue dwelling on the minutiae of things. Suffice it for this part of my story, to say that the whole "square" is enclosed with an iron railing fence, or something so much like it that one might readily be deceived, and the whole concern together looks as if it might be the Manor of some such Nabob as Uncle Sam. The City of Washington is curiously laid out; but if you have ever seen a map of it, you will have a better idea of it than I can give you with my pen. However,

[22] James R. Caldwell, of Pennsylvania, first lieutenant of the *Siren,* killed Aug. 7, 1804, in one of the gunboat attacks on Tripoli. Goldsborough, *U. S. Naval Chronicle,* p. 227.

[23] The building of the State Department, and south of it that of the Treasury Department, stood at the east of the White House, approximately where the Treasury now stands; the building of the War Department, and south of it that of the Navy Department, at the west, about where now stands the State, War, and Navy Building. The allusion in the next sentence is to the fire of 1833.

this much I can say (viz) There is a set of streets they call Avenues, that all commence at the center of the Capitol and radiate to every point, ½ point, and ¼ point of the Compass, another set that commence at the center of the Prest's House and radiate in the same way and then in addition to these the town is laid out in the old checquer-board style with streets crossing each other at right angles—So that from the Capitol or from the Prest's House you may go straight in whatever direction you please.

I have not yet taken an opportunity to examine the curiosities in the Patent Office or the office of the War Dep. where I am told there are some to be seen. Also in the Dep. of State—the Prest's H.—The curiosity one feels at first to hear the great men of the Nation make their speeches in Congress, I find soon wears off. Clay is very calm as yet and rather sulky. Webster says but little, but is expected to loom forth some of these days on the French claims previous to 1800. J. Q. Adams has not spent much breath yet this session; I suppose he has been condenseing for the purpose of making a great blow on the 31st in honour of the memory of the great and good Lafayette.[24] I expect that to be an occasion of interest and anticipate it with great pleasure. So much of the Prest's Message as refers to the French treaty is quite obnoxious to the blue-lights.[25] I believe it is refered to the Com. on Foreign Affairs, of which I think Clay is Chairman and he is expected to make his home thrust from that quarter. Some of the knowing ones seem to think and talk as if a war is inevitable, others say they cannot predict the issue, but there is only one path for them and that is to sustain the Executive in his proposed measures; better incur, say they, the expence, the difficulties and losses of a war than suffer the honour of the American nation to be tarnished (and by the way let me tell you, the Navy officers here, almost to a man, are hoping and praying for War). The event of the matter, I think however, will probably be that Congress will fight the battle themselves in the Capitol and save the French Nation and the American Navy the trouble.

Well, (to strike off onto something new,) you do not expect that I have learned much yet about my duty as Lieut. or about the strength or condition of the American Navy, but being here, every day less or more, associating with Officers and men conversant with the service I could not avoid learning something. And I am perfectly astonished to learn how very *limited* is our navy, both in ships and men. The whole number of vessels in commission at present is only nineteen, as follows, 1 ship of the line!, 4 Frigates, 8 sloops of war, and 6 schooners!!! A mighty force indeed! Well, the whole force of men in the Navy proper, including Commissioned and Warrant Officers and seamen and boys and every kind of creature is only 6,072. That of the Marine Corps is only 1283, making in all 7355.[26] When from this force you deduct

[24] Lafayette died May 20, 1834. At the request of both houses of Congress, Adams delivered before them, on Dec. 31, 1834, an oration on Lafayette, printed in various editions. *Memoirs*, IX. 151–155, 196.

[25] Federalists, here no doubt meaning, opponents of Jackson.

[26] All these figures agree with, and were doubtless taken from, the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy communicated to Congress by the President on Dec. 2. *American State Papers, Naval Affairs*, IV. 589–590.

the ineffective part of the force you have but a small remnent left to contend with the thousands and thousands of the French Navy, for instance. We have but seven Navy yards, which are strewed along the coast as follows: Portsmouth, Boston, New York, Phila., Washington, Norfolk, and Pensacola. The differant stations or squadrons into which our Navy is divided are as follows: 1 The Mediterranean, 2 The West Indian, 3 The Brazilian, 4 The Pacific and East Indian. Thus scattered over the world for the purpose of more advantageously protecting our widely extended commerce—and by the way our widely extended commerce would afford our nation the means of very suddenly increasing her navy, in the event of a war, for, in addition to the 13 naval vessels that are now in ordinary, (i.e.) laid up for repair, and the 13 that are in building, all of which would be speedily made ready for the sea, the Government could purchase Merchant Briggs and fit them out with guns, at comparatively trifling expense to almost any amount that any possible emergency could require, and that in a very short time.

Col. Henderson I find to be a very plain and familiar man, entirely easy in his manners and very gentlemanly in his friendship,—has nothing of the cold and withering frost of ceremony about him. Being very favorably presented to him he told me that I might remain here until I was satisfied and then let him know whenever I was ready for orders, and he would send me to Norfolk, Phila, N. Y. or Boston, just as I would choose. Here then is the question for me. I have considered the matter myself and obtained all the information I could about the several stations, and think of preferring Boston.[27] Will probably leave here about the 5th or 8th of Jan. '35.

I will tell you in full the course I have been cuting out for myself in imagination; it is this: to spend the remainder of the present winter in Boston, perhaps till May next—then receive orders to join a vessel in the Pacific station for a 3 years cruise, during which I will circumnavigate the Globe, then in the spring of '38 return to the U. S., spend the summer on leave of absence among my friends in the West so as to rejoin again for a season the family circle and around the fireside and home of my youth to communicate to my dear parents and the family the result of these three years absence and experience in this strange world.—The summer being ended to rejoin the service and be sent out early in the fall on an other three years cruise to the Mediteranean station—then returning in the fall of 1841 to the U. S., resign my commission and retire to some sequestered spot and spend the remainder of my days in the sweet and peaceful enjoyment of the tranquilities of private life. But in the meantime during this 7 years of service it will be my fixed determination to give my leisure hours to Scientific research and especially to the thorough acquirement of the Profession of the Law—which, yes all of which, I will have abundance of leisure to do and almost equal advantages with those I would enjoy were I stationed all the while on land and in our own country.

I will submit my plan to Judge McLane[28] and get his advice as

[27] The *Official Register* for 1835 and the *Naval Register* for January, 1836, show the writer stationed at Boston (Charlestown).

[28] John McLean, of Ohio, associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States 1829–1861.

to what library I ought to possess myself of both in reference to the particular study of the Law and to general scientific research.

The almost numberless islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans at which it will probably be my privilege to touch on this cruise, abound you know with things at once curious and useful—and a communication of the knowledge of which might at the same time be a positive and valuable acquisition to the scientific intelligence of this country, and perhaps a source of pecuniary profit to myself—for "of the making of books", you know, "there is no end".—I also intend proposing my plan to Col. Henderson and if I can do it in a proper way I think there will be no doubt but he will favour my views and wishes, and give me orders to those differant stations. I find that there is a great deal to be gained by being in favour with the powers that be—there is a good deal of shufling in the rank, a good deal of favouritism.

I know not what I ought to fill the remaining blank with that would be of most interest to you. I know of no political news nor of anything specially interesting from Congress. You see the journals as reported in the several papers of the city. Perhaps it will be amusing to describe to you what will be my uniform as Lieut. of Marines. Cap—bell-crown, black leather varnished, mounted with brass scales, brass eagle, black cockade and yellow pompons. Coat—grass green cloth, double breasted, two rows guilt, convex, with eagle, anchor and stars, raised border buttons, ten in each row; standing collar, edged with buff, two loops and buttons on collar of gold lace,—skirt to extend nearly to the bend of the knee, with two large buttons at the waist and gold embroidered shell and flame at the bottom of the skirt; breast to be lined with buff and other small items of ornament so as to make it look splendid. Epaulettes one on each shoulder, of bright gold bullion 2½ inches long and somewhat less than ½ inch diameter, plain gold lace strap, solid crescent, the letters M. C. to be embroidered or of silver within the crescent. Trousers from 15 Oct till 30 April, light grey cloth with buff cloth stripe down the outer seam 1½ inches wide and welted on the edges. From 1st May till 14 Oct., white linen drilling, plain and spotless. Sword—brass scabbard sword with a mamaluke hilt of white ivory, extreme length of sword 3 feet 1½ inch, curve of blade ½ inch only, so as to be used for cut or thrust, the hilt (included in extreme length) 4¾ inches, width of scabbard 1⅞ inches, width of blade 1 inch. Sword-knot, crimson and gold with bullion tassel. Sword belt of white leather, 2½ inches wide etc. Sash crimson silk net, with bullion fringe ends, to go twice round the waist and tie on the left hip; the pendant part to be one foot from the tie. Stock black bombasin, white gloves, etc. Boots worn under pants. This is for dress or parade uniform; then we have a frock coat, grass green cloth, single breasted, with ten large marine buttons down the front, two small marine buttons at cuffs, plain stand up collar, lining buff. And then [a] calash, "sort a" fatigue cap. The general opinion of the uniform is that it could not well be much more splendid than it is. All this is quite right—the Nation is opulent—the service is honorable and the uniform ought to be of the first respectability.

About my business with Mrs. Long, I would like to hear, if you have learned anything new, or how she likes the leaving of the notes

in the Bk. I think of course that I must insist on the payment of the face of the notes. As soon as any money is paid in, I wish to invest it in some profitable stock, if I could be advised. You cannot probably receive this letter before I leave this city, but please write me immediately to Boston on the receipt of this letter. Let me know all about your winter arrangements and how Jas. is contented at home when John and I are both away,—how he is like [to] progress with brother McDill. I hope he will think of nothing short of a thorough liberal education; as I know it is your wish to give it to him and as I know it will be of more value to him than many times the amount of treasure it will cost to procure it. My love to him always. Give my best love to Mother[29] and tell her that so soon as I can equip myself cap apie, and can meet with a gifted and liberal artist, I will have a full length portrait of the soldier drawn and send it home for a family piece, which will grace her parlour better than the face I gave her. I hear nothing of Robt Welsh,[30] but suppose of course he has sailed long ago for the West Indies as his letters led us to expect before I left home. We had a fall of snow 3 or 4 days ago which had not all gone off last night, when it commenced snowing again and has continued without interruption to-day until now 5 o'clock P. M. The weather has not been cold; but I expect after this that I shall have a cold ride to Boston and have it cold when I get there. But wrap in furs will be the remedy.

Your affectionate son,

R. C. Caldwell.

[29] The writer's stepmother.

[30] Robert Patterson Welch, son of Mrs. Caldwell by her second husband, Rev. James Welch (d. 1825), entered the naval service as a midshipman Apr. 1, 1828. The *Naval Register* of January, 1835, lists him as on the sloop *St. Louis*, then on the West Indian station.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Evolution of World-Peace. Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. [The Unity Series, IV.] (London: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. 191. 9s.)

The campaign for support of the Geneva League of Nations seems to be at once more prolonged and more successful in England than in any other country. The cause has enlisted there the support of intellectuals of many kinds, seasoned statesmen like Mr. Balfour, idealist leaders like Lord Robert Cecil, poetic educators like Gilbert Murray, publicists like Lord Bryce, radio-active reformers like H. G. Wells, and philanthropic uplifters like F. S. Marvin. This latest contribution from Mr. Marvin is the fourth in a series of volumes, each filled with essays by eminent British scholars and each designed to prove some phase of the truth of the title of the first of the series, *The Unity of Western Civilization.*

The lectures in this book, delivered in a summer school at Woodbrooke during August, 1920, are intended for use in study circles connected with the British League of Nations Union. The title here chosen illustrates the belief of Mr. Marvin and his coadjutors that the League of Nations, and the permanent peace toward which it aims, are present products of essential factors in a continuous human experience. That thesis is the text of Mr. Marvin's introductory chapter, the Appeal to History.

In the next chapter, Alexander and Hellenism, Mr. Marvin and Professor Arnold Toynbee, in collaboration, attempt to discover in Alexander's fleeting world-empire, founded on physical force, some sources of later world-unity.

The topic assigned to Sir Paul Vinogradoff is the Work of Rome. He traces in Roman law a progressive tendency to recognize moral obligations and equitable rights, finding therein the basis of the Pax Romana, which "broke down the barriers of internecine hatred, gave a real meaning to the conception of civilized mankind, and made possible an era of prosperity and economic progress". In eighteen pages he devotes but one short paragraph to the influence of the rival world religions in the Empire, and to the fateful victory of Christianity, the religion which preached spiritual unification.

H. W. C. Davis's chapter on Innocent III. and the Mediaeval Church presents the career of that pope as the story of a great failure. He tried to establish the Church as a Christian commonwealth, a veri-

table super-state, embracing all Christians as its constituents and imposing upon all universal peace and obedience, a vision still cherished.

The career of Grotius and the foundation of the modern conception of international law are admirably expounded by G. N. Clark, who inserts a lucid discussion of the theory and practice of neutral commerce and trading with the enemy in the seventeenth century.

G. P. Gooch's subject is the French Revolution as a World Force, a vivid study of the meaning and influence of three doctrines of the Revolution, *viz.* Equality, Popular Sovereignty, and Nationality.

Professor C. R. Beazley sets forth so many of the facts of the Settlement of Vienna, 1814–1815, that he has scarcely any space left for study of the activities and influence of the Quadruple Concert of Europe, the supreme allied council of those days, nor for the confederation of Europe, commonly called the Holy Alliance, which was its league of nations. Considering the purpose of these lectures, it would seem that Professor Beazley has merely glanced at what should have been one of his chief concerns.

Mr. Marvin follows with a sufficiently wide-angled view of International Tendencies in the Nineteenth Century, and Frederick Whelen, in the League in Being, contributes a succinct review of the work of the League down to January, 1921.

H. G. Wells's chapter is called an Apology for a World Utopia, and it is such a demonstration of world salvation by new construction as might be expected from the most imaginative Utopian now living. He points out inevitable differences between American and European outlooks upon world-peace projects. The American lives in a political unity so big that he can go on comfortably for a hundred years before he begins to feel tight in his political skin. European civilization, weakened by race hatreds and language difficulties, cannot go on, "unless the net of boundaries which strangles it is dissolved away". European schools are all teaching patriotism and nationalism, and therefore are "centres of malignant political infection".

The concluding chapter by Eileen Power on the Teaching of History and World Peace again drives home Mr. Wells's last point, but with less lurid language. By Mr. Wells's exciting plea the reader might be persuaded that nowhere except in North America has "the Evolution of World Peace" even begun.

If these well-written essays are to be judged in the light of the title of the book, it must be observed that Mr. Wells alone among these authors seems to have in mind the intimate relation between the evolution of world peace and the necessary unities of modern commerce and finance. Moreover, one chapter was needed to exhibit the sequential relations among the modern precursors of the present attempt at world unity—not so much in theory as in practical politics—beginning with the eighteenth-century Balance of Power, dissolving into the Grand

Alliance against Napoleon, succeeded by the Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe with its German Confederation, which was a league of nations, and finally resolving itself into a Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, measuring each other behind Hague Conferences. Mr. Marvin's chapter on modern international tendencies barely sets a foot on earth anywhere.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani. Editi ed illustrati da ETTORE PAÏS. [Collezione di Testi e Monumenti Romani, pubblicati da ETTORE PAÏS e da F. STELLA MARANCA.] In two parts. (Rome: A. Nardecchia. 1920. Pp. clxviii, 325; 326–546.)

PROFESSOR PAÏS is one of the most fertile as well as one of the most productive of modern Italian writers in the field of ancient Roman history. He has put out in book form the results of at least nine harvests, he has announced the immediate marketing of four more, and the sturdy growth of yet another four. Nor do these include the one before us.

This volume on the Triumphal Fasti contains an historical introduction of 168 pages, followed by eighteen pages of the epigraphical text of the Fasti, 307 pages of historical comment, and 198 pages of appendixes, corrections, and plates.

Among the eleven appendixes, three are of particular importance. Appendix II. gives the measurements of the walls in which the Fasti are engraved, with a metric determination of the number of lines of *lacunae*. Appendix VII. (pp. 417–471) lists the amounts of booty in gold and silver, both bullion and coin, brought to Rome by the triumphators, and the indemnities levied on conquered nations. As the result of the second Punic War the Carthaginians had to pay Rome 800,000 pounds of silver. Marcus Porcius Cato, when he triumphed over Hither Spain in 194 B.C., brought back 1400 pounds of gold, and over 600,000 pounds of silver. In his triumphs of 46 B.C. alone, Julius Caesar displayed to the people 6500 talents, and 2622 crowns, of gold, a total weight of 20,414 pounds. Appendix XI. lists the sixty-six temples that were erected as a direct result of successful wars.

The 307 pages of historical comment constitute the best part of Professor Païs's work. A test of twenty entries, by comparison with previous publications, showed corrections and additions made with scholarly conservatism, acumen, and care. The lines above each entry which give the Varronian and the Fasti dates, with their unchanged difference of one year, might perhaps be considered redundant.

It is, of course, in the historical introduction that one expects to find the author in his best historical vein, nor is one disappointed. A captious critic might say that it is too long or too discursive, but when he had finished reading it he would be forced to admit that there is

more good and interesting material therein, concerning Roman triumphs, than he could find in any other place.

Recognition of the insecure foundation on which rest some of the earlier notices in the Fasti, is basic. The author leaves nothing to be desired in this respect. His treatment of the ceremonies which accompanied the triumphs is an historical essay in itself; the sections on the *ius triumphandi, supplicationes,* and *ovatio* are clear and convincing; his examination of the names of the triumphators is illuminating. The patrician Cornelii obtained 25 triumphs, the Valerii 16, the Aemilii 12, the Claudii 7, etc., while the plebeian families, except the Fulvii from Tusculum with 11, and the rich Caecilii Metelli with 9, obtained relatively few. The tabulation of the triumphs outside Italy, 35 over Spain, 13 over Carthage, 11 over Macedonia, 9 over Transalpine Gaul, and the very few over the Orient, shows clearly where Rome found her severest military encounters.

It is to be regretted that the author has not followed a sort of international understanding that Roman proper names are to be given in Latin form. Appio Cieco, Cinoscefale, Azio (Actium), Orazio Coclite (Horatius Cocles), and Giulio Cesare are good examples of this unnecessary Italianization.

Professor Païs has gone to quite too much trouble to explain the reasons for his edition of the Triumphal Fasti. It is a fine piece of work, and will be warmly welcomed.

RALPH VANDEMAN MAGOFFIN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Mesta: a Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273–1836. By JULIUS KLEIN, Assistant Professor of Latin American History and Economics in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1920. Pp. xi, 444. $4.00.)

THIS is a doctoral thesis, or an adaptation therefrom. It should be judged mainly, therefore, with respect to its contributions to knowledge. Unquestionably, Doctor Klein's volume meets the test. A vast amount of new material is provided, together with fresh points of view and suggestions for other investigations.

The Mesta was the organization which for nearly six centuries, 1273 to 1836, managed the Castilian migratory sheep industry. Heretofore that corporation has been charged with responsibility for many of the economic ills from which Spain has suffered, such as deforestation, the decline of agriculture, and depopulation. Dr. Klein points out that previous writers have depended upon the phraseology of laws and the prejudiced discussions of the Mesta's opponents, while he has

made use of materials showing what the actual administration was. Once again it becomes clear—a lesson that all too few writers on Hispanic subjects have yet learned—that there is a wide gulf between Hispanic law and Hispanic practice. We learn that the Mesta was not as bad as it has been painted—though one inevitably concludes that it was as bad as it was able to be. Its era of greatness, however, covered only the reigns of the Catholic Kings and the Emperor Charles V. —less than a century. Before that period, and afterward, it was not in fact so powerful as has been asserted. Another interesting matter here set forth is the relation of the Mesta to the development of the Royal ideal of centralization and absolutism, as opposed to the many disintegrating forces of Spanish life. As a rule, king and Mesta went hand in hand, until Charles III. reversed the usual procedure of Spanish autocrats by inflicting a death-blow on the, by that time, utterly discredited Mesta.

The principal contribution of this volume is in its revelation of previously unused materials. The author has citations to a wide variety of sources, but has depended primarily on the archive of the Mesta, "untouched by historians, for some two hundred years", until he himself consulted it in Madrid. This consists of about six thousand items, "several hundred of which are stout folio volumes". The documents cover the years 1371 to 1836, but are especially numerous for the sixteenth century, which is the period most adequately treated by Dr. Klein. This archive, together with several other items in the author's bibliography, should prove to be a veritable treasure-house for the study of Spanish agrarian history.

In handling materials, and in matters of form and style, this volume is like others of its class. It is arranged in five successive chronologies: organization of the Mesta; the story of its most notable judicial officer, the *alcalde entregador*; local taxation; royal taxation; and pasturage. As a result, much is half-told when first encountered, and there are frequent repetitions. The same faults of construction appear in the organization of chapters as in the book as a whole. There is something in the unconscious hit of one of the reviewer's pupils who described this volume as "an exhausting treatise".

Some criticism may be made on other accounts. Titles of books in Spanish are entered in haphazard fashion, with no discoverable rule for the use of capitals or lower case. Scores of accents are lacking, and some at least (*e.g.*, pp. 303, 310, 420) are improperly present. For example, on page 81, of eight proper names entitled to an accent three are accented and five are not. Yet two of the former ("López" and "Fernández") are used elsewhere without accent (*e.g.*, pp. 213, 215, 264), and at least one of the latter ("Gomez") occasionally is (*e.g.*, pp. 89, 114) or is not (*e.g.*, pp. 200, 215) accented. Several misspellings (pp. 19, 55, 132, 155, 180, 226) and typographical errors (pp. 35, 78, 108, 189, 279, 293, 413) were not caught in proof-reading.

Most of the above-mentioned defects are nothing more than the inseparable accompaniment of a detailed piece of research. Presumably, they will keep this book from being read by the general public or indeed by any who are not fairly well grounded in Spanish history. For the investigator in kindred fields, however, and for the lecturer in Spanish history, Dr. Klein's volume is invaluable.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Ceylon and the Portuguese, 1505–1658. By P. E. PIERIS, Litt.D., assisted by R. B. NAISH, B.A. (Tellippalai: American Ceylon Mission Press. 1920. Pp. x, 290, vii. Rs. 3.50.)

THIS work retells in more popular form the story already given to the public in the author's learned volumes on Ceylon, that public having been primarily the Ceylonese. It was a laudable thought to present the original material in a shape more intelligible to the English reader, omitting the minuteness of detail which would not interest the general public. The present volume, then, contains the gist of the earlier larger one, and it may be said at once that it is a very readable and reliable account of the activities of the Portuguese for the century and a half during which they were in Ceylon. It is preceded by a short sketch of the history of that fair but unfortunate isle from the time when Rama invaded it, as related in the Iliad of India, to that of the embassy to Rome, the repression of heresy by royal decree in the third century (the Buddhists of history are not so tolerant as those of fiction), and the invasions from the continent, as late as the twelfth century (they had begun a thousand years before).

Vasco da Gama sailed in a vessel of 120 tons to exploit India in 1498 and seven years later the first "Viceroy of India" set out from the Tagus and with incredible speed got possession of Singhalese trade and of the country as well, through the simple expedient of sending de Sousa ashore to tell the king that the Portuguese had come to protect them from their enemies and would like to be well paid for it. The king of Ceylon was grateful and promised the strangers the equivalent of seventy thousand kilos of cinnamon a year on condition that they should guard his coasts from all external enemies. Although the Hindus have fables touching on the eager desire of carnivora to persuade herbivora to be protected by friendly claw and fang, the Singhalese welcomed their guardian guests and even permitted them to erect a stone monument to commemorate the occasion, which still mendaciously states that the Portuguese arrived in 1501 (instead of Nov., 1505). However, busied with other matters, the invaders for some time left the Singhalese to themselves, and when they returned they found the island practically under Moorish influence. The inhabitants, roused by these new protectors, attacked the Portuguese, who promptly drove off the rabble and "erected a small fort". Negotiations were

resumed; to the cinnamon, the king added an annual allowance of rubies and elephants for defending his coasts. The rest was not easy but inevitable. The Portuguese became unpopular (propagation of their religion helped at first to make them so), were attacked, used firearms effectively, got the upper hand, and "friendly relations were reestablished". By taking sides in native quarrels, the Portuguese became holders of the balance of power between native rivals, and Francis Xavier arrived in 1542 to complete their influence. Whole villages were baptized daily and, as converts were made exempt from tribute, the true faith waxed mightily. No scruple of honor interfered with the breaking of promises made to native authorities; avarice and lust turned Portuguese gentlemen into procurers and callous spectators of suffering. So the sad story goes on, till at last the Hollanders ousted the Portuguese in 1658.

Customs and usages are picturesquely if adventitiously described in this admirable little history and many facts not generally known are noted: for example, that though the Buddhists ignore caste, only the highest-caste men could become priests, and that serpents and cattle are divided into castes. The "caste of a cobra" exceeds even Brahmanical ideas.

E. Washburn Hopkins.

La Réforme en Italie. Par E. Rodocanachi. Deuxième Partie. (Paris: Picard. 1921. 10 fr.)

In Count Rodocanachi's second volume, one looks naturally to see how he has fulfilled the promise of the first (which was "to set forth the various reasons which brought about the disappearance of Protestantism in Italy"), and how, having steered away from a biographical method, he is going to avoid the geographical in a country where the movement can hardly be made to seem homogeneous. He is still avoiding familiar phrases which indicate a confessional bent, for he has not called this second part the "Counter-Reform", though that would be the obvious title, treating as it does the condemnation at the Council of Trent of the doctrine of justification by faith, and the repression of the revolt in the Church based on that doctrine, together with the actuation of a programme of reform in discipline, which, according to the preface of the author in the first part, accomplished the real purpose of the reformers in Italy. Unluckily the author has not distinguished between what may be called the indigenous reform, which was indeed rather on discipline than on dogmas, and the influence of the Lutheran and Calvinistic movements, which, especially in the north, gave the reform in Italy a different character, one more particularly doctrinal; and the first part, devoted to the doctrinal reform, seems to give the lie to the thesis laid down in the preface.

In this second part, the attempt is made to follow a strictly chrono-

logical order, and to set forth, under the reigns of the appropriate popes, the promised causes of the disappearance of Protestantism in Italy. It is then upon the Council of Trent, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and the Index, the constructive and the destructive agencies of the Counter-Reform, that we shall expect attention to be directed. And on all these subjects, the welcome résumé of the most recent works would be beyond criticism were not the chronological method either abandoned as soon as adopted, or else maintained with confusing results.

There is no attempt to relate the history of the Reform to the political currents of the time, nor to give coherence to the confusion of details. One regrets that the book could not have been in the form of a dictionary, something which would have made available the immense amount of material actually embodied in it. There is but one attempt at generalization in this second part, the reflective pages 316–320 on the "déclin du mouvement protestant".

Only the Reformation in Venice and that in Piedmont, the two parts of Italy which held out against Spain and the pope (except when politics were too strong for them), have been treated more at length, and outside of the chronological frame. Here the Reformation had a very different character. "Il y a une grande analogie entre l'attitude du gouvernement vénitien et celle du gouvernement sarde [*sic*]." And in fact Jalla, the historian of the Waldensians, pointed out that in Piedmont the inquisitors must be assisted by a lay judge—who was not until 1580 replaced by a representative of the bishop. And even after the French occupation in 1536, although the theory was more rigorous towards the Protestants, the practice was indulgent until the accession of Henry II. It is well known that at Venice was maintained the institution of the Tre Savi dell' Eresia (p. 503), three laymen appointed by the state to be present at all heresy trials.

The pages on the Jesuits and the Index are, with the account of the history and machinery of the Holy Office, a compendium of much value on themes which Protestants slur or fail to treat with equanimity. The author has used not merely Tacchi-Venturi and Buschbell, the latest historians of the subjects, but the Vatican archives. His narrative is quite impartial, indeed colorless. Nowhere is he betrayed into any show of feeling, except when, speaking of the persecution of the Waldensians in the kingdom of Naples, he reminds us, by way of extenuation of an extermination unexampled elsewhere in Italy, that the carnage took place "en un pays soumis à la domination espagnole et qu'on opérait ainsi dans le royaume de Philippe II." (p. 255).

Any history of the Reform must fall into two divisions, the Protestant and the Catholic Reform, and any history of the Catholic Reform must distinguish between the middle men and women like Contarini and Pole and Giulia Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna, and the uncompromising

advocates of repression like Carafa (Paul IV.), Ghisleri (Pius V.), and Della Casa, authors of the Inquisition and the Index. The former, and not the latter, were those who steadied the Church of Rome and met the criticisms on discipline, if not on dogma, at the Council of Trent, ably assisted by the exponents of Christian piety as it had been known in an age long past, Theatines, Barnabites, Capucins, Jesuits. Protestant historians of the Reform have emphasized the agents of repression (in which they have included the Jesuits) and Catholic historians the moderate men and the Council of Trent, which crowned the work of these, however short it came of the ideas of Contarini and of Morone himself, leading figure there. Rodocanachi does not even let the word "Catholic Reform", or "Counter-Reform", pass his lips (or pen), though evidently, thinking of the Reform which was based on the controversy over Justification (so far as it was based on dogma at all), he has the conception of a Counter-Reform, of the Council of Trent as crowning the work of Contarini rather than of St. Francis. As his first part began with the reform in the spirit of Luther, so his second part with the response by Leo X. and his first successors, thus succeeding Philippson as the first part succeeded McCrie. The coherence that would have been given the first part by showing the relation of the reform programme in Italy to Valdes, who is acknowledged to be the one whose thought was of greatest influence, is aimed at in the second part by the chronological method already referred to. The success is as little in the one case as in the other.

Some typographical errors must be due to the calligraphy of the author: thus "Gamfi" for Garufi (p. 173, n. 1); "Gugliolono Grattaroli" for Guglielmo Grataroli (p. 514); "Nous" for Nores (p. 123, n. 1). The bibliography at the end of the volume attests a wide acquaintance with the printed literature of the subject—there is no reference to archive material; and that acquaintance appears almost exhaustive when it is seen that a host of monographs and articles cited in the text are not listed in the bibliography.

F. C. Church.

The History of English Parliamentary Privilege. By Carl Wittke, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of American History in the Ohio State University. [Ohio State University Studies, Contributions in History and Political Science, no. 6.] (Columbus: the University. 1921. Pp. 212.)

Parliamentary privilege bulks large in the history of the English Parliament, and at times it plays a leading rôle on the wider stage of English constitutional history. All historians of the constitution have something to say of the various privileges that have been exercised by the houses of Parliament, and the authors of treatises on parliamentary practice and procedure describe them in some detail. Little attention

has been paid, however, to the legal conceptions underlying the claims of privilege. To explain these conceptions, to interpret basic principles, is the aim of the author of the present monograph, and it should be said at once that he has done a scholarly and valuable piece of work. His interest in the subject was aroused by the brief discussion of parliamentary privilege in Professor McIlwain's *The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy,* and his study was begun in Professor McIlwain's seminar in the history of English legal institutions at Harvard.

Professor Wittke dissents strongly from the view expressed by Professor Josef Redlich in his *Procedure of the House of Commons* that the judicial claims of the Commons in modern times were in the nature of a cloak for their political ambitions. For the origin of parliamentary privilege we must go back, he thinks, to the time when there were several separate bodies of law in England, the *lex forestae* and the *lex mercatoria,* for example, each declared and enforced by its own appropriate courts. One of these "laws" was that which Coke called *lex et consuetudo parliamenti,* the law peculiar to the highest court in the realm, the High Court of Parliament, supposed to be known only to parliament men and to be declared by them exclusively. It was from this *lex parliamenti* that each house of Parliament claimed to derive its privileges. For centuries the conception prevailed that this law was distinct from, and superior to, the law of the land, and that what either house of Parliament did under it could not be questioned by any inferior court.

This doctrine has at times served the cause of popular freedom, but it was easily invoked to justify extensions of parliamentary privilege that were as serious a menace to individual liberty as was the doctrine of a *lex prerogativae* above the common law. The privilege of freedom from arrest and molestation was no doubt essential to the authority and dignity of the House of Commons, but the extension of the privilege to members' servants and estates became a source of grave injustice. It is difficult to regard as anything other than a public nuisance a privilege by virtue of which persons found trespassing on the lands of members of Parliament were punished by the House of Commons for breach of privilege and removed from the jurisdiction of the common-law courts. In days when kings were despotic and judges servile it may have been necessary in the interest of constitutional liberty for the House to determine cases of disputed elections, but this privilege wears a different aspect when it comes to be exercised by the party in control of the House for partizan purposes.

Professor Wittke's main theme is the relation of parliamentary privilege to the law of the land, and the most original and valuable chapters in his monograph are those that deal with the conflict between *lex parliamenti* and *lex terrae.* His analysis of cases involving privilege, extending from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, re-

veals the persistence, almost to our own time, of the idea of a separate law of Parliament, superior to the law of the land. The newer view of *lex parliamenti,* which regards it as a part of *lex terrae* and brings questions of parliamentary privilege within the jurisdiction of the common-law courts, was expressed by Chief Justice Holt in Regina *v.* Paty more than two hundred years ago, but it had to wait for its triumph till the great case of Stockdale *v.* Hansard. Even as late as the Bradlaugh incident, forty years ago, echoes of the old doctrine were heard in the course of debates in the House of Commons. As Professor Pollard has observed, parliamentary privilege was the last of the medieval liberties to be reduced by the common law.

In the organization of his material the author has been guided by his controlling interest. This is as it should be, but cases of parliamentary privilege which illustrate the conflict between the law of Parliament and the law of the land also exemplify the development of specific privileges. It would therefore have been desirable had the author, in the chapter in which he deals with the privileges of Parliament in general, referred more frequently to cases which he discusses in later chapters. There are a few errors of fact in the monograph, but they do not seriously impair its value as a contribution to English legal and constitutional history.

R. L. Schuyler.

Commons Debates for 1629, critically edited, and an Introduction dealing with Parliamentary Sources for the Early Stuarts. Edited by Wallace Notestein, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota,[1] and Frances Helen Relf, Ph.D., Professor of History in Lake Erie College. [Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 10.] (Minneapolis: the University. 1921. Pp. lxvii, 304. $4.00.)

This is a most welcome piece of pioneer work, a first step, it is to be hoped, in hastening the preparation of a new Parliamentary History, the need for which the editors not only reiterate but convincingly demonstrate. There exist masses of unprinted material absolutely essential for a true understanding of the course of events. The seemingly official character of the *Parliamentary History* and the *Journals* has in the past misled the unwary, like a certain European official who, because he wore a uniform, succeeded in pressing an occasional counterfeit coin in change upon unsuspecting travellers. For the short but momentous session of 1629 Professors Notestein and Relf "have tried to collect in one place all the yet unprinted materials" bearing on the proceedings of the House of Commons.

In an introduction of some fifty ample pages they have told us

[1] Now of Cornell University.

much about the sources for 1629, including the *Journals,* which they have not undertaken to reprint. By studying the manuscripts preserved in the library of the House of Commons they have shown that there are two sources for the printed version—the "Book of Notes" or jottings made during the actual session, written in a hurried, scrawling hand, with many abbreviations, omissions, subsequent alterations, and corrections, and the "Clerk's Book", *i.e.,* "the finished perfected record". For many sessions, certainly for 1629, the latter or authorized version has either been lost or was never completed, so that what we now have in print was to some extent derived from rough notes no more reliable than other records, such as those from the practised hand of Sir Edward Nicholas.

The first supplement to the *Journals* and the *Parliamentary History* which the editors have provided is a recension of the *True Relation.* Although this account has been reprinted many times since its original publication in 1641, the present aim has been to furnish a standard text, made up from the printed versions, which vary more or less from one another, and from manuscript accounts, forty-eight of which have been located. Moreover, they have sought to determine how the *Relation* was composed and why the variations occur. Contrary to the view of John Bruce that all are derived from a common original and that diversities are due to ignorance or carelessness of copyists, they contend, with effective evidence, that what we now have are a number of distinct compilations, made at different times by different hands from contemporary news-letters and separates. These latter were sometimes carefully prepared accounts by speakers themselves who, like our modern legisators, had more than one motive for getting into print; but more often, like the matter for the news-letters, they were obtained by the stationers in devious and indirect ways. With such materials to work upon, even the reconstruction of the *True Relation* which the present editors have presented is bound to be somewhat conjectural, but it is far more coherent and reliable than any previous edition, and variant readings have been provided in foot-notes. Obviously we have got a long way from good old D'Ewes who, as a recent writer has pointed out, did not hesitate to make sense where that was lacking or to frame fragmentary notes into a readable narrative.

Further to aid the student of the period the editors have printed the diaries of Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir Richard Grosvenor. The latter they properly regard as the more valuable contribution since it has never been used by any writer in print, while Gardiner employed the former to much advantage in his valuable chapter on the Parliament of 1629. Some letters of Nethersole, and an account of the dramatic sitting of March 2, complete the volume. Professors Notestein and Relf have done a vast amount of intelligent research, the difficulties of which will be especially appreciated by those who have struggled

with the crabbed handwriting of the period, and the further contributions which they promise will be awaited with much interest. There is little to criticize adversely. It might have been well to point out that debates ceased to be reported in the *Journals* after 1629, and to indicate more clearly that Nethersole's letters were addressed to Elizabeth, sister of Charles I., though, since the work will be used chiefly by specialists, these are omissions of minor importance.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Histoire de Belgique. Par H. PIRENNE, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Tome V. *La Fin du Régime Espagnol, le Régime Autrichien, la Révolution Brabançonne et la Révolution Liégeoise.* (Brussels: Henri Lamertin. 1921. Pp. xiii, 584.)

SOMEWHAT over twenty years ago appeared a book which, in the judgment of a contemporary reviewer, Paul Fredericq, longtime friend and colleague of the author, opened a new era in Belgian historiography—the first volume of the work which has now reached its fifth, a work which when completed will not only be universally accepted as the standard history of its nation, but will be reckoned among the most substantial and enduring products of historical scholarship in its generation. Brilliant perhaps it is not, though not wanting in graphic touches; not "thrilling" or "gripping", after the manner of the "best sellers" in universal history; but solid and scientific; severely exact, and impregnably fortified by documents; direct, lucid, sincere; disdaining tricks of rhetoric, and carrying conviction by the weight of its learning and the soundness of its judgment; a veritable monument of erudition; the ripe fruit of a lifetime of study.

Before Pirenne, the history of Belgium had been treated in a rather desultory and fragmentary manner. It is Pirenne's peculiar merit to have divined in that history a unifying principle and to have demonstrated its continuity. If he may be said to have propounded a thesis it is this, that, however recent may be the attainment of independent statehood, there has existed among the people of the *Pays-Bas,* certainly from Burgundian times if not longer, a consciousness of solidarity which in its essence is nothing less than the sentiment of nationalism. Dormant it might seem to be at times, and at times was; but only dormant, as a Philip and a Joseph discovered, to their discomfiture. Denied and repressed it might be, by Spaniard, Austrian, Frenchman, and Dutchman, in turn; yet it was not extinguished, nor could it be. It persisted and revived; and showed itself never more heroic than when threatened. "Nous nous sommes surtout sentis frères aux époques de crise, aux moments où le salut dépendait de l'effort et du sacrifice librement consentis", says the historian (p. xii), and history affirms the judgment. Let the latest oppressor bear witness, he who contemptuously declared that there was "no Belgian nation, only a

political abstraction lacking the foundations of national unity", only "a diplomatic makeshift, vain and mischievous". "Ce que la recherche patiente avait découvert dans le passé, le présent en démontrait la justesse", retorts the historian (p. xi). Let the German refute the assertion.

But the vehemence of the reviewer comports ill with the self-restraint of the author. For the author has written, as he resolved to write, "*sine ira et studio,* sans colère et sans prévention", free "de toute passion qui ne fût pas celle de la vérité" (pp. vii–viii). Not even deportation and imprisonment (for both Pirenne and Fredericq were deported for their resistance to the transformation of the University of Ghent into a Flemish university); not even the death of a gallant son on the field of honor, could swerve him from his lofty purpose. In all his pages there is not a word of reviling, not even a trace of bitterness. Throughout, the same "placidité souveraine" that Fredericq noted in another work, produced under happier auspices; throughout, an imperturbable judicial calm—a more crushing rebuke to the oppressor than the most virulent polemic. One scarcely knows which the more to admire, the poise of the scholar, or the magnanimity of the man.

Perhaps the finest portions of the volume are the broad survey of social and intellectual conditions, the portrait of Charles of Lorraine, the characterization of Joseph II., and the chapters on the Brabançonne Revolution. Far from heroic were the years between the Peace of Westphalia and the outbreak of the revolution. This might be said of the most of Europe during that century and a half. But for Belgium in particular they were years of political inaction, intellectual torpor, and cultural stagnation. One looks in vain for great names and great achievements in art or science or letters—nothing original, nothing vital. Belgium seemed to be untouched by the currents of thought moving in Germany and France and England. The passing of the Spaniard and the coming of the Austrian made no change. "Au lieu d'une infante ou d'un infant une archiduchesse résida au palais de Bruxelles. A une cour espagnole succéda une cour allemande, et ce fut tout" (p. 169). Even economic life lacked the oldtime vigor, until, about the middle of the eighteenth century, it received a fresh impetus from the ministers of Maria Theresa. The last years of the "sweet and ancient rule of the House of Austria" were years of general prosperity and contentment, placid, monotonous, dull. Then came Joseph the Enlightened, and an awakening sudden and rude. To the rule of indulgence succeeded the rule of efficiency. Innovations and reforms followed thick and fast, until an outraged people was goaded to revolt. It was the most paradoxical of revolutions—a rising against reform, a "conflict between an enlightened sovereign and a backward people faithful to an archaic constitution" (pp. 418–419). Even a

representative system coming from a Joseph II. was rejected as an instrument of despotism and a violation of the ancient liberties! The annulment of the Joyeuse Entrée was the stroke that severed the bond between Belgium and the House of Austria.

The rest is too well known to require repeating—the death of Joseph, defeated and chagrined; the conciliatory concessions of Leopold; Valmy and Jemappes; the approach of Dumouriez; and the swallowing up of Belgium by the revolutionary flood that swept over the frontiers from France. It is a vivid picture, drawn by a sure and masterly hand. Space does not permit of extended or minute criticism. But one detail in particular is certain to arrest the attention of the American—the formation of the United States of Belgium (January 11, 1790), a federative state, in which each province retained its sovereignty, but delegated the exercise of it, in matters touching the common interest, to a sovereign congress, composed of the same persons as the Estates-General, and renewable every three years.

Nul doute que l'on ait pris pour modèle en ceci les États-Unis d'Amérique. . . . Mais on ne s'inspire de leur exemple que dans la lettre et non dans l'esprit. La constitution américaine, dominée par la déclaration des droits, a fondé la première démocratie moderne. Celle des États-Belgiques, au contraire, orientée vers la passé, n'accorde de droits qu'aux ordres privilégiés. . . . Entre elle et la constitution américaine rien n'est commun que les apparences (p. 479).

THEODORE COLLIER.

The English Factories in India, 1655–1660. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. [Published under the patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 7, 440. 16s.)

Early Travels in India, 1583–1619. Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 351. 12s. 6d.)

WHEN, some fifteen years ago, Mr. William Foster published the first volume of the calendar of documents in the India Office under the title of *The English Factories in India,* continuing the work begun in the publication of *Letters to the East India Company from its Servants in the East,* a new era opened in the historiography of British expansion in India. Thanks to these two series it became possible to discover and to narrate the facts of that extraordinary movement, as it had not been before. For while it is true that the labors of Bruce and his successors had done much to illumine the darkness of Indian history, it was not until the documents in the case were available that it was possible for scholars to unravel the tangled threads of the Company's history in the first years of the seventeenth century.

The *Letters* covered the period from 1602 to 1617, the first nine

volumes of the *Calendars* the period from 1616 to 1655. The present volume of calendars includes the years from 1655 to 1660. But with it the plan somewhat changes; for this tenth volume is not, like its predecessors, a calendar. It approaches more nearly to a history, for it "extracts merely those passages which seemed to merit preservation, and to connect them by a narrative which would at the same time embody the information obtained from other documents which it was not thought necessary to quote in full".

Such a change in plan, forced upon Mr. Foster by the increasing number of documents, has, it is evident, certain advantages combined with certain drawbacks. To the reader it is obviously clearer and more interesting than any collection of documents could ever be—if, indeed, readers ever read collections of documents. To the investigator it is unquestionably a defect, for it may well happen that the precise piece of minute information which he seeks was not considered of sufficient importance or pertinence to include in this narrative. Moreover, the references are relegated to pages at the end of the volume; and it is, perhaps, not out of place to suggest that a simple list of the papers here used—though there are eleven hundred of them—would not have been amiss.

None the less it is an ungrateful task to find fault with a work which adds so much to our knowledge of a period known hitherto, if at all, chiefly through the travels of Bernier and Tavernier; and it is to be hoped that the Secretary of State for India and the Council may be able to continue this great work, which contributes so much to a field of historical research growing in interest and importance year by year.

How great that increase of interest seems to be is indicated by this second volume edited by Mr. Foster. To all students of Indian history the narratives of Fitch and Mildenhall and their successors are known through the work of Hakluyt and Purchas. But to many who are familiar neither with those publications, nor with the lucubrations of the author of the *Crudities,* that strange, far-wandering egotist Coryat, the reprinting of these narratives of English travellers in India between 1583 and 1619 will be an interesting and informing volume. Not the least interesting, and undoubtedly the most valuable, feature of the book is the collection of introductions and notes which witness the learning and the industry of the editor, and give the collection unusual and permanent value to the student as well as to the general reader, for whom it is apparently intended. And it is of more than ordinary interest to see this development in the study of British beginnings in India at the moment when such changes seem to impend in the empire, even in the unchanging East.

W. C. Abbott.

The Wars of Marlborough, 1702–1709. In two volumes. By FRANK TAYLOR, sometime Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford. Edited by G. WINIFRED TAYLOR, M.A.Oxon., with an Introduction by the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE, C.V.O. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1921. Pp. xvi, 466; vii, 555. 50s.)

As its title indicates, this extensive work is a military history rather than a complete life of Marlborough, although, as the author states in his preface, he had planned to combine the researches of Archdeacon Coxe and Lord Wolseley in a single volume. So far from accomplishing this task, seven-eighths of these two large volumes are devoted to the events, mainly military, of somewhat less than eight years, for the chapter on the siege of Tournai is unfinished. A sketch of the first fifty-two years of Marlborough's life, in seven short chapters, is relegated to the end of the second volume.

In fact the entire work is a fragment, to which Mr. Taylor, who died in 1913, at the age of forty, gave the greater part of the last eight years of his life, reading, writing, and visiting the scenes of the principal operations in the best of all possible ways, on foot. Had he lived to complete it, no doubt he would have considerably revised and probably compressed his manuscript before publication. The chapters already apparently completed, and the drafts of others, have been pieced together and prepared for the printer in a very competent manner by his sister, who has documented them, as far as possible, by the citation of authorities, and supplied a charming memoir and an adequate bibliography.

Macaulay has, with characteristic dogmatism, described Marlborough as "a prodigy of turpitude", and asserted that "there was no guilt and no disgrace that he was not willing to incur". Thackeray's vivid but malicious portrait in *Esmond* is widely known.

As Mr. Taylor himself admits, his tone is polemical and he frankly writes as an ardent partizan; he constantly extols Marlborough's transcendent merits as a general and a diplomatist, and blinks or extenuates his faults and moral defects. He is scarcely less restrained as an eulogist than Coxe or Lediard. His main objects in writing, as he candidly explains, were to remind his countrymen, in the first place, "of England's place in Europe", and, secondly, of "the real nature and true significance of war", and in this connection he says, "I hold with Dalrymple that 'to write history, without drawing moral or political rules of conduct from it, is little better than writing a romance'" (I. xiii).

Accordingly he starts off with a short chapter on war, which is followed by a second, significantly entitled the Exorbitant Power of France in 1702, this expression being borrowed from the last speech to the British Parliament by King William III., in which he declared that such "exorbitant power" threatened "the rest of Christendom with

a general calamity". The acts of the ministry of Godolphin and his relations with Marlborough are then briefly described.

Judged by Marlborough's own high standard, Mr. Taylor confesses that the results of his campaign of 1702 fell much short of his aims, although judged by the standard of most of his contemporaries it seemed brilliant indeed.

In the third campaign, the long and trying march of the British troops from the Meuse to the Danube is admirably described and special stress is laid on the careful efforts of their chief to keep them in good fighting trim. The author's very clear accounts of the battles of the Schellenberg and Blenheim have been carefully verified by an examination of the ground which it appears has not greatly changed. Of the campaign of 1707, Mr. Taylor finely says:

> The Grand Alliance, cowering in the shadow of the northern peril, riven by internal dissensions, and stricken by three successive defeats, seemed visibly to collapse. But always in the background, and oftentimes unseen of the eyes of the multitude, stood the Captain-General of England, exhorting one, counselling another, inspiring all, encouraging here, reprimanding there, supervising everywhere, contriving, uniting, foreseeing, organizing, reorganizing—a giant figure, supporting, with labours that transcended the credible, the tottering fabric of the coalition (II. 52–53).

The narrative practically terminates with the battle of Malplaquet, which Mr. Taylor terms justly enough, "a great battle and a great victory", although he qualifies this statement by the admission that "the victors were too weakened by their losses and too exhausted by their efforts to pursue an enemy whose demeanour to the last was wonderfully firm" (II. 378).

Next to Marlborough and Eugene, he bestows unstinted praise upon their able adversaries, Boufflers and Villars.

For his materials he rarely seems to have gone beyond printed sources, but among these he has read widely, consulting not only most of the English but many French and German authorities. References are, however, occasionally made to the Coxe, Hare, Stepney, and Stowe collections of manuscripts in the British Museum. Among printed documents cited, his principal quarries are the letters and despatches printed by Coxe, Lediard, and Sir George Murray.

As a whole the book is effectively written and must take a high place in the literature of the subject as a most readable and entertaining, if not an altogether reliable history.

The map of the Western Sphere of Operations (scale 1 : 1,000,000), besides roughly showing certain important natural features of the country, such as heaths, moors, and swamps, many of which have long since disappeared, gives an outline of the famous French lines in Brabant; and that of the Eastern Sphere, on the same scale, indicates the different stages of the march to the Danube, with the date of each.

Excellent plans are provided of the battles of Schellenberg, Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, 1 to 6 p.m., and also at 7 p.m., and Malplaquet, on a scale of 1:40,000, with contours at intervals of five metres. The general index and a special index of place-names are satisfactory and the make-up of the book is praiseworthy.

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

Zur Preussischen und Deutschen Geschichte. Aufsätze und Vorträge von REINHOLD KOSER. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1921. Pp. iii, 432. M. 25; bound, M. 36.)

REINHOLD KOSER, the author of this volume of essays, died in August, 1914. He will be remembered for three things. He was head of the Prussian archives, where his wise and liberal administration was a real service to scholarship. He was for some years the choice of the academies of Berlin, Munich, and Vienna to direct work on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* But he will be longest remembered as the author of the standard life of Frederick the Great, and of a political history of Prussia which, by reason of his death, was carried only through the first volume to 1648.

Koser belonged to the Ranke-Sybel school of political historians and represented its best traditions. His work is always substantial and, as might be expected, is usually based on wide study of archival material. He was at his best when he had the elbow-room of solid volumes in which to present his results. His mind and his style do not show at their best in essays. He was not a brilliant generalizer, lacked dialectic skill, and could not point his thoughts with a telling phrase. When he wrote an essay or delivered an address, it was of a kind that you might expect to find cited in Dahlmann-Waitz.

Of the thirteen essays, the first nine are arranged chronologically according to the period or persons treated. They range from a general survey of the Great Elector, the least valuable in the volume, to a study of Frederick William IV. on the eve of the March revolution of 1848. Like Mr. Dick in *David Copperfield,* who could not keep King Charles's head out of his memoir, Koser returns again and again to the subject of his life-work, Frederick the Great. What preceding ages or rulers contributed to him or his work, or later ones derived from it by imitation or contrast, is called constantly to the reader's attention. The second essay compares the naval and maritime policies of the Great Elector and of Frederick, the third treats the first queen, Sophie Charlotte, and although her vendetta against Danckelmann, the all-powerful minister, is the chief theme, her relations to Frederick William, the father of Frederick, are not forgotten. The founding of the foreign office in 1728 with the excellent summary of Ilgen's memoir helps to explain the situation perpetuated under Frederick and his suc-

cessors to 1806. The general survey of Frederick's reign lacks those high lights that Delbrück or Meinecke or Marcks throw on any period that they know as well as Koser knew the age of Frederick. The essay on Frederick and the Prussian universities admits, of course, that Frederick was more interested in the Berlin Academy than in higher education. Koser has, nevertheless, made his treatment a history of the Prussian universities in the eighteenth century. How familiar it all sounds! The student body lacks interest in scholarship and needs discipline. The professors are dry and pedantic. Salaries and recruiting from neighboring universities at higher than the regular stipend are burning questions. Professors called from Göttingen to Halle use the negotiations to get an increased salary at Göttingen. And the study of Greek is declining! The longest essay is a survey, based on published material, of Prussian policy from 1786 to 1806. This is a very useful synthesis for those who do not command the mass of special studies on this period. The review of Cavaignac under the title of Prussian Reform Legislation in relation to the French Revolution is a just critique of that author, but in suggesting the continuity of the Prussian reform era with the past, it misses the finer things in the spirit of the two ages. The excellent essay on Frederick William in 1848 is still valuable because of its use of archival material, but is weak as a character-study. The essay on the epochs in the development of the absolute monarchy is a fine example of what history can contribute to political theory and demolishes Roscher's oft-repeated formula. The essay on the beginning of political parties in Prussia before 1849 seems sketchy when compared with the solid work done in this field. The concluding essays on the Rhine provinces and Prussia, and on Louis XIV. (a review of Lavisse), keep to their theme with but little of that nationalism evident in other Prussian historians who have dealt with similar topics. But that little, with its possible bearing on present-day problems, may explain their position at the close of the volume.

The volume fortifies rather than makes a reputation. It is a convenience to have scattered essays brought into easily available form and on paper that is up to pre-war quality.

G. S. Ford.

Histoire de France Contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la Paix de 1919. Publiée sous la direction de Ernest Lavisse. Tome I., *La Révolution, 1789–1792.* Par P. Sagnac. Tome II., *La Révolution, 1792–1799.* Par G. Pariset. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1920. Pp. 440; 439.)

The decision of M. Lavisse to add to his monumental *Histoire de France* this *Histoire de la France Contemporaine* has brought satisfaction to all lovers of French history. The studies of the last half cen-

tury upon the historical development of modern France have nowhere else been embodied in a view sufficiently comprehensive. The first two volumes certainly offer the best balanced treatment of the French Revolution in existence. The only work comparable is the *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* of Professor Aulard, and this is restricted in scope, as its title suggests.

Both Professor Sagnac and Professor Pariset have long been known for their work on the Revolutionary period. Readers of the *Cambridge Modern History* will recall Professor Pariset's chapters on the Consulate and the Empire. Among Professor Sagnac's works the most notable are his *Législation Civile de la Révolution,* his *Chûte de la Royauté,* and his *Rhin Français.* He is also one of the chief collaborators in the publication of documents and studies on the economic history of the Revolution which is renewing the view of the whole subject.

In method both volumes are characterized by the surprising amount of detailed information which the authors give without interrupting the flow of exposition or narrative. There is nothing of the digest, no feeling of pages encumbered with learned minutiae. The opinions of the authors are not obtruded. The facts tell the story, with only enough of interpretation to stimulate the reader's thought. This is perhaps truer of Professor Sagnac's than of Professor Pariset's volume. The most typical case is the former's second book, which has as its theme "L'Oeuvre de l'Assemblée Constituante". Here are skilfully combined reviews of the discussions which resulted in legislation, significant features of the laws themselves, and the experience of different parts of the country with their application. A single sentence here and there gives us a hint of the author's opinion. For example, it is only at the end of the discussion of the early issues of the assignats that Professor Sagnac expresses the view that borrowing "à jet continu au moyen de la planche aux assignats" had "une répercussion funeste sur toute l'économie nationale". The only controversial remark is that the alternative was "la banqueroute générale".

The more difficult problem of organization fell to the lot of Professor Sagnac. Professor Pariset's volume, covering a longer period of time, from September 21, 1792, to December 25, 1799, where the principal theme appears to be political turmoil and foreign war, may more readily follow the chronological order. It is difficult, if not impossible, to treat the great reconstructive work of the Constituent Assembly in this way. Fundamental reforms emerged from committee rooms and were enacted into law often with little reference to the external history of the Revolution. The application of these laws is again something that does not fit readily into a chronological setting. The solution is a topical exposition. Consequently Professor Sagnac's narrative, which concludes in the first book with the events of October

5 and 6, is interrupted by the second book on the Work of the Assembly, and resumed in book III. The fourth book deals with the decline and fall of the monarchy, and the fifth with the first weeks of the Republic and the campaign of Valmy.

The most interesting literary feature of Professor Sagnac's work is his carefully finished portraits of the Revolutionary leaders, especially of Mirabeau, Danton, and Robespierre. Indeed, he has three portraits of Mirabeau, apropos of three distinct phases of his career in the Revolution. Each seems complete without the others, so that in the introductory sentences of the second and third there is a suggestion of repetition. In writing of Danton Professor Sagnac adds a note on the present controversy over the great tribune's alleged corrupt practices, expressing the opinion that as yet the charges are not proved. Although Professor Pariset gives no similar portraits, his conception of Danton is not so favorable, for in mentioning the fact that he had become very rich he adds the remark, "On ne sait trop comment". The attitude of the two authors towards Robespierre also differs slightly, but this may be in part the actual difference between the earlier and the later Robespierre. According to the first conception Robespierre the Constituent is hesitant, following rather than anticipating opinion; according to the second "sa netteté, sa franchise coupante, sa résolution froide" are the dominant characteristics.

Of the two writers Professor Pariset has, perhaps, had the better opportunity to present fresh interpretations of events and institutions, because investigation for the period of the Convention has not reached the stage of settled judgments to such a degree as for the period of the Constituent Assembly. His treatment of the Centrist party is distinctly new. He ascribes to it a positive policy of great influence, and never represents its members as an oscillating mass now drawn in one direction by Girondin eloquence, and now driven in another by Montagnard threats. Again, he denies that the country was actuated by fear in the summer of 1793. The people, he thinks, put a strong government in power in a mood of patriotic resolution, believing that the treason of Dumouriez and the Vendean insurrection imperilled the Revolution. Two policies were possible, that of Danton, and that of Robespierre—"Ou bien essayer de reconstituer l'unité patriote, ou bien continuer à gouverner avec le parti diminué". The policy of Robespierre was chosen, although that of Danton was in Professor Pariset's opinion more far-seeing, lofty, and humane. He adds, "La politique de Robespierre a sauvé la France, mais elle a valu la Terreur avec un gouvernement".

In one respect Professor Pariset's treatment is not so satisfying. He deals in the most summary way with the economic history of the period. The maximum legislation of the fall and winter of 1793 is barely touched. The collapse of paper money in 1796 also receives

slight comment. Another omission is the part in the fierce passions of the Terror taken by the emotions characteristic of a desperate war. This is surprising when we recall that the world has been passing through a similar experience.

Mention should be made of the illustrations, a feature which did not appear in the earlier volumes. They are selected from the incomparable collections of portraits, cartoons, and prints which exist in Paris. In the first volume, for example, are full-page illustrations of the supposed Houdon bust of Mirabeau and an anonymous portrait of Danton. The frontispiece of the second volume is an anonymous portrait of Robespierre.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Histoire de France Contemporaine (LAVISSE). Tome III., *Le Consulat et l'Empire*. Par G. PARISET. (Paris: Hachette. 1921. Pp. 444.)

M. PARISET is master of his subject, and in this volume, as in its predecessor, has made a distinct contribution to the historiography of the Napoleonic period. The hero-worship of earlier works, from Thiers's *Consulate and Empire* onward, no longer appears. Napoleon often dominates the stage, but many others hold it with him, and interest is focussed on the nation rather than on his fortunes. Neither is there the same respect for the populace of Paris that is so apparent in the work of Aulard and other later French historians. The emphasis is distinctly on the history of the French people as a whole. Further comparison with the work of Aulard brings out the fact that Pariset's treatment is fuller and richer. The former was avowedly concerned with the evolution of political life; the latter is more pragmatic, setting forth not only the political or constitutional changes but also the social organization, population, education, religion, industry, agriculture, and commerce. Foreign affairs could not, of course, be overlooked in the Napoleonic period but it is a far cry from this rather sketchy treatment of the subject to Sorel and others who make the history of France revolve about Napoleon. With Pariset, the imperialist designs of the conqueror receive scant attention. Frenchmen, he declares, did not understand them and became interested in them mainly through their disastrous consequences.

The author is at his best in tracing the development of political and social institutions. Not only is this done with great precision and detail, but for the most part with due regard to their revolutionary beginnings and the hard facts of contemporary life that lay behind them. Too little weight is perhaps given to the Concordat in the revival of Catholicism which the author dates from the 19 Fructidor. Industrial progress on the other hand, he treats too exclusively from the standpoint of Napoleon, forgetting the broad basis laid in the

earlier period, and the impetus then imparted by the manufacture of war materials.

Despite Napoleon's lack of knowledge of agriculture "qui était d'une ignorance qui dépasse les bornes", his interest in the important question of land tenure and inheritance deserves more attention. The laws of March and April, 1790, abolished primogeniture and established equal inheritance. "Partible succession" became the rule in France. The civil code confirmed this, and what is called "l'affranchissement de la terre" continued. By a law of 1806, however, entail was again permitted. This the author fails to mention, despite the fact that it provided a basis for a new landed aristocracy. Commerce is given rather exiguous treatment. Even in the last division of the volume, which is entitled "Le Système Continental", the subject receives less than four pages, about as much as is devoted to the divorce and to the Austrian marriage. It is true that Napoleon could not "make commerce manoeuvre like a regiment", but the vast ramifications of the commercial conditions forcing the industry and trade, not only of France but of Europe and America as well, into new and unaccustomed channels for more than a decade, is surely of greater significance than many of the military and diplomatic incidents treated in this chapter.

The style is clear, logical, and forceful, characterized by the presentation of concrete facts and incidents rather than by abstractions about them. The author belongs to the realistic school of historical writers. He sometimes crowds his pages with a superabundance of detail, but he is never dominated by it. Its significance is made plain. Indeed, M. Pariset is at his best in his trenchant epigrammatic summaries and interpretations: "L'Université est une hiérarchie où ceux qui enseignent sont les subordonnés passifs de ceux qui n'enseignent pas"; "L'Empire a été une fabrique des fonctionnaires". Of the civil code and the property laws, he says: "Les dispositions qui concernent ceux qui ne possèdent rien sont rares, et ne sont jamais bienveillantes. . . . En ce sens, le code n'est pas démocratique. Il est le code de la classe possédante."

The character and personality of Napoleon are brought out again and again in high lights that fascinate by their boldness. Sometimes this is done in an inimitable way by apt quotations. What an insight, for example, into Napoleon's opinions, when in anger at the Tribunat he shouted:

> Ils sont là douze ou quinze métaphysiciens bons à jeter à l'eau. C'est une vermine que j'ai sur les habits. Il ne faut pas croire que je me laisserai attaquer comme Louis XVI. Je ne le souffrirai pas. Je suis soldat, enfant de la Révolution. Sorti du sein du people, je ne souffrirai pas qu'on m'insulte comme un roi.

The organization and format of the volume is that of the earlier series on the history of France before 1789. The illustrations are

excellent. They are taken from contemporary sources for the most part, and add materially to the story of the text.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

Histoire de France Contemporaine (LAVISSE). Tomes IV., V., *La Restauration,* and *La Monarchie de Juillet.* Par S. CHARLÉTY. Tomes VI., VII., *La Révolution de 1848: Le Second Empire,* and *Le Déclin de l'Empire et l'Établissement de la 3e République.* Par CH. SEIGNOBOS. (Paris: Hachette. 1921. Pp. 400; 408; 426; 426.)

THESE four volumes, treating of the period of French history that lies between 1815—the restoration of the monarchy—and 1875—the establishment of the Third Republic—form a natural unit, falling into two main divisions. The co-operation between the two writers has been so happy that one is hardly conscious of the change of authorship as one passes from the account of the February days, with which the last volume of M. Charléty closes, to the description, in the first volume of M. Seignobos, of the organization of the provisional government that resulted from the Revolution of 1848. It is an excellent example of the possibilities of co-operation in historical writing.

Novelty could hardly be expected in the chronological *cadres* of the text, the matter naturally falling under the heads adopted as the titles of the various volumes, but there is much of novelty in the varied and comprehensive treatment of the subject-matter within these divisions. It is not simply a history of the political life of France through sixty eventful years, but a well-balanced, scholarly, and attractive description of the unfolding of the entire social life of the French people in its progress toward democracy. M. Charléty's chapter in volume IV., on "L'Avènement d'une Génération nouvelle", in which he deals with "Les Néo-libéraux, les Saint-Simoniens, les Ultramontains, les Romantiques, les Savants", his chapter on "Les Partis et la Politique Économique", in which he treats of "Le Système Prohibitif, la Production et l'Échange à l'Intérieur, la Condition des Personnes", and the two chapters on "La Vie Économique" and "L'Expansion Coloniale" in volume V.; M. Seignobos's treatment of the provisional government of 1848, with chapters on "L'Organisation du Gouvernement et du Suffrage", and "Les nouveaux Organes de la Vie Politique", the chapter on "La Distribution Régionale des Partis en France", the treatment of "La Société Française" under the chapter-heads, "La Population de la France, la Population Agricole, la Population Industrielle, les Classes Moyennes et les Classes Supérieures, le Mouvement Intellectuel", in volume VI., indicate the comprehensive treatment of the period.

The traditional topics—the successive revolutions, with the continuous struggle between the reactionary and progressive groups, together

with foreign affairs—are treated in an admirable spirit of detachment, described with freshness and color, and, not infrequently, from a new point of view, due to the utilization of recent monographs or of manuscript material. The treatment of foreign affairs under the Second Empire, in M. Seignobos's second volume, is an admirable piece of work, a model of well-balanced, scholarly exposition.

Not the least noteworthy thing in these volumes, where there is so much to commend, is the skill shown in sketching the principal characters of the period, or rather, in permitting them, through their acts and utterances, to reveal themselves. Louis XVIII., Charles X., Louis Philippe, Napoleon III. and his associates, Thiers, MacMahon, and Gambetta, are not mere abstractions, but living personalities that assume definite shape in the mind of the reader as he follows their acts and reads their statements of policy and opinion. The one thing that impresses one, when the whole gallery has been passed in review, is the mediocrity of the age, not one first-class character appearing on the scene. Thiers, his career viewed as a whole, falls short of greatness, and Gambetta, up to 1875, had not monopolized the stage.

These volumes were written before 1914 and one is especially struck by M. Seignobos's impartial attitude toward Germany and Bismarck. After recounting the facts connected with the famous Ems despatch, he defends Bismarck against the charge of "falsification". "This expression", he writes, "adopted by the French papers, is inexact; Bismarck was authorized to publish, not the *text* of Abeken's dispatch (whose form rendered it improper for publication) but the *refusal* of the king, and his text contains no false affirmation; the form alone was different." After describing the German methods of warfare—burning of villages, where German soldiers had been fired upon, shooting the natives, levying extraordinary contributions, forcing the leading men of a town to ride on a locomotive in order to protect a train from attack—M. Seignobos remarks that "this mixture of rigor and exploitation gave the French the impression of a barbarous war. In fact, the German soldiers, well-disciplined and peaceable by nature, committed few acts of violence upon persons, in proportion to the number of the invaders. They ate and drank much and burned all they could make use of to warm them in a very cold winter. They did little damage out of pure deviltry. The population, contrary to other wars, complained less of the excesses of individual soldiers than of the harshness of the officers."

In a semi-popular history of this kind the absence of original research can not be counted a defect. That the writer shall be acquainted with the latest and best monographic work is all that the critic can reasonably demand. More than that must be counted as good measure not called for in the bond. Such good measure is found, as might have been expected in the work of such mature scholars, both in the volumes of M. Charléty, writing from first-hand knowledge on the beginnings of

socialism, especially on the life and activities of Saint-Simon, and in those of M. Seignobos, drawing upon the manuscripts of the Archives Nationales for his studies on the regional distribution of parties in France.

The bibliographies are full and critical, containing not only the enumeration of printed secondary works and sources, but also the indication of some unpublished monographs and of important manuscript sources. Attention is frequently called to the lack of monographs on important topics, and a careful examination of the bibliography and of the dates of publication of the works makes clear how much virgin soil there is for the historian in this very important period of French history.

Not the least valuable part of the volumes is the illustrations. They consist chiefly of portraits, some of them full-page reproductions of the work of famous French artists, such as Gérard's portrait of Louis XVIII., Winterhalter's Louis Philippe, Mme. Desnos's Casimir Périer, Lafosse's striking lithograph of General Cavaignac, Flandrin's Napoleon III., and Bonnat's fine portraits of Thiers and Gambetta. We miss Charles X. and Guizot from the gallery. There are, also, many rare and interesting contemporary cartoons, contemporary sketches of historical scenes, and reproductions of famous paintings, to illustrate the art of the period.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815–1914. Von A. SARTORIUS VON WALTERSHAUSEN. (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1920. Pp. x, 598. M. 50.)

A READER acquainted with Sombart's *Deutsche Volkswirtschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* will be startled to find that the present author assumes the complete lack of any comprehensive survey of the subject which he covers. How he can do this when he cites Sombart in his bibliography must be left to the German academic conscience for decision. This at least can be said for him, that the present book is considerably larger than Sombart's, is far more rich in concrete detail, and is better suited in general to the purposes of a student seeking an introduction to the recent economic history of Germany.

The author shuns the economic abstractions which make Sombart's work at the same time so attractive and so perilous. He depreciates the contributions of capitalism, and emphasizes the contributions of individual persons. He is a follower of Nietzsche and Treitschke, accepting the dominance in history of the "Wille zur Macht". Consequently he emphasizes the political element, and describes in full detail the course of public policy. He is, of course, a nationalist; the highest praise that he can bestow on the tariff of 1879 is that it was not only "national" but also "deutsch empfunden". More particularly,

he is a German Conservative, a believer in the landed aristocracy and a defender of measures taken in their behalf. Bismarck is his ideal. Of the person and character of William II. he says little, but the course of the empire under the last kaiser he describes as aimless; the period of indecision culminated in the recent war, the preparations for which were in the military aspect insufficient, in the political aspect "miserabel". The United Kingdom and the United States are bitterly condemned for a selfish and brutal policy.

While the book is colored throughout by the author's general philosophy, he is, after all, primarily an economist, and when he keeps his eyes on the ground he sees clearly and describes soberly and accurately. His theory of the price changes in the middle and at the end of the nineteenth century is not one which the present writer can accept. Most of the book, however, is free from any doctrinal taints, whether political or economic. It is a matter-of-fact account of German agricultural, industrial, and commercial development, packed with interesting information.

The book begins with a survey of conditions as they were after the wars of liberation at the beginning of the century. The years 1833 and 1871 give the author his main turning-points in the course of the century; the years 1848 and 1890 are chosen to subdivide the narrative. Each of the six chapters in which the book is thus arranged has secondary divisions according to the topics treated. A table of contents, filling some five pages, aids the reader who seeks a particular subject, but it does not atone for the lack of an index; nor do the bibliographical lists appended to each chapter satisfy the reader who desires to know the authority for a certain statement but finds the book bare of foot-notes.

The author draws his material from a great variety of sources. He has employed not only official publications, standard histories and biographies, and the monographic studies of which German seminars have produced a great abundance; he has made good use also of books of description and travel, and on occasion introduces effective quotations from literature, even from the *Fliegende Blaetter*.

He has had to solve a difficult problem in composition. Germany as of 1914 included territorial elements differing widely in their historical antecedents, and the author is unquestionably right in his belief that historical tradition has played a large part in the course of recent development. This is most obvious in the field of agrarian history, but is apparent everywhere. The author, therefore, has had to frame his work in an intricate plan. If, as a result, the reader is sometimes burdened by the mass of facts, the plan has merits of its own, and it is executed with some features which deserve special commendation. (1) The author often simplifies his narrative by analyzing and enumerating the most significant points; he sketches the main lines and omits

the details. (2) The statistical tables are unusually well selected to illustrate the course of development; they are brief and general. (3) The author has contrived often to combine nice discrimination with brevity of treatment; an illustration is his discussion of the effects of the Continental System of the Napoleonic period. (4) The book contains many striking little bits of information: statistical comparison of foreign trade, 1825 and 1913 (p. 51); functions of the early banks and the place of the Jews in banking (pp. 57, 277); the part of the Germans in the early expositions at Berlin and Paris (pp. 74, 174); description of leading stores and factories (pp. 142, 190); and so forth. The reader will notice a perversion of some English names (Arkwrigth, Cartwrigth, Wegwood), and occasional slips in the tables of figures (pp. 53, 364), but will find the presswork on the whole well done.

CLIVE DAY.

The Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France: a Study in the History of Social Politics. By PARKER THOMAS MOON, Instructor in History in Columbia University.[1] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 473. $3.25.)

THE purpose of this interesting and valuable book is to relate the history of the French side of Socialism, which the author describes as a nearly world-wide force "comparable in magnitude and in power to international Socialism, or to Syndicalism, or to the co-operative movement" (p. vii). This powerful force, the author declares, deserves more attention than it has hitherto received in England and the United States. It is both a social philosophy and an organized movement of vast proportions. Like its rivals, Socialism and Syndicalism, it offers and works for the realization of a programme for the solution of the labor problem created by the Industrial Revolution. This solution is based on the application of long recognized ethical principles to modern industrial problems. It expects to attain its goal by "a bold organic reorganization of the existing industrial system and of existing democratic institutions, rather than by cautious compromises and palliatives" (p. 5). Though the author nowhere lays any stress upon the point, his account clearly indicates that the most active promoters of Social Catholicism, along with a strong desire for the improvement of the condition of the working classes, have drawn much inspiration from a confident belief that, if success crowns their efforts, there will accrue to the Roman Catholic Church a great increase of power and influence.

The book falls into three nearly equal parts. Chapters I.–V. describe the antecedents of the movement to 1870, its organization under the inspiring leadership of Count de Mun and the development of its programme from 1871 to 1891, the foreign influences which most affected it, and the differences between the vanguard led by Count de Mun

[1] Now assistant professor *ibid.*

and the stragglers, represented by Bishop Freppel and his followers. Chapters VI.–IX. trace in detail the effect upon the movement of papal intervention by Leo XIII., especially in his Encyclical Letter of May 15, 1891, on the condition of the working classes, and his famous letter of February 16, 1892, urging upon French Catholics acceptance of the Third Republic. In this part the most striking feature is a detailed and illuminating account of the origin, composition, and activities of the Popular Liberal Party, the most powerful and significant organization which has developed in connection with the Social Catholic movement in France. Chapters X.–XII. furnish a contemporary survey of the movement, describe the dissident groups, and set forth the author's conclusions.

In general and in nearly all particulars the work of the author has been well done. A vast amount of widely scattered material has been carefully examined. The results are set forth in clear and interesting fashion. In a commendable endeavor to appeal to a larger public than is usually secured for a doctor's dissertation, the documentation has been relegated to the end of the book. To the reviewer it appears questionable whether the gain has not been more than counterbalanced by a propensity to put into the text considerable matter which might better have gone into the notes.

Aside from points of detail, the reviewer has only two considerable criticisms to make. The extent to which Social Catholicism has actually been an effective factor in bringing about the social legislation of the Third Republic is not very clearly indicated. The author rather assumes that because the movement has been large and active it has therefore been an effective force. Its opponents, especially the anticlericals and socialists, claim for themselves nearly all the credit for the social legislation actually enacted. An examination of these rival claims would have added greatly to the value of the book. The anticlericals are not always treated fairly; for them there is an undertone of detraction, often implied rather than expressed, and an assumption that their attitude was due to unworthy motives. Justice to them requires recognition that, whatever their faults, they were striving for the public welfare as they conceived it. At the same time the shortcomings of the Catholics in such matters as the Boulanger and Dreyfus affairs are passed over very lightly. Despite these faults, the book, taken as a whole, is a notable contribution to knowledge.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Europe since 1870. By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the University of Michigan. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 580. $3.00.)

FOR the second time within a few months we have from the pen of

Professor Turner a work of merit on modern European history. The first traced European development from the beginning of the French Revolution through the close of the World War. The second aims to treat with similar breadth the period of fifty years from the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War to the present day.

Until he has reached chapter VI., however, the author does not take his main theme directly in hand. To his introductory discussion he gives the first five chapters, occupying 123 of the 548 pages in the volume, a seemingly disproportionate amount of space for this purpose, especially when one considers how freighted with momentous events and profoundly significant changes are the years since 1870.

These opening chapters include an account of the Old Régime, of the topography of Europe, of the French Revolution, a chapter of twenty-five pages on the Industrial Revolution, and another of twenty-six pages on intellectual and social changes before 1870. But all of these matters, and many others too, which are included, do not seem requisite to an adequate introduction to the history of Europe since 1870. True it is, that these chapters are splendidly done, and some parts of them helpful in the highest degree, others indispensable even, to an understanding of the subsequent presentation. Had such valuable and essential features, however, been combined in one, or at most, two introductory chapters, and the space thus saved devoted to the history of Europe since 1918, the title of the book would fit its contents with greater exactitude. When the general reader, teacher, or student, purchases a book entitled *Europe since 1870,* he has the right to expect that he shall find therein information concerning events and conditions in Europe down to the beginning of the present year at least. But it is just here that Professor Turner disappoints us. As far as this volume is concerned, European history since 1870 ends approximately with the year 1918, save for the settlement made by the Peace Conference during 1919, which subject receives adequate treatment (chapter XVIII.). Certainly the reader can rightfully demand that a work bearing the above title, and appearing in the autumn of 1921, should tell whether a League of Nations was actually organized, what states belong to it, what it has done, if anything; should give more than three lines to the new government of Germany; should give at least a brief account of developments in the various European states since November, 1918. Concerning these and many other subjects upon which we should like instruction by a trained and scholarly historian, Professor Turner gives little more information than in his former volume, *Europe, 1789–1920,* published early last year.

The two volumes, perhaps of necessity, closely resemble each other. The second, indeed, is part two of the first, largely reprinted, but expanded by the addition of 109 pages to the author's original treatment of the period extending from Germany's military triumphs in 1864–

1870 to the close of the World War; and with the five introductory chapters already mentioned, which consist largely, though not wholly, of material also found in the earlier work, but here adapted, remodelled and reorganized to fit the later.

Occasional statements occur in this volume, as in the earlier one, to which exception may fairly be taken. For example, the author says in reference to the Germans: "They undertook to cut the communications of the allies and starve England out by sinking all allied ships by means of submarines" (p. 478). As the Germans also used their submarines to attack neutral ships, and actually did sink approximately 1,800,000 gross tons of neutral shipping, ought there not to be some indication of these facts in the above statement? Concerning the number of deaths in battle, we read: "The number of men killed was estimated at 9,000,000 . . ." (p. 525). But the figures of both French and American officials range from 7,500,000 to 7,600,000.

This volume is not based on research, nor can it be considered a new and suggestive discussion in any essential respect. It is, nevertheless, a valuable and useful work. It is unequalled as a text-book for use in courses on the World War, where a preliminary study of the antecedents and causes of the struggle is deemed desirable. It is superior in this respect to the other treatises on nineteenth-century Europe, as those of Hayes, Hazen, Schapiro, and Holt and Chilton, and better even than Seymour's *Diplomatic Background of the War,* because broader in scope. It is clear, well organized, contains a huge store of essential information, omits details without leaving the story vague and meaningless, covers every important phase of European civilization, and is admirable on international relations and events leading to the war.

EARL EVELYN SPERRY.

Russian Dissenters. By FREDERICK C. CONYBEARE. (Harvard Theological Studies, vol. X.) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 370. $4.00.)

BUT little has been written in Western Europe on the religious life in Russia. I mean real research work, not half-fantastic pictures such as that of Stephen Graham. One of the most interesting problems of Russian religious life which has always attracted the attention of Western Europe is the problem of the "Dissenters" (Raskolniki) and of the different sects both rationalistic and mystic, according to the usual classification. Much has been written on this subject in Russia. Careful studies of the written sources, careful collections of oral evidence have been printed, and yet some basic questions remain still unsolved. The time for a serene and unbiassed solution of the problem is not yet come. Until the last revolution, the state and the ruling church kept on persecuting the dissenters and the sectarians and trying

to explain their attitude toward them in various official, semi-official, and private publications. On the other hand the Russian liberals took decidedly the side of the dissenters and sectarians.

One of the main problems as regards the dissenters is how to explain their schism and their bitter fight against the official Niconian church. Was it purely a matter of religion, or one of the signs of the decisive break between the main population of Russia and the intellectuals, or one of the forms of social and political struggle? On the other hand the main problem regarding the sectarians is: have we to regard them as a result of a Western influence on the Russian religious life, superficial and temporary, or is it a peculiar product of the Russian religious evolution, bringing back some of the most ancient currents of the early Christian and perhaps pre-Christian religious life of mankind in general?

We must welcome therefore the publication of a serious unbiassed study on this subject by a prominent student of the history of religions in general. I have not to introduce Dr. Conybeare to the readers of the *Review*. He is well known as one of the students of the Christian faith in general, whose knowledge is based not only on a careful study of documents written in different languages but also on extended travels which brought him occasionally to Russia also. I do not know how far he is acquainted with the Russian language. The translations from the Russian given in his book are generally correct although the same words and expressions which are translated in some parts correctly are grossly misunderstoood in others.[1] Is it not due to the use of several different secretaries? To the same use of secretaries I am inclined to ascribe many repetitions and a peculiar structure of the whole work. Instead of giving the facts as he understands them, Dr. Conybeare generally gives extensive quotations from Russian books which very often repeat the same facts but generally from different points of view. It is awkward to read a passage of Ivanovski, a defender of the official point of view, followed by a quotation from Usov, a strong supporter of the idea that the Raskols represent a social and political movement, and a quotation from Miliukov, who is of the opinion that the Raskol was a reaction of Old Russia against the new one. From a historian we should expect not an apposition but a critical selection of ascertained facts.[2]

There is the same uncertainty in his judgment about the Raskol.

[1] See, *e.g.*, p. 104: "This was the establishment of a hospital for the sick called the Kladbich in the village of Rogozh"; Kladbishche means in Russian cemetery; later on C. gives quite a good description of this Rogozhskoe Kladbishche. Many times C. speaks of the province of Nizhegorod meaning the province of Nizhnii-Novgorod, but towards the end of the book he again gives the correct form, etc.

[2] I regret also that no index is appended to the book. Every author should know that a book without an index will perhaps be read, but never consulted.

Of course Dr. Conybeare is far from supporting the official optimism of Ivanovski. He sympathizes both with the dissidents and with the sectarians, as almost everybody in Russia does, but I have been unable to find that he gives a definite answer to the main question: how to explain the Raskol. In his introductory chapter he seems to insist on the political and social side of the struggle, following Usov; on p. 262 he adopts the view of Miliukov, which is generally accepted by the leading Russian historians (Kliuchevski, Platonov, etc.). I have been surprised by the way not to find any mention of the views of Kliuchevski, whose treatment of the Raskol forms one of the most brilliant parts of his history of Russia. More definite are the views of Dr. Conybeare on the sects and, while his dealing with the Raskol has not brought forward the question of its nature (except in some minor points), his treatment of the sects is both interesting and stimulating. Here he appears to be in his own domain, and shows with full evidence how closely connected are the Russian sects with many analogous movements in the early history of Christianity.

It was not my intention in pointing out some minor defects of this book to question its value and its importance. There is not very much that is new to Russian scholars, as the study is based on secondary sources, but it should be read by every scholar in America and Western Europe who is interested in religious problems. Russia's religious evolution is as peculiar and as full of interesting phenomena as is everything in the historical evolution of that land.

M. Rostovtseff.

Portraits of the Nineties. By E. T. Raymond. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. 319. $4.50.)

Following in the footsteps of McCarthy, Russell, and Hutchinson, who have drawn for us the portraits of the English sixties, seventies, and eighties, Mr. Raymond essays a similar task for the final decade of the century. Few will deny his success. His tone is sympathetic and appreciative, a cheering contrast to the mordant criticism of Mr. Keynes and the "Gentleman with the Duster". His appreciation, however, is discriminating and the cloying eulogies of the old-fashioned biographical sketch are wholly lacking. Like most biographical essayists of the moment he seeks, rather too overtly perhaps, to make his impression through humor. Some of his epigrams seem labored; he is often too obviously in search of an anecdote, which sometimes serves and sometimes does not serve to characterize his subject. But of true wit there is not a little, and by his wealth of literary and biographical allusion he has imparted a flavor of nineteenth-century "culture" which more than anything else helps to explain the personalities he presents. He recalls the nineties as, on the whole, a golden age.

The sun shone brighter in those days; the east wind was less

bitter; . . . The steaks were juicier; the landladies were a kindlier race. There was a zest and flavor in life lacking today. Youth was emancipated from the harsher kind of parental control and had not yet found a stern step-father in the State. The world was all before it where to choose and the future was veiled in a rose-colored mist. Such is the atmosphere of the book.

Mr. Raymond has dealt with a host of personalities. No less than twenty-eight are portrayed in separate chapters, while in the final three he brings together groups of lawyers, journalists, and actors for our inspection. The majority of his portraits are of political leaders and his choice would coincide in general with popular judgment; the reader perhaps might be surprised by the inclusion of such men as Earl Spencer, Lord Courtney of Penwith, and Sir Henry Fowler, and by the omission of Bryce, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Ritchie, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, to none of whom has the reviewer been able to discover even an allusion. Cecil Rhodes naturally finds a place, as do Archbishop Temple and Mandell Creighton, Oscar Wilde and Thomas Hardy, artists such as Leighton and Watts, journalists such as Stead, evangelists such as Spurgeon and Booth. The book is in no sense a biographical dictionary; the author avoids dates except as the age of the men under discussion happens to affect their position. There is little of the detailed facts of their careers, which are sketched rapidly and broadly.

In general, popular judgment has been accepted and re-enforced. The writer has little use for the expert analyst who, because of his presence behind the scenes, claims to make final judgment; he puts his confidence in the opinion of the gallery rather than in that of the green-room. "On the whole", he says, "the gallery knows a good play when it sees it and is more than any other part of the house free from the many cranky prepossessions of the moment. . . . It may be too generous when it claps and a trifle unjust when it hisses, but it is honest in both moods." The author is not so much interested, therefore, in a searching analysis of his characters, as he is in showing the impression they made upon their age and what their contemporaries thought of them. "When we can be sure of doing perfect justice in the simplest police case we may begin to talk about the infallibility of a tribunal of pedants. . . . Carry analysis to the length of an autopsy and hero and scoundrel look very much alike." Broadly speaking, then, Mr. Raymond's book is a picture of public opinion rather than a gallery of personalities. It will yield no concrete material for the future doctoral dissertation. It is filled with suggestions, however, and ought not to be neglected by anyone interested in the social and political chronicles of England, particularly of London, at the close of the Victorian era.

French Foreign Policy from Fashoda to Serajevo (1898–1914). By GRAHAM H. STUART, Ph.D. (New York: Century Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 392. $3.00.)

A SKETCH of the diplomatic position of France in the Europe of 1898 is the background against which Dr. Stuart outlines the development of French policy at Fashoda, at the first Hague Conference, and during the Boer War. His third chapter reviews French interests (1898–1905) in Turkey, Crete, and Siam, and in the Boxer uprising in China; his fourth treats of relations with Italy and the Vatican. Under the heading Entente Cordiale he traces at some length the growth of Anglo-French accord through the problems of the Bagdad railway, African difficulties, and the Russo-Japanese war. Six chapters on the Moroccan question—European rivalries, the fall of Delcassé, Algeciras, Franco-German rivalry, 1907–1909, the Failure of the 1909 Settlement, and Agadir—form the heart of the book and contain, perhaps, its most important contribution. The final chapter leads Towards the World War. Although the heading does not necessarily imply a comprehensive treatment, many important developments from 1911 to 1914 are omitted; there is no discussion, for example, of French policy with reference to Belgium or the question of neutrality; no adequate attention is given to the Anglo-French naval understanding or to the Caillaux case and its international background. With respect to the rest of the book this chapter is foreshortened and the termination is distinctly weak. No attempt is made to carry the story beyond Serajevo.

Morocco is rightly emphasized as a very significant feature of French foreign policy, 1904–1914, but it would seem that the book as a whole has been worked up as a setting for a study of this subject, rather than to give a thorough, well proportioned presentation of the course of French diplomacy within the limits set. Certainly, important aspects have been overlooked or sacrificed to make way for the Moroccan problem. Relations with Russia throughout the period 1904–1914, the Bosnian crisis, the Tripolitan affair and, in general, Mediterranean interests have not been given sufficient emphasis. Problems such as the attitude of France during the Spanish-American War and the real inwardness of the French position during the Boer War have not really been attacked.

In form, Dr. Stuart's presentation is clear and readable; in content, it is on the whole an admirable recasting and elaboration of many of those expositions which were so hastily prepared, during the early days of the war, for the enlightenment of the American public. As a manual for the general reader and the college student it will be a convenient synthesis. And yet its extensive documentation argues, possibly, a more ambitious intent. For a well-rounded piece of scholarship the book is obviously too big in scope and too small in compass. The French point of view is over-developed in proportion to the attention

given to other angles of consideration. Although the author is generally moderate in his conclusions and treatment, his sympathies are apparent; he has drawn his material too exclusively from French sources. An extensive acquaintance with French official documents is demonstrated but there are no signs that many excellent secondary books have been exploited—particularly German books. The recent books of Eckardstein, Schwertfeger, Hammann and Friedjung have much of general importance to contribute to a study of this kind. It is strange that no reference is made, in presenting the Moroccan question, to the work of Closs, Zimmermann, Diercks, or Wirth, not to mention the books of the Frenchmen, Bernard and Gourdin.

A bibliography of eight pages, although not announced as comprehensive, ought, in a book of this character, to contain some critique, and it should not omit so many obvious titles; at least all books cited in the text should be included. Cases in point are Jaray, *La Politique Franco-Anglaise,* cited p. 109, note 23, and Millet, *Notre Politique Extérieure,* cited p. 121, note 49. There are many similar omissions in the index.

LAURENCE BRADFORD PACKARD.

My Memoirs. By Prince LUDWIG WINDISCHGRAETZ. Translated by Constance Vesey. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. 356. $5.00.)

FROM three of the most important statesmen in Austria-Hungary during the war we now have valuable personal narratives written in the time of their downfall or exile—Czernin, Andrássy, and Windischgraetz. From a fourth, greater than any of this trio, we shall probably have nothing, for Stephan Tisza was assassinated on the flagstones of his own baronial hall at the very close of the war, just as the rotten fabric of the Hapsburg monarchy was falling to pieces. Czernin's *In the World War* is valuable for its inside information on the Brest-Litovsk and other diplomatic negotiations which he conducted as foreign minister until his fall in 1917; but as an apologia it is hardly convincing. Julius Andrássy's *Diplomatie und Weltkrieg* analyzes with clear penetration, almost with philosophic calm, the complex internal conditions in the Dual Monarchy into which he had been initiated by his more famous father; with his clear grasp of the situation it was probably unfortunate that he lacked that political ambition and passion for action, of which most of his fellow-Magyar aristocrats had an excess, and so did not finally become foreign minister until October 25, 1918—when it was too late to salvage any of the wreckage. Of these three volumes of memoirs, the most valuable to the historian is unquestionably that of Prince Windischgraetz, because of its greater length, its vividness, and the diary-like detailed accounts of the telephone messages, secret meetings, and journeys of its tireless author.

Prince Ludwig Windischgraetz, grandson of the field-marshal who suppressed revolution in Vienna in 1848 and son of one of the highest officers in the old army, by birth and social position belonged to the circle of distinguished, powerful, and narrow-minded Magyar aristocrats. But in his strenuous youth he had learned that there was a world beyond Tokay and that he was no longer living in the age of feudalism. As military attaché with the tsar's troops in the Russo-Japanese War he was captured at Fakumen, but set at liberty by the Japanese. In New York he was ambushed by thieves, fired upon a mulatto, and had to spend the night in jail. After lion-hunting in Africa and other travels he returned to restore the prosperity of his ancestral vineyards in Hungary, married Maria Széchenyi, and "plunged into the petty arena of Hungarian county politics with my head full of world political theories and studies which embraced every quarter of the globe" (p. 23). But this life did not satisfy his fiery energy. In the annexation crisis of 1908, disguising himself as a machinist and waiter, he collected secret information in Serbia. During the following months of calm before the storm he constantly attacked Berchtold (a cousin of his wife's) for his vacillation and incompetence. In 1914 this stormy petrel was only thirty-two years old, but he had learned to look beyond a policy of petty intrigue, and to recognize, as Sir Robert Hart had once told him in China, that "European policy must keep in view an area extending from Vladivostok to the Rhine".

The greater part of Windischgraetz's memoirs is the story of the fight he made, during the war, against the "system", the autocratic clique of corrupt and incompetent military and diplomatic officials who had plunged the Dual Monarchy into a war which they did not know how to conduct effectively. But for three years, while he was serving most of the time at the front, he could do little but protest against the unwise orders which came from the military clique. The Austrian Supreme Command was often working at cross purposes with the Austrian Foreign Office; to one of his protests he received the classic reply, "The Foreign Office must not know what policy the Supreme Command is pursuing" (p. 96)! In contrast to his contempt for the Austrian Supreme Command is his admiration for the efficiency of Emperor William's officers on the southeastern front; yet he was equally opposed to Burian's foreign policy, "which was characterized from the very first by undiscriminating and slavish recognition of German control" (p. 101).

After the death of Francis Joseph some of the Supreme Command, who were more concerned with military decorations than service at the front, were dismissed. At the Ballhausplatz Burian gave way to Czernin, and Tisza yielded the Hungarian premiership to Wekerle. Finally, in October, 1917, Windischgraetz himself was appointed Hun-

garian food minister, an office which he apparently filled with great energy and success. He now won the esteem of Emperor Charles, became one of his most intimate advisers, and secured his theoretical approval for a wide-reaching programme of reform which Windischgraetz laid before him in May, 1918; an unequivocal statement to Germany of Austria's absolute inability to carry on the war longer; an immediate separate peace with the Entente if Germany insisted on continuing the war; autonomy for the subject nationalities (except Galicia which was to be ceded to Poland); and universal suffrage in Hungary. But Charles had not the courage to put this programme into practical effect—until it was too late. Windischgraetz and Szilassy both think the Monarchy and much of its territory could have been saved if the emperor had acted on this programme at once. This however is very doubtful; at least it must remain one of the unsolved "ifs" of history. When at last Charles did act on Windischgraetz's advice by appointing Julius Andrássy as foreign minister (Oct. 25), the débâcle had already begun. National councils had been set up in Prag, Agram, and Buda-Pesth; Germany was in retreat in France; and the Italians were breaking through in the South. In Hungary Andrássy's own son-in-law, Károlyi, driven by ambition, treacherously deceived his father and dethroned his emperor. Windischgraetz, who remained loyal to Charles and was one of those who shared in his second ill-starred effort to return to the Hungarian throne in October, 1921, is very bittter against Károlyi; perhaps he paints his perfidy too black. Here, and in some other passages, his statements must probably be taken *cum grano salis*.

Nowhere is there a better account than in this spirited book of why and how the Dual Monarchy at last collapsed.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Life of Venizelos. By S. B. CHESTER (Chester of Wethersfield and Blary), with a Letter from His Excellency M. Venizelos. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1921. Pp. xvi, 321. $6.00.)

MR. CHESTER has had exceptional advantages in the performance of his task. In addition to five friends of the statesman, among them his permanent secretary, to whom he expresses his obligations (add Mr. Leonard Magnus, p. 305, note), M. Venizelos himself "found time . . . to enlighten me [the author] upon various matters connected with his life and work" (p. vii), and, indeed, in the introductory letter states that he read that part of the book which deals with the Cretan Question (p. vi). We may, therefore, regard the present biography as being in a sense "inspired", a circumstance which should guarantee it an unusual value among books of the kind, and in particular may assume that the record of the Cretan imbroglio, which is here presented at considerable length, gives an unusually accurate account of this confused period from the point of view of the chief actor therein; and these chapters

contain what is probably the book's most valuable contribution to knowledge.

One other point, the precise bearing and implications of which are, I confess, not altogether clear to me, ought, perhaps, for the sake of the critical student of history, to be recorded in this context. In the same introductory letter M. Venizelos writes, "So far, I have declined to read manuscripts of books sent to me and dealing with myself and I could not make an exception in your case." This statement appears to be somewhat at variance with that of Mr. H. A. Gibbons, "Much of the story has come from Premier Venizelos himself and from M. Politis, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1917. These main actors in the regeneration of Greece have been gracious enough to read my manuscript and call my attention to errors of fact" (*Venizelos*, 1920, pp. x ff.).

The composition is lucid, and there are numerous but not wearisome quotations from conversations and documents of all kinds, but unfortunately the sources for these are seldom given. A marked vivacity of style helps to sustain interest during the bewildering mazes of intrigue and negotiations, but leads to occasional lapses from dignity, as in the case of some pretty sorry puns (pp. 190, 193, 239), and the rather overdone comparison of King Constantine with a balky mule, flinging itself upon the ground and raising a "cloud of dust and dirt" (pp. 233 ff.), a variety of *jeu d'esprit* which historians might perhaps better leave to the cartoonist's less rigorous sense of decorum.

Regarded as biography, the most noteworthy weakness of the sketch is the failure to present effectively those substantial and charming traits of intellect, character, and bearing, so brilliantly set forth, for example, by Mr. Gibbons (*op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.), which make M. Venizelos, undoubtedly one of the world's greatest statesmen, also perhaps its most engaging public personality. Mr. Chester's treatment of this theme evinces inexperience in the delineation of character, and a tendency at times to descend to the trivial. Thus the formidable list of French wines which "would" or would not "probably appeal to him" might properly have given place to more significant traits of individuality.

Considered as history, the present work gives adequate consideration, indeed, to the military and especially the political aspects of M. Venizelos's career, but there is hardly more than a mention of his masterly programme of educational, economic, and social reforms. These constitute the substantial basis upon which alone could have been erected the brilliant diplomatic and military achievements which, although for the time being they focus attention upon themselves, will, in the juster perspective of the future, without doubt occupy a distinctly less conspicuous position. Even in politics Mr. Chester omits some important facts that constitute an integral part of the story, and treats others with a euphemism and optimism which, if taken at their face value, would leave one simply bewildered at the lamely explained, but by no means

inexplicable, upheaval of the election of November, 1920. The present work cannot, therefore, escape wholly the charge of a measure of partizanship, and that is the more unfortunate because the subject of it himself and the large outlines of his public policy hold so secure a place in history and the respect of mankind that they have relatively little to fear from an impartial and even critical examination of the complete record. King Constantine's basic political error seems to have been that he, together with the General Staff, believed the war would end in a stalemate—surely a not unreasonable conjecture before the entry of America—but of his devotion to what he believed to be the best interests of his people, and of the confidence which great numbers of them have in his integrity, there can hardly exist a reasonable doubt. The prolonged struggle between the king and the statesman over the methods by which Greece was to be best served is no doubt still too recent to allow on either side the magnanimous treatment of an adversary; but now that Constantine, in striving manfully to achieve the long overdue redemption of the Hellenes of Western Asia Minor, is but executing the policy conceived and inaugurated by Venizelos, it is perhaps not too quixotic to hope that, forgetting the past, they may find a basis for reconciliation in a united effort to safeguard the future of the nation.

W. A. Oldfather.

The New World of Islam. By Lothrop Stoddard, A.M., Ph.D. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. vii, 362. $3.00.)

Between journalism and history lies a debatable ground, having to do with the most recent or "current" events. The journalist stands on the field of time at that advancing line called the present which separates the partly known past from the wholly unknown future. His first concern, as new events are disclosed, is rapid recognition, approximate discernment, and tentative description. He is not held by his own conscience, or the demands of his readers, to the highest attainable measure of accuracy, perspective, and insight. The historian, on the other hand, is less concerned with promptness than with the desire to record reliably what has indubitably happened, and to interpret it with some measure of finality. Not long since he often scorned to deal with affairs of the latest quarter-century, on the ground that adequate materials could not in that time become available for constructing a narrative worthy to be called history. With more rapid publication of documents and reporting of facts (here he is greatly indebted to the journalist), and under the pressure of present-day demands for timeliness and practical service, the historian ventures progressively nearer to the present.

European countries have developed, and America is beginning to

produce, an intermediate group, the publicists, who might be described as historians of current events, or as historical journalists. They write carefully considered editorials, periodical articles, and books, in which they endeavor to interpret the most recent events. They are frequntly tempted by popular demand, the rewards of successful trials, and the excitement of watching the onrush of events, to essay another rôle, that of anticipating or "forecasting" the future. The American public welcomes the writings of the publicists, but is somewhat suspicious of them, partly because of possessing too little information and background to distinguish propagandists, sensation-mongers, and would-be prophets from serious and scientific writers, and partly beause it is pleasanter to assume that the world is settled and running smoothly than to give attention to the endless movements, machinations, intrigues, and readjustments which mingle with the elements of every complex of human activities.

Mr. Stoddard writes as a publicist who wishes to be as nearly as possible a historian. There is nothing in the present volume to bear out the charge which has been brought against some of his other writings of alarmist intentions. He keeps admirably to his own dictum: "All that we may wisely venture is to observe, describe, and analyze the various elements in the great transition" (p. 355); this summarizing of the present situation in the Islamic world as a "great transition" is clearly in harmony with the facts. He scrupulously avoids prediction, except of a very guarded and general character (pp. 156, 295, for example). He refrains from affirmations of certainty where none can be attained, as when he balances, sometimes by quoting contrary opinions, the questions of the moral right behind benevolently directed imperialism (p. 98), and of the present fitness of Asiatics for self-government (pp. 143 ff.).

The first quarter of the book is introductory, containing such a brief general sketch of Mohammedan history as is believed to be necessary in all books on the Near and Middle East. Mr. Stoddard handles this vividly and freshly, and proceeds to a somewhat more detailed account of Pan-Islamism, which he holds to have begun in its modern form with the Wahabi movement, and to sum up so wide a range of movements, political, religious, educational, missionary, etc., as to amount almost to a Mohammedan Renaissance. The thesis of the remainder of the book is to estimate the effect, up to the present moment, of western influence upon Islam. This is no simple task, involving many more or less self-conscious peoples, distributed from Morocco to India, ruled in various ways by native or alien governments, and moved toward evolution or revolution by several more or less separate groups of western influences. It would perhaps be too much to expect evenness of treatment. The political side is handled best, with especial examination of the nationalist movements in Persia, Turkey, Egypt, India, and Arabia. A number of leaders little known to the West are introduced,

with sketches of their lives and epitomes of their ideas: for example, Djemal-ed-Din el-Afghani (pp. 63 ff.) and Mustapha Kamel (pp. 179 ff., not Mustapha Kemal, who is also characterized, pp. 226 ff., and is confused with the former in the index); the discrimination of personalities and movements is in general clearly and effectively done. The chapters on economic and social change are less successful, consisting too much of insufficiently digested compilation and quotation, failing in completeness as surveys of all the Islamic countries, and showing too little organic connection with the main subject. Religious and cultural changes are not separately considered, but receive incidental attention. Pan-Turanism and Hindu nationalism are held to be so interwoven with Islam as to require a place in the book. Perhaps disproportionate space is given to the peculiar situation in India, where, under the small group of skilfully governing Englishmen, a numerous and proud Mohammedan community lives among thrice as many non-Moslems, also proud, and eager for a change in certain directions.

Mr. Stoddard's estimate of the historical rôle played by Turks and Mongols is at the lowest extreme: "Their object was not conquest for settlement, not even loot, but in great part a sheer satanic lust for blood and destruction" (p. 17); Léon Cahun sees more method in their madness. The description of Moslem conditions in the eighteenth century is perhaps too dark (pp. 25 ff.). It would be more accurate to say that the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 followed, than that it preceded, Persian action (p. 68). The reference to 32,000,000 deaths from famine in India during 1919 is not correct (p. 262). Mr. Stoddard is unsympathetic, as are Americans generally, with many of the methods of twentieth-century European imperialism in Asia. His analysis, in the last chapter, of the effect of Bolshevism upon Islam is clear and moderate. His style is often striking and effective, as when he speaks of "an East, torn by the conflict between new and old, facing a West riven with dissension and sick with its mad follies" (p. 129). The book is as a whole remarkably illuminating and reliable; nevertheless many of the facts related may be surprising to readers who have not followed closely the course of events in the Orient.

A map of the Old World is used to show the extreme limit attained by Moslem political rule, and within it the "solid Mohammedan population of the present day"; the latter phrase is not strictly accurate, since there is some admixture of Christians, Jews, etc., in much of the area so designated. Numerous footnotes contain brief explanations and a large number of bibliographical references. Judging from these, the material used has been mainly books and periodicals in English and French.

Albert Howe Lybyer.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Norse Discoverers of America: The Wineland Sagas. Translated and discussed by G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY, F.R.G.S. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. 304. 14s.)

SINCE Nansen's slashing attempt, in 1911, to rob the Vinland sagas of their historical reliability, four important works on the Norse voyages have appeared, none of which have shown any disposition to accept his chief contentions. These works are by Hovgaard (1914), Fossum (1918), Steensby (1918), and the volume under consideration. Only one of these investigators (Steensby, of Denmark) agrees with the Scandinavian scholars Storm and Jonsson that the Saga of Erik the Red is a more reliable record than the so-called Greenland narrative of the Flat Island Book. Fossum and Gathorne-Hardy believe with Hovgaard that "both accounts . . . may probably be considered as essentially historic and essentially of equal value". It must be admitted that these three open-minded investigators, without any pretensions to expertness in textual criticism, and relying largely on common sense, the contents of the sagas, and detailed knowledge concerning the north Atlantic lands and coast-lines, give the philologists a hard run; while Nansen, with a wealth of research in a dozen fields of learning involved in the Vinland controversy, is definitively vanquished. Gathorne-Hardy deftly contends, in his common-sense way, that "the successful colonization of Greenland is an historical fact, and its story is chronicled in precisely those sagas which are here under consideration with regard to Wineland". This general refutation is followed up by a detailed and comprehensive investigation, presented in such an eminently fair and reasonable spirit, that the critical reader is led to believe that the final verdict on the vexed questions of this controversy, where specialized knowledge in so many fields has been invoked, will be given by laymen.

So far as the essential historicity of the Vinland sagas is concerned, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, erudite in Old Norse historical lore, and with ample geographical knowledge, makes a distinctive contribution by piecing and dovetailing the two discordant sagas into one harmonious story—seemingly a hazardous process from the standpoint of the average scholar, but the result is effective and convincing. Nothing is lost to the reader, however, as the eliminated parts are gathered in an appendix, following the reconstructed story. Professor Hovgaard seems to have first suggested this dovetailing process, but Mr. Gathorne-Hardy has executed it without any suggestion from his predecessor.

Though the four authors cited above agree in being convinced of the historical accuracy of the Vinland sagas in their main features, they come to pronounced disagreement on the question of the landfall of the voyagers. Steensby (a professor of geography in the University

of Copenhagen) and Fossum (an American philologist) both contend for the lands on either side of the estuary of the St. Lawrence River, making very plausible arguments; while both Hovgaard and Gathorne-Hardy place the most southerly points reached within the boundaries of the United States, the former placing the ultimate point in Rhode Island, while the latter pushes on to the western end of Long Island and the mouth of the Hudson River.

This disagreement seems to indicate that the problem of establishing a landfall is unsolved and unsolvable. And Gathorne-Hardy, despite the detailed presentation of his argument, concedes in his introduction that "the geographical details can probably never be settled with absolute finality".

Apart from the question of the landfall, the volume in hand is a readable and convincing book on the actualities of the Vinland voyages. It has both an adequate bibliography and an excellent index.

JULIUS E. OLSON.

John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire 1767–1775. By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 208. $5.00.)

JOHN WENTWORTH, last royal governor of New Hampshire, represents the attractive New England gentleman of colonial days, well-born, well-bred, well-balanced, in that charming, somewhat aristocratic circle of well-to-do Portsmouth and Exeter families who lived large lives in small towns whose Main Street led to the open sea.

One is tempted to apply to this excellent biography what Wentworth, in his ponderous eighteenth-century style, wrote to Jeremy Belknap on returning the latter's manuscript of the first chapter of the *History of New Hampshire*: "Your care in the composition disappoints the ambition of critical examination, and gratifies the more pleasing candour of friendship. Both combine in justifying my declaration that I cannot suggest an amendment."

The manuscript and printed sources have been used with discrimination; and where the reviewer has been able to examine the originals, he finds himself much in the position of Wentworth toward Belknap, and therefore unable to follow the author's modest request in his disarming preface, that the reader "will give me the benefit of his keener perception if he finds that I have been misleading". In the discussion of Wentworth's relation with his opponents, his correspondence with President Wheelock, and his attitude on the eve of the American Revolution, the author reflects something of the governor's own poise and balance in his judgments of men and situations, his wise reserves where the evidence is incomplete, his open candor which makes one feel that there is nothing suppressed.

The chapter on the Church and the College is admirable in temper

and illuminating in treatment, and it was worth while to bring out frankly the governor's Anglican tendencies; but there was, on the whole, more of co-operation than of distrust between Wentworth and Wheelock. The Wheelock correspondence does not seem to bear out the conclusion of the chapter: "probably the President of Dartmouth College felt more relief than he would have liked to admit when the outbreak of the American Revolution put an end to the ecclesiastical manoeuvres of Governor Wentworth." More in accord with the correspondence and the facts seems the conclusion of Chase: "the most serious blow that the college suffered by the change was the loss of its powerful and disinterested friend, Governor Wentworth." (*History of Dartmouth College,* I. 318.) In the very document cited by the author, a careful comparison would show in the matter of the charter of Dartmouth College that the draft transmitted by Wheelock contained the notable provision for religious freedom, but that the final form issued by the governor added the wise provision that the majority of the trustees should be laymen—two notably liberal features in an eighteenth-century charter which not only redound to the credit of the broad-minded Congregationalist and Anglican, but also illustrate their felicitous co-operation.

Wentworth's own breadth and insight are shown in his sympathetic understanding of both the English and the American positions in 1775, and in his abiding loyalty, even after his exile and loss of property, to "New Hampshire my native country". Particularly winning is his letter reciprocating John Adams's expression of affection. "I always loved John Adams." "My classmate", he added, writing at the time of Adams's election as President, "is the most perfect choice that could mark the good sense and sound judgment of the United States."

It is a pleasure to read a biography which so felicitously reproduces the best qualities of its subject and glosses nothing over. Worth doing and well done, it is a real contribution not only to the history of New Hampshire but to the understanding of colonial life and the two sides of the Revolution. The beautifully reproduced illustrations, especially the Copley pastel of Wentworth the year he granted the Dartmouth charter and contracted one more romantic Wentworth marriage, and the Copley painting of his bride, married at seventeen, and at twenty-four a widow for only two weeks until she became the governor's wife; the wide margins and excellent press-work, worthy of the press of Wentworth's *alma mater*; the author's saving sense of humor and occasional epigram, all combine to make an attractive book savoring of the gracious style of Wentworth House in Wolfeborough or Government House in Halifax.

Herbert Darling Foster.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume I., August 29, 1774, to July 4, 1776. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1921. Pp. lxvi, 572. Paper, $5.00; cloth, $5.50.)

WHEN the undertaking of which this is the first volume is complete, we shall have in most convenient form full facilities for a study of the work of the Continental Congress. As the editor modestly says of the collection, it makes on the whole "a quite notable contribution to the knowledge of the proceedings of Congress", though there is no such "transforming body of information as will tend to upset established conceptions of the Revolution", or Congress's part in it. Nevertheless, the editing, which ranks with the best that American scholarship has done, affords the student immense resources for reference and cross-reference never before available. Every canon of good editing has been scrupulously followed, and so admirable is the preface which describes the process that no better text could be furnished to a student of editorial method. One great object of the editor in assembling and choosing the letters to be published has been to supplement the meagre record of the journal, to bring together "into one place whatever information touching the proceedings of Congress may have come down from those who took part in them". Dr. Burnett explains that only those letters, or parts thereof, are included "which add something to the record of Congress beyond what is set down in the Journals". Mere expressions of opinion unless spoken on the floor of the House, or showing the member's stand on a measure, have been excluded. All notes of debates have been brought into this collection except such as John Adams's notes which had been published in the appendixes of the Ford edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress.*

In addition, all fragmentary journals of proceedings, members' diaries, official letters, and private letters, which contribute facts of value have been included. In general, the editor has admitted only such letters as were written from the seat of Congress during a member's attendance there. A few exceptions are Galloway's reminiscent comments on the work of the first Congress, and the correspondence of Jefferson, McKean, and John Adams in their declining years relative to the Declaration of Independence.

From all these we may here glean new fragments of the story of what happened in that momentous assembly wherein there were no stenographers, no reporters, and wherein men were rarely proud enough of what they had said to have committed it to paper. A disappointing thing, as Dr. Burnett comments, is that "a large proportion of these letters come from the hands of a comparatively small number of members". Many members left behind no contribution to these pages.

Although there was an injunction of secrecy binding the members

not to reveal the proceedings of their conclave, there were many excuses for ignoring the order, of which an important one was the inclination of delegates to look upon themselves as ambassadors bound to reveal in confidence to the governors of their sovereign states all matters of consequence to them. Moreover, there was the natural human desire to confide to a wife or friend a dread secret which, of course, must go no further.

Regarding the collecting of the materials for this and the forthcoming volumes, the editor says that all historical and biographical publications wherein delegates' letters or papers might occur have been searched. Matter suited to these volumes was found more largely in print in the period before December, 1776, than thereafter. Beyond that date the editor was forced to rely much more on manuscript sources which he found in the archives of Washington, particularly the Library of Congress, and in the capitals of the original thirteen states, as well as in private and historical society collections of that section. There is a most useful survey in the preface of all the repositories from which these manuscripts were drawn. In fact it comes near being a complete summary of the repositories of archive material on the American Revolution. The new materials embraced in this first volume are letters of James Duane and Oliver Wolcott, and scattered letters from the Schuyler, Trumbull, and Bancroft papers.

The editor devotes several pages of his preface to a useful summary of the impressions made and the principal revelations of the letters in the present volume. Members of the early Congresses begin by writing of the great unanimity of the members, but soon they speak of it not as existing but as something to be attained if they are not to fail. The idea of independence growing at first slowly, then swiftly, and finally silencing all opposition is graphically shown here. The sectional motives that determined Washington's selection as commander-in-chief are clearly shown, and the insistence of each jealous province upon its proper proportion of high officers in the army. No right-minded reviewer can have any self-respect if he fails to offer some criticism, and the one blot on so perfect a scutcheon I find in Dr. Burnett's citation of Patrick Henry's assertion that he was no longer a Virginian but an American as proof that some were lifted "to a plane of idealism above sectional predilections and prejudices". When Henry said that he was only urging that Virginia be given more votes than the smaller states! The reviewer, though he has read several hundreds of the letters and checked up the editing at numerous points has found little to say in the review that is not said in the long and excellent preface, which in this case is not an obituary.

C. H. Van Tyne.

War Powers of the Executive in the United States. By CLARENCE A. BERDAHL, Ph.D., Instructor in Political Science, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois, Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IX., nos. 1 and 2.] (Urbana: the University. 1921. Pp. 296. $2.25.)

THIS study is a straightforward dissertation on the subject indicated by the title. Four general phases of the topic are considered, powers relating to the beginning of war, military powers in war time, civil powers in war time, and powers relating to the termination of war. Each of the divisions is again subdivided into chapters wherein separate aspects of the general phase are discussed; for example, military powers in time of war are treated under Power to Raise and Organize the Armed Forces, Powers of Command, Powers of Military Jurisdiction, and Powers of Military Government. The reader is assisted by a somewhat detailed table of contents, a good index, and a full bibliography of the materials used by the author, although it is a little surprising that there is no reference to Maclay's biting *Journal.*

While there has been little if anything new brought out in this account, a large portion of the available information upon this highly important matter has here been brought together and summarized in convenient form. Constitutional provisions, statutory law, custom, and numerous comments both of contemporary statesmen and writers on law and government are marshalled in almost encyclopedic array. The encyclopedic flavor is somewhat enhanced, moreover, by a style which is not exactly easy or inspiring, although it must be confessed that the subject is not one which conduces to fine writing. The author has confined himself pretty closely to the strict presentation of the facts as he found them, and has not often ventured to intrude his own opinions in his summaries. However, when considering the question of the President and the Senate in relation to the making of treaties concluding wars, he does venture to state that

it would seem that much of the recent criticism of President Wilson by Senator Lodge and his followers is unjustified, especially in so far as it is based on the relative constitutional position and powers of the Senate and the Executive in regard to the making of treaties. However overbearing and tactless the President may have been in his relations to the Senate, clearly he has at no time in his negotiation of the Treaty of Versailles exceeded the traditional view of his constitutional powers nor encroached on those of the Senate.

A slight criticism might be made of the author's too great reliance upon general histories and traditional views in laying his background for some of his legal points; for example President Madison is again made to purchase his re-election in 1812 by yielding to war clamor (p. 85), and von Holst's views of Polk are clearly visible when the Mexican war and its inception are discussed (p. 71, 86). Again, when

outlining some of the forces determining the election of 1916, perhaps too much stress has been laid upon the fact that Wilson "kept us out of war". These criticisms, however, are of matters which are subsidiary to the main purpose of the book. But, when the Senate's constitutional privilege to "advise and consent" to treaties is under consideration (p. 244) and there is found the statement that "President Polk in 1846 referred to the practice as 'eminently wise'", it would have been more satisfactory had it been brought out that Polk actually did seek the "previous advice" of the Senate before he submitted to that body for ratification the treaty with England regarding the Oregon country, even though this was not a treaty closing a war.

Opening a Highway to the Pacific, 1838–1846. By JAMES CHRISTY BELL, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XCVI., no. 1.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. 209. $2.25.)

THE author tells us in the preface:

> The present monograph has grown out of a wish for more light on one early phase of this expansion [to the Pacific]. . . . The pioneers opened a road across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast—the preface to territorial expansion—because they wished to realize the benefits from its geographical position in opening a new market for agricultural produce, and because they could not await but must have a hand in making their own destiny.

The above quotations give by far the clearest statement of purpose which the book affords, and the reader does well to keep this declared purpose clearly in mind as he reads.

The author departs widely from the method of exposition through narrative, traditional with writers of histories on the scale of this one. His is pronouncedly a monographic, "disquisitional" method. By this we do not mean that he fails to display a sufficient grasp on facts and incidents bearing on his theme. He has an abundance of these, but instead of causing them to stand up and tell their own story he, so to speak, makes them lie down while he explains what happened. This method always involves the temptation to subordinate facts to the discussion of their meaning, and it is to be feared the author has not always been able to resist that temptation. One of the outstanding merits of the book is the thoroughness of his search for the printed sources, and the author has used some unprinted material in addition.

As interpretation the book seems needlessly long and repetitious. The interpretation, in fact, is given practically in chapter IX., which is a review and restatement of what has gone before and is far clearer than the argument of the body of the book. Another partial restatement occurs in the appendix which follows chapter IX. And there is, in the main section of the book, much repetition of ideas and facts, and much "cutting and fitting" of facts to new turns in the discussion.

This last tendency is particularly disheartening to the reader. The author's statements have an inveterate habit of modifying themselves from chapter to chapter, and page to page, as the discussion proceeds on its easy, leisurely course.

On some points, however, he is very decided. He is convinced that the Lewis and Clark expedition was "almost negative as far as commercial exploitation and settlement were concerned" (p. 22), therein denying that the succession of American events following that expedition, the attempted exploitation of the upper Missouri trade from St. Louis, the Astor enterprise, and the restoration of Astoria, were related to it as effects to a cause, which is the usual view. He is clear that "the earliest effort made by any group of American citizens with material interests in the country west of the Rocky Mountains to terminate the joint occupation status of Oregon and determine upon a definite boundary, came from these St. Louis fur traders" [Rocky Mountain Fur Company]. In this he denies the facts brought out by Professor E. G. Bourne in regard to the Astor influence behind Floyd's efforts. He minimizes the significance of Floyd's pioneer agitation in Congress, charging that "the purpose of the move was probably to lend dignity to his opposition to John Q. Adams" (p. 64 n.), as if motive and result were in such a case interchangeable terms.

Students will be grateful to Mr. Bell for giving us a new interpretation of the beginnings of Pacific Coast history, and this gratitude would be all the greater if we could agree that the new interpretation is also a true interpretation in its general scope, as it assuredly is in some subordinate particulars. He has presented a perfectly sound view of the Rocky Mountain fur-trade; has shown with a clearness never before equalled how large a part the mountain trappers assumed in the emigration movement, and in chapter VI. (Agrarian Discontent) he has brought together a good many interesting historical facts not heretofore fully considered in determining the motives of the Oregon emigrants. But the present reviewer cannot convince himself, on the basis of that showing, that it was economically prudent for a few thousands to go to the Pacific at a time when many thousands were making shift to find suitable new homes along the older frontier; nor can he agree that the search for a new market probably constituted the dominant motive behind the Oregon movement. Of course the question is incapable of evidential solution. But it seems incongruous to assume that the Oregon emigrants had so reflected on the subject of world markets as to convince themselves of the inadequacy of existing markets for farm produce and the adequacy of the market on the Pacific.

The book is an attempt, not altogether successful as I think, to prove an hypothesis—that stated in the words quoted at the beginning of the review. But it is a well documented effort, it abounds in pene-

trating observations, and there is in it much that any student of western history needs to know. Some minor errors occur in the text, as is always the case; but these can be easily corrected.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Theodore Roosevelt and his Times: a Chronicle of the Progressive Movement. By HAROLD HOWLAND. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLVII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 289.)

Woodrow Wilson and the World War. By CHARLES SEYMOUR. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLVIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. ix, 382.)

It is the clear right of the public man to have his biography written by a friendly hand, and to be represented for posterity in a pose which he would himself regard as characteristic. His enemies will, of their own accord, do enough to portray the unattractive and unsuccessful aspects of his career. The barrage of political criticism and the smoke-screen of his rivals may well blur not only the philosophy of a useful life but also the actual attainments. Here the general historian has limitations; for the degree to which he understands Thomas Jefferson may measure inversely his appreciation of Alexander Hamilton—and similarly as to Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. There is distinct advantage in the method of Professor Allen Johnson who has chosen, as his chroniclers of the two outstanding personalities of our own day, writers well fitted each to understand his man. From the standpoint of the *Chronicles of America* the policy does not make for uniformity, for the biographers are somewhat contradictory, by inference or by statement. But as yet it is more practicable and more important to understand Wilson and Roosevelt, severally, than to reach a final judgment as to their relative places in the sun.

Mr. Harold Howland has known Colonel Roosevelt as a journalistic associate on the *Outlook,* and has followed his leadership as man and citizen. His chronicle of the times of Roosevelt devotes two-thirds of its pages to the period before 1909, and reduces the political administration of President Taft to the position of one of the episodes of the Roosevelt Era. Without being unfair or unfriendly to Taft, he makes clear the way in which the years 1909–1913 cover the transition from Roosevelt republicanism to the democracy of Wilson. He has caught the spirit of his subject. The real "T. R." whose brief and rugged letters were made personal for their recipients by the interpolated sentences that he so loved to add with his pen as he signed the daily grist, fills the pages. There is no evidence of special historical research. Most of the facts here given may be found easily in Roosevelt's collected writings. But here and there Mr. Howland, as an eye-witness, clarifies or expands the story as already known. Notably, in connection

with the appeal of the governors and the decision of Roosevelt to place his hat in the ring in 1912 (pp. 206–212), he shows how the scene was set and the formal act rehearsed. *"I believe I shall be broken in the using"*, said Roosevelt to his intimates as he made his choice.

Professor Seymour's companion volume is the effort of a trained professional historian who was brought into confidential and appreciative relations with his subject through his labors on the "House Inquiry", and his work as expert at Paris in 1918–1919. It is too exhaustively a chronicle of the World War to give a complete picture of Wilson as President; but it displays him as most of his admirers will like to see him. Half the book, roughly, is given over to the war in America; half to the fighting front and the peace negotiations. The estimate of Mr. Wilson's character is measured but friendly. "The summary disregard of Lansing, shown by Wilson at Paris, was less striking than the snubbing of Balfour by Lloyd George, or the cold brutality with which Clemenceau treated the other French delegates" (p. 13).

Frequently, in the things Professor Seymour does not say, and in the background of his careful statements, there can be perceived facts relating to the war that are not as yet fully revealed. The sentences devoted to General Pershing make one wish that the scheme of the *Chronicles* called for a study of the war, with Pershing as the central figure. The occasional references to the domestic history of the United States, 1913–1917, are made with less precision. One would like to know whether it is inference or evidence that warrants the statement that in 1916 "Hughes was ordered by his party managers not to offend foreign-born voters" (p. 91). We should fear for the personal safety of Professor Seymour in certain parts of Texas, for he has ventured to spell the name of that quaint statesman, the Hon. Jeff: McLemore, without the colon which McLemore trained the proof-readers of the *Congressional Record* never to omit (p. 59).

It is difficult to see how two volumes on these two themes could have been better adapted to what we understand to be the purpose of the *Chronicles*. They are enlightening, they are interesting, they are adequately provided with bibliographical aids, and they are beautifully made.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Woodrow Wilson and His Work. By WILLIAM E. DODD, Professor of American History in the University of Chicago. Fourth and revised edition. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xviii, 454. $2.50.)

IT is Professor Dodd's object to "set somewhat the form of future history" regarding the career of ex-President Wilson (Introduction, p. x). It may be surmised that he is in a measure the victim of his own qualifications for a task undertaken prematurely. A friend and

correspondent of the former President, hailing from the same section, and exhibiting much the same political and religious traditions, he has hardly been in a mood even to seek the common denominator to his theme and the prejudices he would enlighten (Introduction, p. xiv.); and the outcome is a volume which must frequently prove less an interpretation than an exacerbation.

This is not to say that the work has not considerable merits. Professor Dodd possesses an unexcelled knowledge of the political, social, and personal forces that have contributed to shape recent American history, while his acquaintance with earlier American history furnishes him at will the pat analogy to more modern instances; his writing, always good, is at times moving, as in his closing pages; and his aptitude for the irony of bald, unvarnished statement is worthy a Tacitus. His point of view, too, has all the attractiveness—perhaps specious—of sentimental radicalism. He would fain do, or have done, some very upsetting things, but he would like to feel all the while that he had the soundest traditions of the country at his back. He finds the "farmer ideals" of American democracy (p. 270) still relevant to our political and industrial problems, and he spells labor with a *u* as well as with a capital *L*.

The general temper of the volume is, nevertheless, unhappy. Too great resentment is shown at what are admitted to be the ordinary hazards of political life in the American democracy (p. 398); certain abstractions, like "militarism" and "industrialism", are made into veritable bogeys; the opposition to Wilson is by no chance credited with a worthy purpose or a moral conviction; and though he commends his hero for refusing to indict the German people, Mr. Dodd himself does not hesitate to indict sooner or later the greater portion of his own countrymen. Moreover, in the effort to portray Mr. Wilson as the preacher "of the doctrines of primitive Christianity" (p. 293) and the martyr to certain great political ideals, Professor Dodd seems almost to miss the real fibre of Wilson's achievement, his vaulting ambition, his audacity as a politician, his dexterity as a parliamentary leader, and, above all, his splendid imperturbability, despite his undoubted sensitiveness to accumulating criticism and hostility. Conversely, he frequently exaggerates the difficulties which confronted Mr. Wilson, especially at the outset of his presidency (see pp. 120–123). The importance of Mr. Bryan's preliminary rôle of a voice in the wilderness is duly appreciated, but not the smallest comprehension is manifested of Mr. Roosevelt's great services in demonstrating the political feasibility of liberalism, in recasting the presidency, in forcing a relaxation of constitutional limitations, and in opening communications between the government and the universities.

Furthermore, the volume contains numerous assertions or implications of fact which the well-informed reader will feel impelled to chal-

lenge, at least in the absence of further evidence. Especially would one like to know with what warrant Professor Dodd would foist upon Mr. Wilson a virtually socialistic programme (pp. 121, 241–242); also the authority for the explanation offered (p. 244) of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, and for the statement (p. 180) that Mr. Wilson "had become convinced" by August, 1915, "that he would be unable to keep out of the great war". The assertion that Mr. Wilson entered the White House "against the utmost protest of nearly all the wealthy" (p. 110) seems to overlook the list of contributors to the Democratic campaign fund in 1912; and the statement that the railroads favored the Panama tolls exemption (p. 117) defies the probabilities of the case. There was no necessary inconsistency in the attitude of those who demanded a firm assertion of American rights against both Germany and Great Britain (pp. 187, 208, 216), nor was the "reactionary East" more zealous for its rights against the latter than was the cotton-raising South. The plea in extenuation of Mr. Wilson's capitulation on the Adamson Act (p. 181) is refuted by current events; and the conjecture that he "surely felt the unworthiness" of the shibboleth "he kept us out of war" (p. 191) overlooks certain of his own words at Shadow Lawn, as does also the assertion (p. 208) that he "knew that he could not adequately resent the wrongs upon American lives . . . lest he set loose . . . the chaos of party rivalries and racial conflicts". The explanation of why General Wood was kept at home (p. 255) seems at least incomplete; and the designation of Secretary Baker's statement, in January, 1918, that "no army of similar size in the history of the world, has ever been raised, equipped and trained so quickly" as "strictly historical" (p. 259) ignores the fact that the army in question was at that date neither equipped in full nor more than partially trained. Some lesser corrections are the following: Mr. Bryan's peace plan was not a scheme for "universal arbitration" (p. 133); the Clayton Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act are distinct measures (p. 142); the Pope's peace proposal in August, 1917, was not "upon the basis then existing", but upon the *status quo ante* (p. 235); "Sir Herbert Asquith" is still plain Mr. Asquith (p. 305); the principle of "free ships make free goods" was not involved in the second of the Fourteen Points (p. 309); a constitutional amendment must be ratified by three-fourths, not two-thirds, of the states (p. 368). The reservations which Mr. Hughes and Mr. Root proposed to Article X. were not "minor" in Mr. Wilson's estimation (p. 396). There are also some notable omissions, as of any reference to Mr. McCombs's part in the Wilson campaign for the Democratic nomination, to the propagandist efforts of the Creel Committee in Italy preceding the President's visit to that country, to Colonel House's mission to Berlin early in 1915, to the Suffolk Pledge, to the Zimmermann note, to the possible reasons for the long delay between the breach in diplomatic relations with

Germany and the final declaration of war, and to the purely adventitious character of some, at least, of the support which the League of Nations received from the South.

In his Introduction (p. xiv) Professor Dodd asserts that "historians are partisans like the rest of mankind". Perhaps in result; yet surely not in intention. For otherwise who is to draw the line between truth and opinion? And that line is an important one in an era of H. G. Wellses.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

MINOR NOTICES

Gli Scienziati Italiani dall'Inizio del Medio Evo ai Nostri Giorni: Repertorio Biobibliografico. Diretto da Aldo Mieli. Volume I., part I. (Rome, Attilio Nardecchia, 1921, pp. viii, 235, 45 lire.) The present volume is the first installment of what may be described as a biographical dictionary of Italian scientists with especial attention to the bibliography of their writings and the literature concerning them. The period covered is from the beginning of the Middle Ages to our time, except that living scientists are not included. A supplementary volume is promised on scientists of classical antiquity who were born or lived in Italy. In the volume before us, of thirty-four scientists only one, Leonardo da Pisa, died before 1500, while five have passed away since 1900. It is hoped to continue the publication at the rate of a volume annually, which manifestly means that many years will pass before its completion. Professor Aldo Mieli, also editor of *Archivio di Storia della Scienza,* is assisted thus far by sixteen collaborators—all Italians—each of whom is responsible for the complete treatment of one or more of the scientists discussed. The book thus consists of thirty-four distinct discussions of as many men and their works, varying in length from two and one-half to twenty-three large double-columned pages. These discussions, as we are warned at the start, are arranged in no particular order, either alphabetical or chronological or of importance, reminding one of that ancient Italian scientist, Aelian of Praeneste in our third century, who, refusing to apologize for the utterly whimsical and haphazard order of his work *On the Nature of Animals,* remarked that it suited him, if it did not suit anyone else, and that he regarded a mixed-up order as more motley, variegated, and pleasing.

For each individual scientist there is a more regular method of treatment: first, a statement of the known facts of his life, then an estimate of the value of his scientific work, then a bibliography of writings by him and concerning him. Portraits and autograph letters are liberally introduced, and if the scientists are not always exactly handsome, their features are more regular than their handwriting in the case of the moderns, whose chirography evokes painful recollection of the sputtering steel pens in European libraries and hotels, and con-

trasts unfavorably with one specimen of a beautifully written letter of 1505. Apparently the art of penmanship has declined since the invention of printing.

In the competent bibliographies it is interesting to read the mere titles of books of science representative of the thought of several centuries, although the number of treatises turned out by these past scientists suggests a mass of material that may discourage the undertaking of a synthetic history of science. Some of the scientists here treated have been neglected by previous general histories of the sciences and medicine. On the other hand, some persons are now included who seem primarily philosophers and theologians rather than natural scientists. One also inclines to think that too many pages have been given to certain scientists as compared with others, but no doubt this was a difficult matter for the editor to regulate. On the whole, when completed and fully indexed, this should prove a very useful work of reference to students of the history of science.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

Arabian Medicine, being the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in November 1919 and November 1920. By Edward G. Browne, M.B., F.R.C.P., Sir Thomas Adams's Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1921, pp. viii, 138, 12s.) The title of this little volume is in the nature of the case more or less misleading, for, as the author points out, there was no medicine worthy of the name in Arabia before the Prophet, and very few native Arabs rose to eminence in science under the Caliphate, nearly all the writers of distinction being Jews, Syrians, or Persians. The medical literature is Arab only in a linguistic sense or in the looser usage which makes "Arabian" synonymous with "Islamic". It shows little originality, being "an eclectic synthesis of more ancient systems, chiefly Greek, but in a lesser degree Indian and old Persian, with a tincture of other exotic systems less easily to be identified". Historically, "Arabian" medicine is significant in the transmission of Greek medicine to medieval Europe, thereby preserving to modern times some material otherwise lost—like the seven books of Galen's *Anatomy*—and in the careful observations added from the practice of the great physicians of Islam. Four of these, Raban, Rhazes, Haly Abbas, and Avicenna, Dr. Browne analyzes briefly, but without adding notably to what may be found in the standard histories of medicine. The freshest material, and that of most interest to the general reader, is drawn from the anecdotes describing current medical practice and from the unpublished letters of Rashid, physician and premier at the Mongol court *ca.* 1300. Persian sources are especially utilized, including the information (p. 93) acquired at Teheran, that the majority of physicians sitting on the Persian Council of Public Health in 1887

"knew no medicine but that of Avicenna"! The discussion of love's malady in Avicenna would have gained point by utilizing Professor Lowe's brilliant study of Chaucer's "Lovere's Maladye of Hereos" (*Modern Philology*, XI. 491–546). The book is pleasantly written, and will interest others than professional students of the history of medicine.

C. H. H.

The First Crusade: the Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants. By August C. Krey, Associate Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (Princeton, University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1921, pp. viii, 299, $3.15.) This book is the extensive elaboration of a source-problem in medieval history, and as such should claim the attention of university teachers. It is apparently intended for use in a seminar made up of advanced students who lack the linguistic ability to use the sources in the original. Some scholars may doubt the wisdom of attempting to train students who labor under such a handicap, but if the seminar can be regarded as a phase of general education rather than a mere training school for would-be doctors of philosophy the usefulness of a book like this will be manifest. Indeed medievalists might well consider whether or not there are other topics which could be treated after the manner of this book.

The First Crusade is a subject well adapted to intensive study. It is a single topic, extensive but complete in itself. The sources are numerous and not only recount stirring events but also afford glimpses of eleventh-century conditions, reflect the spirit of the times, and give "the first fairly full description of European society since the fall of the Roman Empire in the West". For this study Professor Krey has translated fourteen letters from the crusaders, the complete texts of the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum* of Raymond of Aguilers, and numerous extracts from all the other principal sources. The book is arranged topically and the appropriate extracts from each source follow one another under each heading, so that the student finds the work of selection already done and can concentrate his attention on the problems in criticism presented by the different passages. In order that he may be more competent to judge, there is an introduction to the texts explaining who each of the chroniclers was, what the general importance of the various sources is, and providing such necessary information of medieval terminology as will enable a novice to study the text with intelligence. In addition there are informative notes placed at the end of the volume and four maps (unmentioned in the table of contents) inserted in the text. The translator has sought to preserve the crudeness of expression, the vivid realism, and the differences in style and manner of the originals.

Richard A. Newhall.

Chetham Miscellanies. New series, volume IV. Edited by G. A. Stocks, James Tait, Ernest Broxap, H. W. Clemensha, and A. A. Mumford. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, new series, volume LXXX.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1921, pp. 236.) The *Dunkenhalgh Deeds* (*ca.* 1200–1600), edited by Messrs. Stocks and Tait, occupy about one-half of the volume. They comprise those documents in the possession of Mr. G. E. A. Petre of Dunkenhalgh Hall which relate to the possessions of the family of Rishton located in Rishton, Church, Clayton, and Dunkenhalgh in the county of Lancashire. They are mainly deeds, but there are a few miscellaneous documents in the collection, such as records of arbitrations and of judicial proceedings. The documents supply copious information about the history of the Rishton family, which has been utilized by the editors in their introduction. They also contain much of interest to the local topographer and genealogist, and to the student of medieval agrarian systems. In this connection the editors advance the significant conclusion: "The details of land grants strongly support the view that Lancashire was outside the area in which one of two or three open fields, in all of which tenants had an equal share, was annually left fallow" (p. 3). The documents are edited in the form of a calendar with occasional verbatim citations.

The remainder of the volume contains four papers. Mr. Broxap edits extracts from the accounts of the churchwardens of Manchester between 1664 and 1710. They are primarily of local interest, although the accounts of expenditures yield some slight evidence of social and economic conditions. Mr. Clemesha describes the contents of the court-book of the manor of Bramhall (1632–1657), but he edits therefrom only two brief extracts. The record illustrates both legal and manorial history. Dr. Mumford edits some Latin verses and speeches composed by scholars of the Manchester Grammar School in 1640 and between 1750 and 1800. Conceivably the historian of education might utilize this material, but its chief value seems to be sentimental. Dr. Tait contributes some records of the portmoot of Salford found among the muniments of the duchy of Lancaster. They come from the sixteenth century, and they supplement the records of the same portmoot for a later period edited by Mr. Mandley in earlier volumes published by the Chetham Society. Their contents are similar to those found in medieval manorial court-rolls. The editor has translated into English those rolls which were written in Latin.

W. E. Lunt.

Calendar of Deeds and Documents [*in*] *the National Library of Wales.* Volume I. *The Coleman Deeds.* Compiled by Francis Green. (Aberystwyth, the Library, 1921, pp. xi, 466.) Mr. Ballinger.

the librarian of the National Library, writes in his preface: "This Volume . . . contains a Calendar of the Deeds relating to Wales purchased from the representatives of the late Mr. James Coleman." Neither he nor the editor vouchsafes any further information about the history of the documents. With few exceptions the documents are legal in character, and they relate mainly to the transfer of real estate. Deeds, mortgages, leases, bonds, wills, and marriage settlements are the most common, although judgments, inquisitions, coroners' inquests, pleas, trust agreements, and extracts from court rolls appear in considerable numbers. The documents range in date from 1361 to 1884. Only seven, however, were written before 1500, and comparatively few were issued after 1850. Many come respectively from the sixteenth century and from the first half of the nineteenth, but a large majority of them dates from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The *Calendar* will be of use principally to students of local history and genealogy. It contains thousands of names of persons and places, which the editor has preserved in their original forms. The present value of this material is impaired by the lack of an index, but a remedy of this defect is promised when the whole of a projected series of similar volumes has been completed. An index will make the book a notable addition also to the meagre materials available for the difficult task of locating Welsh place-names. The documents contain a small amount of information about agricultural arrangements and about some other economic aspects of the period, but several terriers, rentals, and inventories, which presumably would be the most valuable of the materials in this field, are among the few documents not summarized in the *Calendar*.

The documents appear to have been well edited. The summaries generally are comparatively full, and the selection of the material for inclusion in the *Calendar* seems to have been made with excellent judgment.

W. E. Lunt.

Une Institution d'Enseignement Supérieur sous l'Ancien Régime: l'Université de Louvain (1425–1797). Par Léon Van der Essen, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. (Brussels and Paris, Vromant and Company, 1921, pp. 156, 5 fr.) Dr. Van der Essen's little volume on the University of Louvain is divided into two sections, containing the history of the university from its foundation down to the sack of the city in August, 1914, by the Germans, and the organization of the faculties and the university colleges. In this latter part of the book, the author, who is a recognized authority in his field, has contributed a valuable addition to Rashdall's treatment of medieval student life. The description of the dress of the students, their games and pranks, the ineradicable practice of hazing the *bleus*, or freshmen, and the

gallant though unsuccessful attempt on the part of scholars like Bellarmine to limit the drinking bouts, are included in a picturesque chapter. "Les étudiants de Louvain buvaient ferme!", says the author, in referring to this prohibition movement of the early seventeenth century. The usual quarrels between gown and town—the Pettermans, as the students called the citizens of Louvain, and the hardy venture of the *noctivagi*—the night-prowlers—give a lighter touch to the tedious account of faculty conflicts or of difficulties between the city and the university—"puissance à puissance".

Greater interest centres around the first half of Dr. Van der Essen's volume, namely around the rise, growth, and decadence of the university during its five centuries of life. During the long period which has elapsed since its foundation (1425), the University of Louvain has been the victim of all the political struggles in continental Europe. Louvain's first age of grandeur came when Erasmus led the humanistic movement in the university. The age of Albert and Isabella saw the apogee of Louvain's glory. The famous visit of 1617, by the Archduke, is unique in university annals. Suppressed during the French Revolution (1797), the university was resurrected in 1835, and from that time down to the unspeakable tragedy of August, 1914, Louvain had waxed strong and had grown in numbers and in intellectual powers.

Dr. Van der Essen's volume is the first of a series entitled *Collectio Lovanium*. It is a marvel of cogent historical synthesis, and the best account of the university which has appeared in modern times.

P. Guilday.

A Political History of Modern Europe, from the Reformation to the Present Day. By Ferdinand Schevill, Ph.D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1921, new ed., pp. xiv, 663, $2.50.) This new edition of Professor Schevill's text-book is a reprint of all the chapters (except the last) which appeared in the original edition of 1907. As indicated at that time in this *Review* (XIII. 668), it is a very readable and readily assimilated outline of European history, suitable as a first text-book in good high-schools and even in elementary college courses. It is written in sprightly language and with imagination. It adheres closely to traditional political history, but is very successful in bringing out sharply the high points.

In the new edition the former final chapter has given way to a new one on the Character of European Civilization at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. It emphasizes successfully the progress of science and the scientific method, the Industrial Revolution and its consequences, and the growth of colonization and imperialism. Two other new chapters explain European Diplomatic Relations and the Outbreak of the Great War, and the War and the Peace. It is here

that the author is at his best. Though necessarily very brief, these chapters show skilfully how European imperialism was the underlying cause, and Russian mobilization the immediate occasion, of the world-wide conflagration. They rightly emphasize the crime and blunder of invading Belgium, the importance of sea-power, the idealism with which America went into the war, the greatness of President Wilson's work at Paris, and the crippling effect on European reconstruction of America's failure to back up her leader by entering the League of Nations.

S. B. F.

Cosimo I., Duke of Florence. By Cecily Booth. (Cambridge, University Press, 1921, pp. xv, 325, 25s.) The aim of this attractive but outrageously expensive biography of the first Grand Duke of Tuscany is "to let Cosimo speak for himself and vindicate his character", and, at the same time, "to avoid any appearance of partizanship". The author persistently warns us that Cosimo de' Medici has been long considered a cruel and hypocritical tyrant, with all the vices but none of the virtues of the earlier Medici. She thinks that "the time has passed for writing in the style of 1848, when the word prince connoted vice, and that of republic, virtue", and would persuade us that the previous history of Florence and of Siena had proved that a limit should be set to a "liberty" which was seldom peaceful and never just. She believes that Cosimo strove, more than any of his forbears, to work for the good of Tuscany, and in the end deserved well of his country. In chapter X., we find an enthusiastic but convincing summary of his success in restoring peace and prosperity to the grand duchy.

Miss Booth sustains her thesis with scholarly care and moderation. She has used little unpublished material, except the correspondence of Maria Salviati, Cosimo's mother; but there is probably little new matter available. Her use of the published sources is thorough, and her bibliography helpful. It is remarkable, however, that she uses for the Sienese campaign only Courteault's condensed biography of Monluc (*Un Cadet de Gascogne au Seizième Siècle,* 1909), and not his original, critical, two-volume study of 1908; and, stranger still, quotes the Monluc *Commentaires* from de Ruble's antiquated edition of 1861. She differs, by the way, from Courteault in her view of Cosimo's responsibility for the atrocity of the warfare waged by the besieging army before Siena, considering that Marignano probably "exceeded Cosimo's instructions in his cruelty to the unhappy peasants" (p. 143). Courteault insists, with good evidence, that Marignano was, on the contrary, urged to greater severity by Cosimo.

The book will be of considerable value; but the reviewer feels that the author has placed undue emphasis on the necessity of whitewashing Cosimo's character. Sismondi's rage against tyrants is largely forgot-

ten, and Armstrong, in the *Cambridge Modern History,* presents practically the same ideas as does Miss Booth. One finds it hard to understand why she has consistently used the spelling *concistory,* and why, in her otherwise excellent translation of letters, she is inconsistent in sometimes translating such un-English phrases as *Sua Signoria, Sua Maestà Cesarea,* etc., but in more often leaving them untranslated.

T. F. Jones.

Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums. Von Theodor Sippell, mit einem Vorwort von D. Friedrich Loofs. (Giessen, Alfred Töpelmann, 1920, pp. viii, 56.) Theodor Sippell, pastor in Schweinsberg (Hessen), is known for many minute and subtly discriminating studies in the English sects of the seventeenth century bearing on the origins of Continental pietism and English Quakerism. In the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* for 1913 Sippell found for Labadie a formative or contributory influence in the more mystical circles of the English Independents. In Heft 12 of the *Studien zur Geschichte des Neueren Protestantismus,* 1920, Sippell presents an investigation of great importance: *Zur Vorgeschichte des Quäkertums.* Apart from the effort here made to trace a connection between Luther and George Fox in the succession Grindeltonians, Seekers, Quakers, the student of New England history will find some illumination for the dark topic of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians. It is plain enough that Cotton and his admiring disciple had a different apprehension of religious experience from that which was characteristic of Calvinism, but the significance of the view of Cotton and Wheelwright has been obscured by the confused and inexpert utterances of Mrs. Hutchinson. Sippell provides meaning for the passage in Winthrop's *History* in regard to the prevention of undesired immigrants: "for it was very probable that they expected many of their opinion to come out of England from Mr. Brierly his church". This implied connection between the "Antinomians" and the Grindeltonians or followers of Roger Brerely helps to confirm inferences independently made by Sippell in his study of Brerely's sermons and the fifty Articles of Accusation against him, discovered by Sippell in the Bodleian Library. This study demonstrates that what differentiated Brerely and generated a new current in England was Brerely's adoption of Luther's version of religion unmodified by the Melanchthonian compromises. It is in this Lutheran piety of Brerely, confused by inconsistent Calvinist positions in the minds of his followers, that we have the genesis of the Antinomian Independents, and later of the Westmoreland Seekers who were recruits of George Fox.

To this monograph Professor Friedrich Loofs provides an introduction, and an appendix contains the Articles of Accusation from the Bodleian manuscript, as well as a theological poem by Brerely. It is on the basis of such detailed studies that the spiritual history of Protestantism will ultimately be written.

De Theologische Faculteit te Leiden in de 17de Eeuw. Door Dr. A. Eekhof, Buitengewoon Hoogleeraar te Leiden. (Utrecht, G. J. A. Ruys, 1921, pp. vii, 506.) The work of Dr. Eekhof contains 186 documents from the archives of the theological faculty of Leiden which concern the extra-mural relations of the faculty in the seventeenth century. To this collection is prefixed an historical sketch which serves to elucidate all these documents. Both the historical introduction and the documents are provided with minute and painstaking annotations, biographical and bibliographical, that make the publication of great value for any student conscientiously occupied with this period. Polyander, Walaeus, Rivetus, Thysius, Trigland, Spanheim, Heidanus, Cocceius, Hoornbeek, Wittichius, Hulsius—the world no longer cites these names or consults their erudite works or glimpses any personal characteristics that might reveal their private life; yet in their day they were men of mental power, solid learning, and voluminous production, and historical evolution used them as its vehicles.

The University of Leiden was founded in 1575 by William Prince of Orange, primarily as a Calvinist school. Netherlanders had resorted formerly to Louvain or Wittenberg, or after 1559 to Heidelberg and Geneva, but now Leiden could offer theological learning from men trained by Beza in Geneva. After the Synod of Dordrecht its eminent scholars drew students from England, Scotland, Italy, France, Poland, and Hungary. It was a characteristically Calvinist school, occupied, not as Lutheranism was, with the interest of soteriology, but with the mysteries of divine sovereignty as unfolded in the revealed scriptures; averse to all mystics or Anabaptist appeals to the inner word, resolving the Christ-in-us in the historical Christ; a school whose eminence was therefore greatest in the exegesis of Scripture, with more than usual assistance from a knowledge of Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic.

The documents show how commanding was the influence of these authoritative exponents of the Word of God. We see them as censors of literature. When Socinian works begin to circulate the magistrates ask advice of the theological faculty and receive so drastic a condemnation of the heresy that the books are ordered to be burned. But the documents show that the condemnation had to be several times repeated, and was ineffectual. It is interesting also to see how their judgment was sought in regard to controversies and church administration, and in particular for the decision of marriage questions. They enjoyed a dominance like that of the clergy in the early days of the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Dr. Eekhof's editing of this material indicates accomplished scholarship, and his historical sketch is well ordered and interesting. One criticism is, however, in order. He does not exhibit distinctly, in relation to the development of Protestant thought, the significance of

the federal theology of Cocceius and the Cartesianism of Heidan and Wittich. These innovations in theological method were the means of transition from Protestant scholasticism to new forms, by which an historical construction of the Bible and the eighteenth-century debate over Reason and Revelation were at least introduced. Dr. Eekhof might well have given us these perspectives.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

The Social and Industrial History of Scotland, from the Union to the Present Time. By James Mackinnon, M.A., Ph.D., D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh. (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1921, pp. viii, 298, 16s.) As another reminder that Scotland, in consenting to parliamentary union with England, did not altogether relinquish her identity, comes this compact but comprehensive book. It fills a gap in the literature of Scottish history, for it is the first general treatment of that history's social and industrial phases which gives careful attention to the last half-century. With the eighteenth century, indeed, less than a fourth of the volume has to do, because, although the second half of that period saw wide industrial and social revolution, it was given to the times that followed to witness "the rise of a new Scotland in which the old would have no little difficulty in recognizing itself".

The author's outlook is catholic. He has, however, his predilections. Naturally, as one who finds recreation chiefly in gardening and golf, he appears keenly interested in technique; he enjoys picturing clearly any significant process, whether the mining of coal, the action of a screw-propeller, the making of linoleum or of books, or the cleansing of a city. He pays more attention to such matters than to details of organization and management. The story's human interest is enhanced by sketches of the careers of epoch-making or epoch-marking men, especially inventors, authors, artists, preachers. The author reveals his opinions without apology, be it in proclaiming Carlyle's *Machtpolitik* unwholesome, condemning a continuance of war-time animosity towards Germany, championing the church-union movement, voicing pride at the record of the Clyde shipyards, or admitting shame at the evils of overcrowding and drunkenness. He shows himself a true Scot, in stating that though the use of meat had become common among farm servants by the end of the last century it was "at the expense, however, of the decrease in the use of oatmeal, which is greatly to be deplored". Acknowledging the fundamental importance of industrial and commercial growth as conditioning factors in Scotland's recent development, he avoids, nevertheless, giving them disproportionate emphasis. Education, for example, receives as much attention as agriculture; literature and journalism as much as the mining, iron, and steel industries. With a reminder that "ecclesiastical contention and theo-

logical discussion have entered very deeply into Scottish social life", more space is allotted to religious life than to the rise and extension of railways. One might wish that the author had seen fit to do a little more generalizing than could be done in the three pages devoted to that purpose; the book as it stands is a collection of rather detached topical studies. Yet altogether, for a work so compact with detail, it is eminently human and readable. Presswork of the usual high Edinburgh standard makes the volume a delight to handle. Used with college classes this book should correct the common undergraduate notion that Scotland socially and industrially is merely an appanage of England.

REGINALD G. TROTTER.

Tropical Holland: an Essay on the Birth, Growth, and Development of Popular Government in an Oriental Possession. By H. A. van Coenen Torchiana. (Chicago, University Press, 1921, pp. xiv, 317, $2.50.) The Netherlands East Indies might well appear upon the American map as "India Ignota". During the war when it became fashionable to talk about the great future before us in dealing with foreign countries, a vague attempt was made to interest our younger business men in the Dutch East Indies. For almost three years the Suez Canal was closed to neutral vessels, and trade between the Netherlands and the East Indian colonies used a new but circuitous route which followed the general line of Rotterdam, New York, San Francisco, Honolulu, Batavia. Our immigration officials encouraged the entente cordiale between these valuable colonies and ourselves by manhandling those Hollanders who happened to have been born in the tropics and by treating them as "colored people" although they were as white as the best Irishman who ever handled a shillelagh. Some of those peaceful travellers were administrators of territories which in mere size compared favorably with several of our states. Others were high in the councils of the almighty oil-companies. And the treatment, as recent developments in the oil-field have shown, was not entirely appreciated. As for the new trade-route it was discontinued the moment the Armistice whistles ceased to blow. The Panama Canal was deserted for the famous desert ditch between Suez and Port Said, and the existence of the populous islands of the distant Indies was forgotten.

Perhaps the disarmament discussions will make our people more familiar with the musical names of Java and Sumatra and the Moluccas and Banda and Banka and Borneo. The inevitable Japanese have found their way to the possessions of the Netherlands and the Dutch government is welcoming the general unpopularity of these foreign wanderers as a godsend. Dutch papers show the natives what would become of them were they to forsake allegiance to Holland. The Japanese is the bogey-man whose grinning menace keeps many a movement for

Indian self-government within bounds. Of these movements, of the aspirations of the native and the indolent inability of his leaders, Mr. Torchiana speaks with sound understanding. He wastes no sympathy upon the stock-conservative who "knows the natives, my dear Sir, knows them better than they know themselves", and who insists that all ideas of self-government are so much bolshevik nonsense. Neither does he praise the ubiquitous sentimentalist who loves whatever is brown, slightly-brown, or pure black because the people of that hue "have such beautiful souls". He shows that salvation lies on the very narrow and difficult path between the two extremes and he gives an adequate description of the historical background which is responsible for the anomalous condition of a colonial empire of fifty million people which is peacefully administered by a mere handful of civil administrators and fewer soldiers than are counted among the legionaries of New York's chief of police.

The book is hardly what the Swiss call a "hochwissenschaftliche Arbeit". It makes no such pretence. It is an excellent compilation and the sort of little book which saves you hours of irritating and puttering labor when you must know something connected with tropical Holland, when the *Britannica*, as usual, leaves your curiosity unsatisfied, and when you are in despair to discover just when Raffles was governor-general and when the abominable "Cultuur Stelsel" was abolished.

H. W. v. L.

William Bolts, a Dutch Adventurer under John Company. By N. L. Hallward, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1920, pp. viii, 210, 15s.) This is the remarkable story of a Dutchman in the service of the English East India Company "who by private trade accumulated a fortune of £90,000 in six years, who, single-handed, defied for two years the civil and military authorities in Bengal, and who ruined an ex-Governor (Verelst) by litigation, and revenged himself on the Company for his forcible deportation, first by publishing a bitter attack on their administration in Bengal, and afterwards by establishing rival factors in the East Indies under the protection of the Imperial Austrian Government".

The book is not a narrative but a series of episodes occurring in Bengal following Clive's victory in 1757. The episodes reveal the Company's relations to its factors, their unscrupulous disregard of the Company's interests, their devotion to their own private trade, their intrigues with the agents of other countries, their arrogant threats against the native rulers in the name of the English government, and above all their exasperating oppression of the natives through the absurd claim to participation in the inland trade, consisting largely of salt, betel-nut, and tobacco, without payment of duties, while insisting that the natives were subject to such duties. The latter claim was the direct cause of the Patna massacre in 1763, as Governor Van Sittart, who honestly,

though undiplomatically, opposed the private trade interests of the members of the Council, shows more clearly in his published correspondence.

The circumstances of Bolt's deportation to England raised a number of questions concerning the legal status in India of factors who had been dismissed from the Company's service. Indeed the book illustrates exceptionally well the endless variety of questions and disputes which enabled the Company's officials, practically irresponsible, gradually to encroach on the sovereignty of the native rulers.

The book is by no means as valuable as a well-rounded account of this period in Indian history would be, but it contains interesting illustrations for such a history.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

D'Ulm à Iéna: Correspondance inédite du Chevalier de Gentz avec Francis James Jackson, Ministre de la Grande-Bretagne à Berlin, 1804–1806. Par Commandant M.-H. Weil. (Paris, Payot et Cie., 1921, pp. 336, 18 fr.) Few men were possessed so completely as was Friedrich Gentz with the *cacoethes scribendi.* His active mind had an innate affinity with ink. The contemporary French Revolution and Napoleon, to both of which he was hostile, and the old order and Metternich to both of which he was attached, were large and engaging subjects for his active brain and ready pen. A bibliography of his writings and of material about him published fifteen years ago fills almost seventy pages of the *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung.* Much has appeared since. Evidently the end is not in sight, for Commandant Weil has discovered in the Record Office a packet of letters not hitherto used. M. Weil is a veteran forager in archives. For this discovery, he has all the enthusiasm imparted by a discovery. The letters are by Gentz. They are addressed to Jackson, the English ambassador in Berlin. They fall within the years 1803–1806. They have not been published, therefore they are important and should be published.

The abundance of material from and about Gentz enables one to ask sharply, do these letters add anything to our knowledge about Gentz and the period? The frank answer is that the contribution is small and relatively unimportant. Jackson scarcely took the trouble to answer the letters, and tried to silence the irrepressible Gentz. Gentz was unabashed. He was bound to keep open all avenues of information and persistent in stimulating every influence against Napoleon and against the Austrian ministers who paid Gentz four thousand florins a year. Furthermore, he was anxious to the point of distress, at the possibility of losing the stipend paid him by the British ministry. He could not be suppressed.

There is interest in the letters on the confusion and despair after Mack's surrender at Ulm and after the allies' defeat at Austerlitz. The letter in which Gentz depicts what he thinks Haugwitz, the Prus-

sian negotiator, would do when face to face with Napoleon, is so uncannily correct that you might surmise Gentz, writing in professed ignorance three weeks after the events, was making a great impression on Jackson on the basis of information received, perhaps, through Hoym, the governor of Silesia. Gentz's early estimate of Metternich as the coming man is made clearer by these letters.

Many of the letters are expansions of covering notes to accompany the stream of memoirs to be transmitted to London. These memoirs are not here published. The most important are probably in print, although the editor does not identify them. His contribution is chiefly in the identification, by long and unnecessary foot-notes, of persons mentioned in the letters. Ninety pages of appendices are used to the same purpose. Thus a book is made out of material that a discriminating editor could have brought within the compass of a contribution to an historical magazine.

G. S. Ford.

Twenty Years: Being a Study in the Development of the Party System between 1815 and 1835. By Cyril Alington, Head Master of Eton. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. 207.) The exact scope of this essay is not easily defined. The anticipation of the reviewer that it would be a disquisition on the party system was no less happily disappointed than his fear that it might be a chronicle of political events of the conventional type. The leaders of the parties constitute the main consideration rather than the parties themselves. Sketches of their personalities, written with rapid strokes of a facile pen, and judgments of their statesmanship, given with mature and thoughtful deliberation, are strung upon a slender thread of political narrative, sufficient to provide the unity necessary for readers whose acquaintance with the period is slight, but not so long as to burden those who possess greater knowledge of this aspect of the subject.

The value of the contribution does not rest primarily upon the presentation of new facts. The author's modest disclaimer of original research, to be sure, must be taken with some qualification, for while he does not cite his authorities systematically, his text gives evidence of acquaintance with many contemporary memoirs, letters, and diaries; but it is true that he has neither discovered material hitherto unexplored nor attempted such a thorough investigation of all available evidence as might produce a great positive addition to our knowledge. The book, nevertheless, fills a place of importance in the historical literature dealing with the period. This place is so happily designated by the author, that nothing better can be done than to quote his words (p. 9):

. . . first impressions honestly recorded, have a value distinct from

those arrived at by long thought and study. A rapid survey may be inaccurate but it has a unity of its own, and laborious historians may fail to

recapture
The first fine careless rapture

with which they have once believed themselves to appreciate the true meaning of a period or the true character of a statesman.

This statement of his purpose is an accurate measure of his accomplishment with regard to the personalities of the statesmen of the period. Since Walpole characterized them from his Whig viewpoint so many studies of individual statesmen have been made, that it is high time for a new standard of measurement. This it is, which Mr. Alington gives us.

The treatment accorded the subject is such that it is difficult to imagine the type of reader, be he historical student or politician, serious-minded reformer or literary dilettante, who would not derive both pleasure and profit from the perusal of the volume. The narrative is enlivened by the author's keen sense of humor, finding outlet sometimes in his own epigrammatic expression and sometimes in the quotation of the pointed and pithy sayings of contemporaries. The author's selection of the latter material displays a penetrating judgment of historical values and his application of it a particularly happy appreciation of literary values. His kindliness, however, removes the sting which such a style generally carries with it. In all men he sees the bad but emphasizes the good. The strongest partizan must admit the tolerance of his judgments, while the historical student is likely, I think, to be impressed with the soundness of them.

W. E. Lunt.

Queen Victoria. By Lytton Strachey. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1921, pp. iii, 434, 17s. 6d.) It is not easy to assign a place or a value to this book. To judge it as a source of information would be useless, because it is nearly devoid of substance. To test it with canons of historical method would be ungraciously to point out that it follows none. Yet there is about the book such an undeniable attitude, such an uncommon presentation, that one is tempted to call it simply "Mr. Strachey's Victoria"; and to trust that the initiated will grasp the implication.

Mr. Strachey has really succeeded in turning "Victoria" into something that resembles a light opera. Here is comedy in plenty, pathos, satire, irony; at the end, too, a tepid recessional likely to satisfy the scruples of his audience—though perhaps not of Mr. Strachey himself—with a solemn note of altered measure at the passing of the great queen. For Mr. Strachey rather creates the impression of being, self-consciously, the most amused spectator of his own composition, only readjusting his features slightly at the funereal moment of fare-

well. His biography is not so much a gauge of character as a subtle display of incident and circumstance. He skims dexterously over a surface of anecdote and idiosyncrasy, gathering up the trivial and the familiar as he hurries along, never pausing once to fathom.

The general reader relishing entertainment at the expense of royalty assuredly will adopt Mr. Strachey's "Victoria" as his very own. He will be amused at the class of story that pictures Victoria stamping her foot in vexation at the Prince Consort; or pounding in vain at "Albert's" door demanding admittance because she is "Queen of England"; or at the description of Victoria in later life sentimentally plucking primroses to send to Disraeli in return for the thick and fulsome flattery of that "old comedian". In such a field an anecdotist finds abundant scope. Mr. Strachey has kept his field rather unduly restricted, however; perhaps because he confined the preparation of his volume to a minimum of reading effort. Grouping together his anecdotal material, with a few exceptions it is apparent that it comes in part from the journals, letters, and diary of the queen, with the *Life* of the Prince Consort and the inevitable Creevey, Stockmar, and Greville; in part from the lives of the Victorian prime ministers: in other words from only the current publications on the Victorian era to be found in any small private library. We are limited then to two sets of views of the queen: one, that is often too private and familiar; another, that is often merely ceremonious and official. Between the two extremes the real queen scarcely emerges.

When the character of the queen—as distinct from Victoria's incidental career—is made the subject of study, it were better done by a writer temperamentally more in sympathy than Mr. Strachey with the Victorian era, and less prone to look askance at its moral tempests. The trivial side of its great personages belies their force and depth. Mr. Strachey's biography is essentially an essay in Victorian trivialities —as refreshing to the student as it is captivating to the general reader— but, after all, only refreshing.

C. E. Fryer.

British Policy and Opinion during the Franco-Prussian War. By Dora Neill Raymond, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. C., no. 1.] (New York and London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921, pp. 435, $4.50.) Two brief chapters of this study are devoted to a survey of Britain's relations with France and Prussia, 1860–1870, and of the political situation in France during the first six months of 1870. The author then traces the negotiations and events of the momentous July days and discusses with a considerable amount of detail the attitude of the British government and of the public to the war and the various problems connected therewith. Among the topics treated with special care might be

mentioned Britain's efforts to safeguard Belgian neutrality by reinsurance treaties and to prevent the spreading of the conflict by creating a league of neutrals; the gradual veering of public sympathy in favor of France; the reception accorded to the Third Republic and the German Empire; the attitude toward France's efforts at enlisting aid or securing mediation by a friendly power; Russia's abrogation of the Black Sea clause in the Treaty of 1856 and the London Conference, 1871; Germany's peace terms and the Treaty of Frankfort.

The book is based chiefly on material from British newspapers and periodicals. Journals representing different social and political views have been examined with great care. Biographies, memoirs, and reminiscences of men and women active and prominent at this time have been used, but the list of these is not exhausted. It is hardly advisable to present even a brief survey of Britain's foreign relations during the sixties without consulting the lives of Palmerston, Russell, and Clarendon. Important omissions are noted also for the period covered by the main part of the study. The memoirs of Lord Cranbrook and Henry Reeve; Selborne, *Memorials*; Argyll, *Autobiography*; the lives of Goschen, Lord Houghton, J. A. Roebuck, and Shaftesbury, among others, contain bits of information that shed light on both policy and opinion. Use has been made of Hansard and the blue books, but one searches in vain for the most important French and German sources on the war and its origin.

Dr. Raymond reveals successfully British opinion during eventful months. Excerpts, skillfully chosen from a variety of sources, admirable summaries, and interesting episodes are knit together in a continuous story. As a study in policy the book has less value. It is too fragmentary on this topic. Nor is it clear that the author appreciates the tasks faced by Gladstone's great ministry.

Numerous foot-notes, a bibliography, and a good index make the book very serviceable. Several errors, some of which are doubtless due to careless proof-reading, have been noted. S. Low and L. C. Sanders are the authors of vol. XII. of *The Political History of England,* edited by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole. The numbers for foot-notes on page 233 are hopelessly confused, and we have Gray for Grey (page 31, note 3); Morley for Fitzmaurice (page 269, note 2). It has also been found impossible to trace many of the references to the *British Parliamentary Papers.* Such references should be made to year and volume of the blue books and the page of the "command paper".

PAUL KNAPLUND.

Histoire de la Troisième République. Par Lieutenant-Colonel Émile Simond, de l'Armée Territoriale. Tome I., *Présidence de M. Carnot, 1887–1894.* Tome II., *Présidence de M. Casimir-Périer; Présidence de M. Félix Faure, 1894–1896.* Tome III., *Présidence de M. Félix Faure, 1897–1899.* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle et Cie., 1913, 1921, pp.

470, 355, 444; 22.75 fr.) The first of these three volumes, covering the years 1887 to 1894, was published in 1913. At that time the intent of the author appears to have been that ultimately it would become the fifth in a six-volume series on the history of the Third Republic from 1870 to 1899. Then something, presumably the war, led to long delay and a change of plan. Instead of going back to 1870, the author decided to go on to 1919. Volumes II. and III., which have just appeared, carry the narrative on to 1899. Four more volumes, covering the period from 1899 to 1919, are announced for future publication.

About two-thirds of the space is devoted to a sort of general chronicle of public affairs, the remainder to a number of special chapters dealing with colonial, military, and naval matters. The chronicle portion consists of short sections, ranging from three or four lines to several pages. Each section gives a rather arid and colorless account of some event which attracted considerable attention at the moment of its occurrence. The arrangement is strictly chronological. Little in the way of explanation or interpretation is attempted. Each section stands so completely apart that if the reader is to get any general narrative he must construct it for himself. For the French who lived through the years covered by this chronicle it may serve to call to mind in concise and convenient form what they read in the newspapers at the time and as a useful statement of the bare facts about occurrences of a few years ago. But those who are not already rather well informed on the subject will get little assistance toward an understanding of the history of the Third Republic.

The special chapters include two upon the army from 1887 to 1899, and one upon the navy from 1871 to 1899. They consist almost exclusively of statistics and administrative details, useful perhaps for reference, but not illuminating. The chapters on colonial matters are distinctly the best feature of the entire history. Colonel Simond believes strongly in the value of the French colonial empire. In spite of the inclusion of more geographical details than readers can readily assimilate, his accounts of the hardships endured and courage displayed by French explorers in Africa are stirring narratives. The story of the French conflicts with the natives in West Africa, especially with Samory and his followers, is told almost equally well. His description of the difficulties overcome in the conquest of Madagascar is remarkably vivid.

Except on colonial affairs, Colonel Simond does not often disclose his own opinion about the matters he relates. In general he occupies a middle position and is somewhat disposed to be severe toward the parliamentary régime, owing to its frequent changes of ministry and its manner of handling the budget. Wherever a question of conflict between civil and military authorities arises his sympathies are with the army.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Collected Papers, Historical, Literary, Travel, and Miscellaneous. By Sir Adolphus William Ward, Litt.D., Hon.LL.D., Master of Peterhouse. In four volumes. Volumes I. and II., *Historical.* (Cambridge, University Press, 1921, pp. xi, 407, 397; 48s.) The Cambridge University Press has done a graceful and fitting thing in republishing the essays and reviews that have come from the pen of the learned Master of Peterhouse. It is a just tribute to one whose erudition has contributed so much to various phases of literary and political history.

These two volumes include the *Splitter* and *Spöne* from the political history workshop. There are thirty-seven of them in all. Ten are reprints of essays or lectures and the rest are reviews which have appeared chiefly in the *Saturday Review,* Manchester *Guardian,* and *English Historical Review.* In point of time the latter range from the fourth edition of Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* in 1873, which in an additional chapter took notice of the new German Empire, to Lord's *Second Partition of Poland,* published in 1916. They are as varied in interest as Finlay's *History of Greece,* Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms,* the *Songs of the Thirty Years' War,* Gardiner's *Reign of Charles I.,* Gentz's *Letters,* Hertslet's *Map of Europe by Treaty,* and Hohenlohe's *Memoirs.* Most of them are related to the history of Germany, especially the minor states and the seventeenth century. They are (except the forty-two pages on Gardiner) essentially brief essays, which summarized for the readers of the *Spectator* or *Guardian* in an independent and discriminating way the contributions of scholars to whose works the intelligent reader might not have access. How much they gave or presupposed of a factual character is indicated by a twenty-three-page double-column index of proper names.

Of the essays, the most familiar is that which opens the volume edited by Kirkpatrick as *Lectures on the History of the Nineteenth Century* (1904). The historian of the development of the idea of a league of nations will find interesting suggestions as he compares this with the opening essay on the Peace of Europe written in 1873 and again with Professor Ward's little pamphlet in the *Helps for Students of History* published by the S.P.C.K. in 1920. There will not be many better examples available of the development, in an intelligent mind, during the last half-century, of a significant idea.

The most extensive essay is the hundred pages devoted to the decline of Prussia under Frederick William II. (1786–1797.) It is the only treatment of this reign, of any length, available in English. Written in 1891 it leans heavily on Philippson and Sybel but despite attacks on the former they are good supports. The essay—like others—is sturdily left without reference to any literature since its preparation. While it is wholly political in content it is unsympathetic and therefore essentially unpolitical in interpretation.

In the reviews of the historical literature of the Thirty Years' War and of the lesser German states, especially Hanover, Dr. Ward

is most at home. Even the specialist will be glad to have available what he wrote about books for the readers of enlightened popular periodicals, and his own interpretations of Elizabeth of Bohemia, the effects of the Thirty Years' War, and Leibnitz as a politician.

Le Maréchal Lyautey: le Soldat, l'Écrivain, le Politique. Par Amédée Britsch. [Les Cahiers de la Victoire.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 265, 6.75 fr.) This little biography may at first seem superficial and thus easily be underrated. The author admits that he has little acquaintance with the lands in which the marshal won his fame. The work is frankly eulogistic and depends largely upon personal impressions received through contact with the subject, supported by letters and other works of Marshal Lyautey and some magazine articles about him, yet it does accomplish the chief purpose of the author: "instruire le lecteur de l'oeuvre coloniale et faire rendre justice à ses ouvriers".

The reader can get more of value from the book than if its faults were less transparent. It vindicates the French army and the colonial wars. Marshal Lyautey is shown as a wise administrator as well as an able general. Quotations from his letters reveal him more as a soldier and statesman than as a writer. Probably the achievement for which he will be best known in history will be the preservation of Morocco to France during the World War. He sent nearly all his French soldiers back to help France, and when ordered to retire to the coast towns he stayed where he was with his handful of French and his African troops, kept up French prestige, and lost no ground. The result was that Morocco did not have to be reconquered. We read with interest of the cabinet crisis at Paris in which he, as minister of war, appears as a soldier and administrator but not as a politician. The book gives the impression that Marshal Lyautey will loom up still greater from the perspective of the future than from the standpoint of the present.

The book is well and sympathetically written. It contains considerable information in regard to French expansion in Morocco and the political atmosphere there. There are two maps, an autograph of the marshal, and one or two portraits. There is no index, but there is a bibliography of works published by, or relating to, Marshal Lyautey.

A. I. A.

The Economics of Communism, with special reference to Russia's Experiment. By Leo Pasvolsky. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. xvi, 312, $2.25.) Russia has been so abundantly described and explained since 1917—sufficiently to make almost any country misunderstood—that a new book upon it might expect a dubious welcome. But Mr. Pasvolski has entered a rather new territory in that

broad field; or rather, he has explored it in a different way. He has written a criticism of communism as an economic theory, based upon its application in Russia. He has performed his task in an unexciting but convincing manner, with abundant citation of facts to support each statement and conclusion. He does not argue, but records and analyzes. His style might be better—it is too abstract, and his points sometimes lack clear definition for that reason—but it takes him to his goal.

The book contains two parts. In the first the soviet economic system is described under chapters dealing respectively with nationalized production, co-operative distribution, and the agrarian scheme. In the second part the results actually attained in each of these fields are stated and discussed. All the data given are from official Bolshevist sources.

Mr. Pasvolski is unusually well qualified to deal with the theme which he has treated. He was born in Russia and knows the country and its language. Though he has not been there since the Revolution, he has had access to some of the best collections of Bolshevist newspapers, reports, and documents outside of the Soviet Republic. He has also been in touch with eye-witnesses of events and conditions in Russia. His sympathies are not Bolshevist; but his bias against communism is well controlled, and his book is thoroughly judicial in spirit as well as statement.

Russia has been much more thoroughly studied as an economic clinic by Europeans than by Americans. More than two years ago the Osteuropa-Institut in Breslau published a carefully edited volume upon *Russisches Wirtschaftsleben seit der Herrschaft der Bolschewiki.* It was high time that we had such a study in the United States.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919. Par René Brunet, Professeur de Droit Constitutionnel à la Faculté de Droit de Caen. Préface par Joseph Barthélemy, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de Paris. (Paris, Payot et Cie., 1921, pp. xviii, 364, 18 fr.) The author of this book has distinct qualifications for his task. He is an exceptionally promising representative of the younger school of French constitutional lawyers; he writes with characteristic French lucidity; and he has had several years of experience as judicial counsellor to the French embassy at Berlin. Accordingly he has been able to produce the most exhaustive, dispassionate, and generally learned exposition of the German republican constitution which has come from any non-German writer; and it may be added that no German discussion of the subject with which the reviewer is familiar is equally satisfactory, at all events for non-German students.

Save incidentally, the constitutional history of Germany prior to 1918 is not touched; ten pages suffice to bring the author to the collapse of the imperial régime. It would have been better to devote a

fair amount of space to an account of tendencies toward ministerial responsibility and other salient phenomena before 1914, and especially to a description of movements for political reform in the period 1915–1918; the historically-minded reader would very properly like much more background for the establishment of the socialist republic than is supplied. Being a constitutional lawyer, however, and not a historian, Professor Brunet has preferred to enter almost immediately upon his task of analysis and exposition. Perhaps he has felt that German constitutional development, down to 1915 at all events, has already been adequately treated—as indeed it has been—in *Les Institutions Politiques de l'Allemagne Contemporaine* by Professor Joseph Barthélemy, who contributes a preface to the present volume. At any rate, after a twenty-page account of the framing and adoption of the new constitution, all that follows is concerned with the basis and character of the republican system: the position of the states; the principle of democracy and its various applications; the machinery of government; the rights and duties of citizens; and the extraordinary economic and social provisions which give the constitution its principal distinction.

On the whole, Professor Brunet thinks well of the constitution as a document, and not badly of the new governmental system, considering the peculiar conditions under which it arose and must operate. He, however, rarely praises or condemns; and when questions about the constitution's durability and probable lines of development arise he entirely refuses to be drawn into the rôle of a prophet. Even in purely constitutional matters he is exceedingly cautious, as, for example, when, after presenting the arguments on the question whether the present German system is federal or unitary, he dismisses the whole matter by saying that, since the place of the states in the union is fully defined in the constitution, the question of federalism is academic and not worth discussing. In this instance, and in some others, a more positive conclusion would be welcome.

FREDERIC A. OGG.

Historical Source Book. By Hutton Webster, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Nebraska. (Boston, New York, Chicago, D. C. Heath and Company, 1920, pp. iv, 211, $1.60.) Mr. Webster states, in the preface to this volume, that his purpose is to exhibit to high-school students "the historical development in England and America, and later on the Continent, of orderly, constitutional, and democratic government. . . . Second, . . . to trace the growth of international law and international relations". For these purposes thirty-three documents are given, all but Magna Charta and the Confirmation of Charters of 1297 dating from the last three centuries.

With the use of about two-thirds of his material, Mr. Webster attains his first aim with distinct success. The connection between suc-

cessive documents is not often close, yet as a whole, they give an orderly exposition of the growth of democratic ideals. The strictly chronological arrangement leaves an interesting impression of close relationship between Western Europe and America.

The second objective is, in the nature of things, more difficult to reach and the limitations of space are more keenly felt. The documents selected are indeed of great significance in the history of international relations, but they seem too few, too occasional, to trace the many slow and often hesitant steps in the development of international law.

The editor's prefatory paragraphs are excellent in giving briefly the reason for being of each document and its later importance. The index, though not extensive, is consistent.

S. F.

Guia Histórica y Descriptiva del Archivo General de Simancas. [By Don Juan Montero, archivist in charge.] (Madrid, *Revista de Archivos,* Olózaga 1, 1920, pp. 245.) In 1916 the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* began to publish, in sections supplementary to its successive issues, a series of guides to the chief Spanish archives. That relating to the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid was published first (pp. 128); the guide to the archive at Simancas, prepared by its accomplished chief, has now been completed; in the case of the Archive of the Indies at Seville a catalogue (list of *legajos*) is being printed as supplementary matter in the successive numbers of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas.* Señor Montero's volume for Simancas contains some 50 pages of history and general description of the archive, 160 pages of detailed description of the various sections, an appendix of official documents, and excellent illustrations (15 plates in all). The latter show well the picturesque and interesting character of the old castle in which, not greatly to the credit of Spanish administrative method, these wonderfully rich old archives are still permitted to remain—for, as one who has recently visited Simancas can testify, present conditions of life in that forlorn village are no better than those described by previous visitors, from Bergenroth to Biaudet. Señor Montero's description, proceeding section by section, and almost *legajo* by *legajo,* is scholarly and clear, and his book will henceforth be the indispensable manual of all investigators. Especially will it be needed on account of the consolidation and renumbering of the *legajos* in the section called "Estado". Yet it has no index, and, though in fulness of information it far surpasses the existing guide published by Díaz Sánchez in 1885, the latter's lists have so perspicuous an arrangement that his book will still have some utility, and not be wholly superseded. Of descriptions of the place by foreigners (who can speak more freely than Don Juan might choose to do), Biaudet's, in the *Annales* of the Finnish Academy, remains the best.

J. F. J.

The Builders of a Nation: a History of the Pilgrim Fathers. By Frank Grenville Beardsley, Ph.D., S.T.D. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1921, pp. 56, $2.50.) A book such as this could hardly have found a publisher in any year but 1920 or 1921. Roland G. Usher's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* filled more than adequately the long-felt want for a sound and readable history of the Plymouth Colony. Only new material, or a fresh interpretation, could excuse another presentation of this threadbare subject. Dr. Beardsley gives us neither. His style is undistinguished; his viewpoint, precisely what one would expect from the pastor of the First Congregational Church of Aurora, Illinois. Foot-notes, bibliography, and indeed all critical apparatus are lacking. In his preface, to be sure, the author refers to a dozen standard authorities (not including Usher) by surname, and mentions recently discovered "documents and writings hitherto unknown" which he has used; but from these, whatever they may be, little juice has been extracted. The economic aspects of the colony are barely touched upon. Minor but interesting controversies, such as the actions of Captain Jones, the religion of Miles Standish, the exact force of the Compact, and the history of the *Mayflower,* are passed by. The Bay Colony and the expansion of New England are dragged in as a sort of epilogue, giving the altogether misleading impression that the Plymouth Pilgrims provided the foundation-stones of New England and of the United States. In short, it is an honest but feeble performance on a great though hackneyed theme.

One merit let us recognize; in his extensive quotations from Bradford and other contemporaries, the author has spelled out their contractions and modernized their spelling. Until this be done for the whole, or the greater part of Bradford's *History,* that matchless chronicle of colonization will remain inaccessible to the average reader. At present, beside an atrociously Bowdlerized version by an English editor, our only editions of Bradford reproduce so much of the original's phonetic spelling and manuscript abbreviations, as to repel the unscholarly public.

S. E. M.

Voyage of the Sonora in the Second Bucareli Expedition. By Don Francisco Antonio Mourelle. Translated by the Hon. Daines Barrington, with notes by Thomas C. Russell. (San Francisco, privately printed, 1920, pp. xii, 120.) This is a reprint *de luxe* of a rare and useful volume, together with maps, notes, and an index which have been added by the editor and printer, Mr. Russell. It is directed primarily to the wealthy bibliophile, in an edition of two hundred and thirty copies, but is nevertheless of value to scholars.

The body of the book is the diary of Mourelle, a pilot on the *Sonora* in the Spanish expedition of 1775 to the northwest coast of North America. A copy of the diary came into the possession of

Daines Barrington, who published a translation (London, 1781) in Barrington's *Miscellanies*. This is reproduced, line for line and page for page, together with Barrington's footnotes.

The voyage of the *Sonora* was one episode in perhaps the most important series of expeditions that the Spaniards ever sent to Alta California and the northwest coast. They succeeded in placing the formerly precarious Spanish establishments of Alta California on a permanent basis, thus averting an abandonment that might have operated against the eventual American acquisition of the province. The object of the *Sonora,* in company with the *Santiago,* its consort, was to explore the coasts north of the Spanish settlements and enquire into the supposed activities of rival powers.

Obviously, the official diary of a prominent figure like Mourelle is material of value. Still more worth while, though clearly not suited to Mr. Russell's special purpose, would have been an edition of the original Spanish, contemporary copies of which are to be found in Mexico City and Seville, besides the transcript existing in the Bancroft Library, where Mr. Russell did much of his work. Some criticism may be made of his evident failure to consult this copy in preparing his own notes. It is to be regretted, too, that Mr. Russell could not see his way clear to run off a cheaper edition which would in fact be more available to scholars than the present work is likely to be.

Nevertheless, there is much to commend in the book as it stands. The editor's notes, while not always abreast of the latest findings, were evidently prepared with care. Exceptional pains were taken in proof-reading and printing. For once, we have a book with accents where they belong. There is a good, topical index. Decidedly, the work is worth while, and a credit to its editor and publisher.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls. By Charles Mason Dow, LL.D. In two volumes. (Albany, the State, 1921, pp. xvi, 689, 690–1423.) The late Charles M. Dow of Jamestown, N. Y., was very much interested in Niagara Falls and for sixteen years was a member of the Reservation Commission. His interest led him to compile this work, which is a bibliography and anthology of the falls, perhaps the most visited spot in America. As a whole the work is a very satisfactory compilation for the general reader and average public library, for it contains much rare and interesting material and it is conveniently arranged. It is divided into twelve chapters giving accounts of travellers, historical and reminiscent material, natural history and science, music, poetry and fiction, maps and pictures, industrial Niagara, preservation of the falls, and "the open road, guides, railroads, canals, and bridges". When selections

are not given at length, comment is made as to the character of the account.

The accounts are most interesting, from simple statements like Champlain's to affected accounts like James Dixon's (p. 241) and Lady Stuart Wortley's (p. 246), and studied descriptions by famous travellers and literary people, such as Dickens, Alfred Wallace, Sir Edwin Arnold, Howells, Margaret Fuller, Harriet Martineau, N. P. Willis, and Hawthorne. The daring of Blondin and the accounts of escapes are thrilling.

When one turns to the work not as a casual reader, but as a student and investigator, the work is not so satisfactory. It was done largely by compilers and their historical sense was frequently defective. There are many omissions. There is nothing on aboriginal Niagara. The early French period is quite weak: for instance, Champlain's works are referred to only in modern reprint editions; only three early editions of Hennepin (of about thirty) are given; Champlain's map of 1613, the earliest, is omitted, and 1632 is given as the first; Joliet's map of 1672 is not mentioned, and of the three maps of 1674 only one is cited; of Hennepin's fifteen early editions only two are mentioned; twenty-one maps of the period of discoveries are likewise omitted. The alphabetical list of authors only makes it difficult to find items in the text. For instance, LaSalle, the discoverer, is not mentioned, such subjects as "recession" and "bridges" cannot be located, and such inequalities appear as four references for the scholarly work of Dr. Frank H. Severance, and seventy-two for a newspaper correspondent.

Mr. Dow in his introduction explicitly disclaimed completeness in selections and editions. With this in mind and with the contribution which has been made to the resources of the average library and individual, perhaps the scholar will forgive the omissions.

AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER.

The Life of Artemas Ward, the First Commander-in-Chief of the American Revolution. By Charles Martyn. (New York, Artemas Ward, 1921, pp. xiii, 334.) Few things are more difficult than to see the events of the past as they appeared at the time. We know the leaders who proved their ability and we assume unconsciously that the same information was at hand when it would have been most useful. This truth must be constantly remembered when we read Charles Martyn's biography of Artemas Ward, for in the mind of both author and publisher the first commander-in-chief of the Revolution has not been given the place in history which he deserves and their purpose is to assure him that position. There has been a careful examination of Ward manuscripts and secondary material wherever found, resulting in much additional information on disputed points.

The biography opens with a description of Ward's youth and his training in the enforcement of law when justice of the peace. His services in the French War are outlined as furnishing the education in arms for the future Massachusetts general. An account of the beginnings of the Revolution in New England follows, in which the importance of the villages in maintaining the sentiment for independence, in spite of the reluctance of many of the larger towns, is emphasized. Ward, representing the country, united with Samuel Adams of Boston, and a revolutionary government was established.

About eighty pages of the biography are devoted to this introduction. Nearly three times as many describe Ward's active service against the British in Boston, 1775–1776, and these are the vital pages of the volume. In them the author seeks to present the able commander to whom the first successes of the Revolution were due and he believes it unfair to give the credit for this New England victory to subordinate generals. He considers that political policy rather than superior military ability dictated the appointment of Washington as commander-in-chief by the Continental Congress, for no earlier training or proved capacity justified it. Ward was hurt and it was doubly unfortunate that Washington should have obtained his first impressions of his predecessor from James Warren, the chief among Ward's detractors, and that the British victory at New York served to discredit the new leader. It is useless to follow these controversies, but the grievance continued for years, as has the discussion of the Boston campaign.

After serving eight months under the new commander, Ward retired for a time from army life because of illness. The circumstances of his resumption of command in the Eastern Department and the difficulties of his work under constant fear of attack by the British are explained, and the merits of his activity in Massachusetts during Shays's Rebellion are shown. The monograph closes with a careful description of Ward's work in Congress, on the whole as a supporter of Washington's policies, and a brief summary of his last years at home. The volume is a useful biography, well illustrated, with abundant foot-notes, and its contents are well indexed.

Charles H. Lincoln.

The Greatest American, Alexander Hamilton. An Historical Analysis of his Life and Works, together with a Symposium of Opinions by Distinguished Americans. By Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. xx, 353, $2.50.) Mr. Vanderberg, holding with enthusiasm the belief that Hamilton was the greatest American, has conceived a laudable desire to promote appreciation of him among American readers. His method of doing this has been, first, to address inquiries to a multitude of conspicuous persons, asking their opinions as to who was the greatest American, and

to publish the results. Some of the answers have a certain value, but most are profitless. Then the author prints an amateurish survey of Hamilton's life and qualities, couched in the language of conventional eulogy. It is doubtful if the end he had in view would not have been better achieved by somehow promoting a more extensive reading of the best of the existing biographies.

Trailmakers of the Northwest. By Paul Leland Haworth. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1921, pp. viii, 277, $2.50.) Mr. Haworth's volume owes its origin to his personal enthusiasm and to his keen interest in the achievements of the men who explored the Canadian Northwest. In the preface the author says, "For many years I have been an eager reader of the literature of the subject, and repeatedly I have myself made expeditions to the dwindling regions that yet remain unexplored. The present book is the outcome of this reading and of these first-hand experiences." A large part of the volume is taken up with a narrative of the expeditions of leading explorers from Henry Hudson to Captain Roald Amundsen, one of whom sought, and the other achieved, the famous Northwest Passage. There are chapters, among others, devoted to Pierre Radisson, De la Vérendrye, Alexander Mackenzie, Alexander Henry, and Sir John Franklin. Another chapter deals with later travellers and explorers of the Canadian Northwest, and here Mr. Haworth describes his own expedition into an unexplored region lying between the Peace and Liard Rivers. Except when recounting his own experiences, the author relies for his material almost entirely upon the diaries, journals, and memoirs of the explorers themselves and he has quoted very freely from these narratives. An effort has been made, not only to tell the story of the exploration of the Northwest, but also to picture conditions in the great region of ice and snow. Some of the most interesting chapters of the book describe the habits of the beaver, methods of travel in the fur country, Indian life, and the "brotherhood of trappers and prospectors", and the author has drawn largely from his own wealth of experience for the descriptive material and anecdote which fill these pages. The volume may perhaps be criticised as lacking in unity but in passing judgment the author's limited purpose must be borne in mind. It is also true that it makes no definite contribution to our knowledge of the history of American discovery and exploration and will therefore appeal to the general reader rather than to the special student, who has long been familiar with the sources from which Mr. Haworth has drawn. The volume is absorbingly interesting, however, and leaves one with a vivid impression of the cold and hunger and privation endured by the trailmakers of the Northwest. There are a number of good illustrations together with a map and a bibliography of some of the more important original narratives of northwestern exploration. Undoubtedly the volume will have served

its most useful purpose if it awakens in the reader a desire to seek these original narratives for himself.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634–1860. By James M. Wright, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Georgetown College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. XCVII., no. 3.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921, pp. 362, $4.00.) From the presence of so many thousands of free negroes in ante-bellum times in the small state of Maryland one might surmise that their group must have attained separate organization there and a considerable measure of distinctiveness. That this was not so, is explained in this monograph's conclusion, which is a philosophical analysis of the free negro's status as a part of the "nether crust of the social body" in which the whites exercised control. "He had become such as he was, not because he was strong but because he was weak, because what was outstanding in him either served well the white man's purposes or failed to give offence that led to its suppression" (p. 335). The free negroes were "passive denizens", and the larger the proportion of them in a community the more unobtrusive must they be in order to procure toleration. In Baltimore, accordingly, there appears to have been less salience of individuals than in Charleston or New Orleans; while in rural Maryland, as elsewhere in the South, the free negro element was a self-effacing appendage to a régime shaped for the employment of slaves.

In the body of the monograph new light is thrown upon the precariousness of the freedom of negroes who had been manumitted by masters whose estates were afterward found to be encumbered with debt, and also upon the indenturing of free negro children; and of course the Maryland promotion of the Liberian project is enlarged upon. But for the most part the successive chapters are heavily buttressed elaborations of humdrum themes. The style of these chapters seems needlessly dull; for even if there were no picturesque figures among the Maryland free negroes, surely in the thousands of documents which the author has cited there must have been many more vivid passages than the few which he has quoted. Yet the conclusion lifts the book out of the class of the commonplace, for its substance is new, sound, and vital.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

A History of Lewis County, West Virginia. By Edward Conrad Smith, A.M. (Weston, West Virginia, the Author, 1920, pp. 427.) In its history, West Virginia is a typical American state and Lewis is a typical West Virginia county. A history of this county should therefore be both of local interest and of value to the student of gen-

eral American history. Mr. Smith has successfully measured up to this opportunity, for it is just such a work that he has produced. He gives, of course, a good many details that are of interest to the people of this county only, but he also devotes considerable space to a discussion of those events and movements in which not only Lewis County but the country as a whole participated. He discusses pioneer life, describing the manners and customs of the people and detailing their thrilling experiences with the Indians; the inconveniences resulting from the lack of facilities for transportation and the changed conditions that came with the development of roads and railroads; the bitter strife that preceded and followed the secession of Virginia from the Union and the secession of West Virginia from Virginia; and finally the industrial revolution that came to Lewis County as the result of the construction of railroads and the exploitation of the mineral resources of that section. In treating these topics he has made a wise selection of materials and has presented the results of his studies in a clear and easy style.

The author does not indicate by foot-notes or otherwise the sources from which he gets his facts, except that he gives an occasional quotation from the documents. His failure to do so was probably due to the fear that cumbersome foot-notes would detract from the popularity of his book as a local history. If, however, he had made some concessions to the convenience of historical students he would have greatly increased its value as a work of scholarship without hazarding its popularity with his local *clientèle*.

O. P. Chitwood.

The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South. By Broadus Mitchell, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, series XXXIX., no. 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1921, pp. viii, 281, $2.50.) This is an informing book in readable English. The first chapter contains an excellent delineation of the spirit of the old South and shows the blighting effects of slavery and slave methods of growing cotton on manufacturing development. Later chapters tell of the beginnings of the cotton mills, and their early vicissitudes. There was in the South leadership of sufficient intelligence even though at that time untrained, to make use of natural resources of climate and labor and to inaugurate the present splendid development of the cotton industry.

Early leaders like Gregg and Hammett are freely quoted, newspaper files are drawn upon and much valuable information relative to the spirit and ideas of the times is given. Most of the quotations are from the Carolinas, and too little attention is paid to textile developments elsewhere. However, since the same motives and conditions prevailed generally over the South the picture drawn for the Carolinas is essentially correct for the entire section.

The chapters covering the relation of labor and capital to the mills are particularly well done. The quotations are almost too numerous and at times leave one in doubt as to the author's own interpretations of the views presented. Men like Tompkins are too much quoted. Tompkins was a prolific writer but not a safe guide as an engineer or a prophet. It is to be regretted that the views of engineers like Lockwood, Makepeace, Sheldon, and Greene are not put forth. The activities of the New England mill engineers are not sufficiently recognized but the part played by commission houses and machinery houses is lucidly outlined.

The book states that New England cotton manufacturers never sought to realize Southern advantages in a large way. The author must have overlooked such great mills as those owned by the Dwight Manufacturing Co. at Alabama City or by the Massachusetts Mills at Lindale, as well as many others equally important. On page 270, 10,000 spindles is given as an economical size for a mill. This is the practice for small yarn mills such as those near Gastonia, but the average for mills in South Carolina is much larger. Probably from 50,000 to 100,000 spindles would be considered the most economical unit by most Southern manufacturers.

On the whole, the book is excellent, not only for the historian but also for the cotton manufacturer.

A History of the Constitution of Minnesota, with the first verified Text. By William Anderson, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, in collaboration with Albert J. Lobb, Ph.B., LL.B., Comptroller of the University. [Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, Social Science Series, no. 15.] (Minneapolis, the University, 1921, pp. vii, 323, $1.75.)

Journal, Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875, with an Historical Introduction by Isidor Loeb, Ph.D., LL.B., and a Biographical Account by Floyd C. Shoemaker, A.M. In two volumes. (Columbia, State Historical Society, 1920, pp. 509, 515–954.) Professor Anderson has prepared a clear and scholarly history of the constitution of Minnesota. Minnesota is the one state having experience with a bicameral constitutional convention. Democratic and Republican members elected to frame the constitution of 1857 met separately in two conventions, but finally united upon a single document for submission to the people. The full account of the relationships of these two bodies is of great interest and value. One criticism of this book is that it confines itself too closely to the textual history of the constitution, once that instrument was framed. The author does not altogether neglect other factors, and makes frequent reference to judicial decisions, but his chapter on amendments to the constitution would have been more interesting to the reviewer had it commented upon the experience of Minnesota with five-sixths verdicts in civil cases (p. 157), and with the

plan of expressly subjecting the enactment of special laws to judicial control (p. 170). In his comments upon "due process of law" the author does not seem to have in mind the broad judicial construction of that constitutional guarantee (p. 160).

One defect, perhaps to some extent necessary in a work upon the constitutional history of a single state, is that the author does not bring out sharply the more important tendencies of constitutional development in Minnesota and their relationship to developments throughout the country since 1857. What the author gives us is good, but more of comparative discussion would have been helpful.

Students of state constitutional history will be pleased with the publication of the *Journal* of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875. This is one of the important conventions for which neither journals nor debates were previously available. As published, the *Journal* makes an attractive appearance. The biographical account preceding the text will naturally be of interest chiefly to residents of Missouri; but students of state constitutional history throughout the country will welcome the clear though brief introduction by Professor Loeb on Constitutions and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri.

Publications such as the two here under review will serve as material aids to the preparation of a comprehensive history of state constitutional development. Such a history, when written, must take full account not only of the forces which determine what constitutions shall contain, but also of those which determine how they shall operate and be construed.

WALTER F. DODD.

ERRATUM

In the review of Hogan's *Ireland in the European System* (XXVI. 768, third paragraph, line 8), "material accessible in French" should read, material accessible in *print*.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The printers' strike, which delayed publication of our July number until the beginning of October, had also the effect of delaying the issue of the October number till the middle of November, but it is hoped that the present number will be published within a few days after the first of January.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Before this number of the *Review* reaches its readers, the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the American Historical Association will have taken place at St. Louis, on December 28, 29, and 30. The presidential address by Mr. Jusserand, on the Rearing of Ambassadors, will be printed in the next number of the *Review,* which will also contain the usual article descriptive of the sessions and papers. The programme is an unusually attractive one. The nominating committee has nominated for president Professor Haskins, now first vice-president; for first vice-president, Professor Cheyney, now second vice-president; for second vice-president, Hon. Woodrow Wilson; and for nominating committee for the next year, Professors William E. Dodd, Henry E. Bourne, William E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, and William L. Westermann.

PERSONAL

We note with great regret the death, on October 8, at the age of sixty-one, of Mr. Edward Porritt, for many years a valued contributor to this journal. An English journalist, with long experience of the gallery of the House of Commons, he devoted years of labor to the preparation of his classical work on *The Unreformed House of Commons* (London and New York, 1903), a book of the highest merit. He had already, in 1892, established himself in America, as correspondent of several of the great English newspapers, and lived in Hartford, occupying much of his time, however, with further studies of English political history and of that of Canada. He was held in high and deserved esteem by a wide circle of friends.

Early in November, 1921, Professor Oscar Montelius, president of the Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, died in Stockholm at the age of 77. One of the foremost of archaeologists, he was especially noted as an authority in the field of Scandinavian antiquities. He also took an active part in advancing international co-operation in the world of science, and was for a long time a chief officer in the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Dr. Samuel E. Morison, of Harvard University, has been appointed

to the chair of American history in the University of Oxford founded by Lord Rothermere.

Mr. Charles M. Knapp of Syracuse University has been promoted to an assistant professorship in history and government in that university.

Professor William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, has leave of absence from February through the remainder of the year, and expects to spend that period mostly in London.

As a step toward securing fuller co-operation of Ohio colleges and universities in the promotion of graduate studies at the Ohio State University, Professor Henry E. Bourne, of Western Reserve University, has been appointed a member of the graduate council of that institution for the present year, and during the second half of the year will conduct a seminar in the economic history of the French Revolution.

In our July number we announced that Dr. P. V. B. Jones had been made an assistant professor in the University of Illinois, but we should have said that he had been promoted to an associate professorship. Dr. Rexford Newcomb, formerly assistant professor of architectural history in the same university, has been promoted to a full professorship. Professor Albert H. Lybyer has leave of absence during the present academic year, and is spending it in Cambridge.

Capt. Edward L. Beach, U. S. N. retired, till lately superintendent of the Mare Island Navy Yard, has been appointed lecturer in naval history in Stanford University for the present academic year.

Professor Waldemar C. Westergaard, of Pomona College, has leave of absence, beginning in February, for a year and a half, which he intends to spend in study in London and in northern Europe.

GENERAL

General reviews: P. Lauer, *Sciences Auxiliaires de l'Histoire: Paléographie, Diplomatique, Bibliographie, divers, 1912–1920* (Revue Historique, July); A. Brackmann, *Literatur zur Kirchlichen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 2).

The October number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by Henry W. Lawrence, jr., entitled the Jolly Puritan, and one by Professor R. W. Kelsey on German Views of War Responsibility. Articles in the November number are: American History in Westminster Abbey, by Mary Dudderidge, the Panama Canal and Recent World Politics, by G. V. Price, and the Lecture Method: an Indictment, by Miss Mary W. Williams. Those in the December number are: Italy and Albanian Independence, by R. J. Sontag, and History for History's Sake, by H. C. Hill.

The October number of *History* contains the two discourses read by the Right Hon. Herbert Fisher, minister of education, at the open-

ing of the Institute of Historical Research last July, and at the opening of the Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History; a body of remarks on the study of legal records, made at one of the sessions of the latter body, by Sir Frederick Pollock, Dr. W. S. Holdsworth, and Mr. W. C. Bolland; an interesting article entitled Illustrations of Medieval Commercial Morality, by Mr. A. S. Walker; and the first part of a lecture on London and its Records, by Miss E. Jeffries Davis.

Mr. H. G. Wells's *Outline of History,* which formed the subject of an article in the July issue of this journal, has been published by the Macmillan Company in a single volume at a greatly reduced price (pp. xxi, 1171; $5.00). This third or "educational" edition, "revised and rearranged by the author", is substantially the same as the second edition in two volumes. The revision has consisted chiefly in the elimination of a great many of the foot-notes (over fifty per cent. in the first thirty chapters), especially foot-notes of a discursive or controversial character; in the reduction of certain chapters or sections to the status of paragraphs; and in occasional slight modifications of the text, such changes sometimes taking the place of suppressed foot-notes, sometimes being made, so it is to be assumed from the abridged introduction, upon the suggestions of correspondents.

On February 22, 1921, the École des Chartes of Paris celebrated its centenary. Probably no other single organization has had so widespread an influence upon the development of medieval historical studies in the nineteenth century. The centennial has been marked by the publication of a *Livre du Centenaire de l'École des Chartes,* in which M. Maurice Prou, the present director of the school, has written a full account of its history.

Students resorting to Great Britain for historical or other study should be notified that it is for their interest to make use of the facilities for securing information and guidance which are generously afforded by the American University Union, British Branch, at 50 Russell Square, London, and that they should resort early to that institution and make their plans and desires known to its director, Dr. George E. MacLean, formerly president of the University of Iowa. Historical students coming to London will also do well to seek relations with the Institute of Historical Reasearch in Malet Street (see pp. 58–60, above).

H. Berr, the director of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique,* has published a discussion of the relation of that journal to historical writing under the title *L'Histoire Traditionnelle et la Synthèse Historique* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 146).

Two recent studies on political doctrines are Grondin's *Les Doctrines Politiques de Locke et les Origines de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme* (Bordeaux, 1920), and Smyrniadis's *Les Doctrines de Hobbes, Locke, et Kant sur le Droit d'Insurrection* (Paris, 1921, pp. 212).

The Social Interpretation of History: a Refutation of the Marxian Economic Interpretation of History, by Maurice William, is brought out in Long Island City, New York, by the Sotery Publishing Company.

The New International Year Book for 1920, edited by Frank Moore Colby, has appeared (Dodd).

We note a fresh volume of R. Montandon's *Bibliographie Générale des Travaux Palethnologiques et Archéologiques, Époques Préhistorique, Protohistorique, et Gallo-Romaine: France,* II. *Alsace, Artois, Champagne, Flandre, Ile-de-France, Lorraine, Normandie, Picardie* (Geneva, Georg, 1920, pp. iv, xxviii, 507).

A series of profitable essays by Mr. Edwyn Bevan, collected from the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals, is published under the title *Hellenism and Christianity,* by Messrs. Allen and Unwin.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October has articles by Richard A. Newhall, on the Affair of Anagni, by the Reverend J. Gorayeb, S.J., on St. Ephrem, and by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, on the general history of Religious Orders of Women of the United States.

Mr. J. T. Jenkins, superintendent of the Lancashire and Western Sea Fisheries, has published a *History of the Whale Fisheries* (London, Witherby, pp. 336), from the Basque fisheries of the tenth century down to the present time.

The *Magazine of History,* which suspended publication at the end of 1917, has resumed its career, but as a quarterly, beginning with July, 1921. Included in this number is a letter from Washington to General Nathanael Greene, May 20, 1785.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. H. Hansen, *The Technological Interpretation of History* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); Commander C. B. Mayo, *The Study of History for Naval Officers* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, November); Wilbur Cross, *From Plutarch to Strachey* (Yale Review, October); G. Zilboorg, *A Century of Political Experience and Thought* (Political Science Quarterly, September).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: E. Stein, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Geschichte des Uebergangs vom Altertum zum Mittelalter, V. und VI. Jahrhundert, aus den Jahren 1894–1913* (Jahresberichte über Klassische Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXXIV. 3).

A notable addition to the Yale Oriental series is *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic,* edited, from recently discovered tablets belonging respectively to the University of Pennsylvania and to Yale University, by the late Dr. Morris Jastrow of the former institution and Dr. Albert T. Clay of Yale.

Rev. P. E. Creuveilhier, in a small book called *Les Principaux Résultats des Nouvelles Fouilles de Suse* (Paris, Geuthner, pp. 154), sets forth systematically, under the heads of history, religion, law, economics, and philology, the results shown in vols. X.–XV. of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse,* representing the excavations at Susa directed by M. de Morgan, and the interpretative work of Father Scheil, down to the time of the war.

Messrs. Macmillan have nearly ready the first volume of Sir Arthur J. Evans's very important work, in three volumes, on *The Palace of Minos: a Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos.* The first volume, elaborately illustrated, will present a brief survey of the neolithic and early Minoan civilization, followed by an account of the palace in the middle Minoan Age.

Two recent studies in the history of ancient philosophy are by W. Kinkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie: Entwicklung des Philosophischen Gedankens von Thales bis auf unsere Zeit,* I. *Geist der Philosophie des Altertums* (Osterwieck, Zickfeldt, 1920, pp. xi, 243), and K. Joël, *Geschichte der Antiken Philosophie,* volume I. (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. xvi, 990).

Studies in the history of ancient religions are by Bickel, *Der Altrömische Gottesbegriff; eine Studie zur Antiken Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921); Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1921); and Kern, *Orpheus, eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1920).

Studies in early law are A. Steinwenter, *Studien zu den Koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten* (Leipzig, Haessel, 1920, pp. 79); and B. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im Frühen Griechentum: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Werdenden Polis* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1921, pp. xii, 150).

The *Loeb Classical Library* (Putnams) has added to its historical authors *Apollodorus* in two volumes, translated and edited by Sir James G. Frazer, who departs from the ordinary method of this series by a more elaborate annotation and by the addition of 140 pages of appendixes, in which, *more suo,* he pours out his astonishing learning in discussion of such matters as the War of Earth and Heaven, the Origin of Fire, Clashing Rocks, the Vow of Idomeneus, and the story of Odysseus and Polyphemus, all illustrated by parallels from the most various regions of the earth; the two volumes thus become a storehouse of myth, legend, and folklore.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has issued in its series of translations of early documents *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo,* and *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament,* both edited by Dr. Montague R. James.

F. Münzer, a scholar already well known for his contributions to ancient history, has investigated in *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1920, pp. viii, 438) one phase of the politics of the Roman Republic.

J. Toutain continues his *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*, with volume III., *Les Cultes Indigènes Nationaux et Locaux: Afrique du Nord, Péninsule Ibérique et Gaule* (Paris, Leroux, 1920, pp. 470). The work is already well known for its scholarship.

Signor Gulielmo Ferrero's long-announced study of *The Ruins of Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity*, covering the period from the death of Alexander Severus to that of Constantine, is now published by Messrs. George Putnam's Sons.

A conscientious and useful study is A. Stein's *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* (Sarajevo, Zemaljska Stamparija, 1920, pp. vi, 137).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Thilenius, *Primitives Geld* (Archiv für Anthropologie, XVIII.); K. Sethe, *Die Aegyptologie: Zweck, Inhalt, und Bedeutung dieser Wissenschaft und Deutschlands Anteil an ihrer Entwicklung* (Der Alte Orient, XXIII. 1); E. F. Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, XXVI.); W. W. Tarn, *Alexander's ὑπομνήματα and the World-Kingdom* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XLI. 1); Tenney Frank, *Placentia and the Battle of Trebia* (Journal of Roman Studies, IX. 2); Sir J. G. Frazer, *Roman Life in the Time of Pliny the Younger* (Quarterly Review, October); L. Homo, *Les Privilèges Administratifs du Sénat Romain sous l'Empire et leur Disparition Graduelle au Cours du IIIe Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, July); George Macdonald, *The Agricolan Occupation of North Britain* (Journal of Roman Studies, IX. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In the *Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres* of the Royal Academy of Belgium (Séance du 2 mai, 1921) Père Delehaye discusses persecutions of Christians in the army under Diocletian. In normal times the position of a Christian in the Roman army was not difficult, only officers above a certain rank being obliged to sacrifice. From Eusebius and Lactantius Delehaye argues that sacrifice was the test which in the Diocletian persecutions drove many officers from the army, very few of them being martyrs, and in opposition to Babut and Bréhier he argues that the test was not adoration of the emperor; that, in fact, the *adoratio* introduced by Diocletian and maintained by the Christian Constantine had lost its original Asiatic significance and was only a matter of royal etiquette.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dom H. Quentin, *La Liste des*

Martyrs de Lyon de l'an 177 (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXIX. 1–2); P. de Labriolle, *Le "Mariage Spirituel" dans l'Antiquité Chrétienne* (Revue Historique, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A. Dopsch has published the second volume of *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlage der Europäischen Kulturentwicklung aus der Zeit von Cäsar bis auf Karl den Grossen* (Vienna, Seidel, 1920, pp. xi, 542). It deals with the political structure, the reorganization of society, the Church, the genesis of feudalism, the development of towns, crafts, and commerce, and the monetary system and coinage. He emphasizes especially the permanence of the essential elements of antique culture.

Volume II. of G. Caro's *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und der Neuzeit* is entitled *Das Spätere Mittelalter* (Leipzig, Fock, 1920, pp. xii, 413). J. Meisl has published the first volume of a *Geschichte der Juden in Polen und Russland* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1921, pp. xii, 342).

In the October number of the *English Historical Review,* H. Idris Bell completes (pp. 556–583) the list of original papal bulls and briefs, 427 in number, preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum.

W. Cohn is the author of *Das Zeitalter der Normannen in Sizilien* (Bonn, Schröder, 1920, pp. 213).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. D. Constant, *Saint Dominique et les Fraternités Laïques au XIII^e Siècle* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); P. Joachimsen, *Die Reformation des Kaisers Sigismund* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XLI. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Oswald Spengler's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* has called out a flood of pamphlets. Noteworthy among them are C. Stange's *Der Untergang des Abendlandes von Oswald Spengler* (Guterloh, Vertelsmann, 1921, pp. 35); O. Neurath, *Anti-Spengler* (Munich, Callwey, 1921, pp. 96); K. Heim and R. H. Grützmacher, *Oswald Spengler und das Christentum: Zwei Kritische Aufsätze* (Munich, Beck, 1921, pp. 73); H. Piper, *Altern und Neugeburt im Völkerleben, Ein Beitrag zu Deutschlands Neugeburt* (Hamburg, Gente, 1921, pp. xx, 144); K. Girgensohn, *Der Rationalismus des Abendlandes: ein Votum zum Fall Spengler* (Greifswald, Bamberg, 1921, pp. 24).

G. Renard and G. Weulersse have prepared *Le Travail dans l'Europe Moderne* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 524), a volume in the *Histoire Universelle du Travail* edited by Renard. It fills a gap and is well done, but attempts to cover too wide a range of time and space to be entirely satisfactory.

We have received a copy of *Europäische Geschichte im Zeitalter Karls V., Philipps II. und Elisabeths* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. 125) by G. Mentz. It is one of the little handbooks in the *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt* series, being number 528. It is a popular political history of western Europe; economic and social factors are practically neglected and eastern Europe is mentioned only when events there influenced in a marked degree political events in the West.

Messrs. Ginn and Company have issued *A History of Europe; Our Own Times: the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, the Opening of the Twentieth Century and the World War,* by Professors James H. Robinson and Charles A. Beard.

The Ford Lectures of next spring will be given by Sir Richard Lodge, professor of history in the University of Edinburgh, on the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Prussia in the eighteenth century.

Two books dealing with Germany's eastern frontier problems have recently appeared; Laubert's *Die Preussische Polenpolitik von 1772 bis 1914* (Berlin, Preussische Verlagsanstalt, 1921), and *Osteuropa und Wir: Das Problem Russlands* (Schlüchtern, Neuwerk-Verlag, 1921, pp. 99) by E. Sauer, E. Rosenstock, and H. Ehrenberg.

Général et Trappiste: le P. Marie-Joseph, Baron de Géramb (Paris, Jéque, 1921, pp. 355), by A. M. P. Ingold, gives a biography of an Austrian officer active in the interest of the Neapolitan and Spanish Bourbons during the Napoleonic period, who became a Trappist monk in 1816 and eventually procurer-general of the order. Although a work primarily of edification, the book has useful information for the historian.

A volume entitled *British Diplomacy: Select Documents dealing with the Reconstruction of Europe* (London, Bell), prepared by Professor C. K. Webster, of the University of Liverpool, is designed partly to illustrate by comparison with the period of Castlereagh the problems and solutions arising out of analogous conditions in our own time.

Interesting volumes of reminiscences by the late Princess Metternich will be published, at intervals of some months, by Messrs. Eveleigh Nash and Grayson of London, entitled respectively, *The Days that are No More, My Years in Paris* (where her husband was Austrian ambassador during the Second Empire), and *Letters and Journals.*

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs continues the publication of documents on *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870–1871,* the twelfth volume (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1921, pp. 480) covering the period from Aug. 7 to Oct. 15, 1866.

The Harvard University Press has published vol. II. of the English edition, edited by Professor A. C. Coolidge, of Dr. Alfred F. Pribram's *Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879–1914.* This volume, which

contains the account of the negotiations leading to the treaties of the Triple Alliance, translated by J. G. d'Arcy Paul and Denys P. Myers, completes the English rendering of the first volume of the German edition, which was reviewed in this journal in April, 1920 (XXV. 493).

While in the service of the Russian embassy in London, B. von Siebert secured transcripts of documents which he has used in *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Ententepolitik der Vorkriegsjahre* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1921, pp. vi, 827). The organization of his material leaves something to be desired.

The recollections of Freiherr von Schoen, German ambassador in Paris in 1914 and former minister of foreign affairs, are being published in English by Allen and Unwin (London), under the title *My Experiences.*

The German Treaty (Oxford University Press, pp. 302), published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs, contains not only a text of the treaty with Germany negotiated by the allied and associated powers, but the contingent treaty of alliance between France and Great Britain, the official commentary on the League of Nations, various documents respecting the terms of armistice, and the like, together with three illustrative maps.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. König, *Erasmus und Luther* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XLI. 1); Lieut.-Col. R. J. Drake, *Secret Service Studies: France and England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Army Quarterly, October); Baron S. A. Korff, *The Peasants in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Journal of International Relations, October); Graf F. Pourtalès, *Neues über die Entente-Diplomatie vor dem Weltkriege* (Preussische Jahrbücher, September); A. Cartellieri, *Deutschland und Frankreich im Jahre 1912 nach einer Umfrage des Figaro in Deutschland* (Historische Blaetter, I.); J. P. Niboyet, *La Nationalité d'après les Traités de Paix qui ont mis Fin à la Grand Guerre de 1914–1918* (Revue de Droit International, II. 3–4); A. Raffalovitch, *L'Absence de Solidarité Financière après la Guerre et la Conférence Internationale de Bruxelles* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, March); P. Bignami, *La Conferenza Generale di Barcelona,* I. *Libertà del Transito;* II. *Vie Navigabili, Ferrovie, e Porti Internazionali* (Nuova Antologia, July 1, July 16); W. Lotz, *Die Brüsseler Internationale Finanzkonferenz von 1920,* II. (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLV.); W. Padel, *Die Türkischen Kapitulationen und Deutschland nach dem Vertrag von Sèvres* (Preussische Jahrbücher, September).

THE GREAT WAR

Fresh revelations concerning the origins of the war are to be found in *Der Untergang der Donau-Monarchie* (Berlin, Berger, 1921), the memoirs of von Szilassy, Hungarian diplomat, who was in close contact with Berchtold until 1913.

Histories of the war continue to appear in great numbers. The first volume of E. Renauld's *Histoire Populaire de la Guerre d'après les Documents Officiels et Officieux et les Témoignages des plus hautes Personalités Militaires ayant Commandé et Combattu au Front* (Châtillon-sur-Seine, Euvrard-Pichet, pp. vii, 312) deals with diplomatic preliminaries and the declaration of war. It also deals with the intervention of America and of Rumania, out of their chronological order. A satisfactory manual is *La Route de la Victoire: Histoire de la Grande Guerre, 1914–1918, avec tous les Traités de Paix et Conférences, jusqu'à l'Acceptation par l'Allemagne de l'Ultimatum des Alliés, 10 Mai 1921* (Paris, Gedalge, 1921, pp. 240) by A. Lomont. A brief account by an old soldier is General Niox's *La Grande Guerre, 1914–1918: Simple Récit* (Paris, Gigord, 1921, pp. 190). The third and final volume of *Der Krieg, 1914–1919* (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1920, pp. viii, 368) has appeared. It is a co-operative work by competent writers under the direction of Professor Dietrich Schäfer. At the end is a *Kriegslexikon*. The last volume of E. Guillot's *Précis de la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Chapelot) is even more thoroughly filled with facts than the two preceding. L. Cornet has published the fifth volume of his *Histoire de la Guerre* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1921, pp. 436), in which he deals with the internal situation in each of the belligerent countries from April to November, 1915. The third and last volume of *Das Buch vom Grossen Krieg* (Stuttgart, Union, 1921) by von Ardenne and Helmolt has appeared. A. Veltzé's *Die Geschichte des Weltkrieges mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Früheren Oesterreich-Ungarns* (Vienna, Verlag für Vaterland, 1920) has reached the third volume.

The War Department has published *The War with Germany: a Statistical Summary*, by Col. Leonard Ayres, chief of the Statistical Branch of the General Staff (pp. 150), embracing statistical material of a wide variety, with many diagrams.

Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven is the author of *Generalfeldmarschall Graf von Schlieffen: sein Leben und die Verwertung seines Geistigen Erbes im Weltkriege* (Leipzig, Schraepler, 1921). W. Foerster has published the second part of his *Graf Schlieffen und der Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921).

Les Origines et les Responsabilités de la Grande Guerre (Paris, Hachette) was prepared by E. Bourgeois and G. Pagès for a commission of the French senate on the facts of the war. It is very carefully done.

Volume VI. of General Palat's *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot, 1920, pp. 496) gives a detailed study of the operations between the 5th and the 13th of September, 1914. Commandant H. Carré writes *La Véritable Histoire des Taxis de la Marne, 6, 7, et 8 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Chapelot, pp. 110). A German study is *Deutsche Heerführung im Marnefeldzug 1914*, by Baumgarten-Crusius.

Biographies of the more important French generals are appearing steadily. *Le Maréchal Galliéni* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1921), by P. B. Gheusi, is based largely upon unpublished documents and is written by one who was close to the general. It attempts to establish with exactitude the rôle of Galliéni in September, 1914, in the first hours of the battle of the Marne. Gabriel Hanotaux and Lieutenant-Colonel Fabry have published a biography of *Joffre* (Paris, Crès, pp. 122). Commandant Grasset has written *Franchet d'Esperey* (Crès, pp. 140), and H. Bordeaux adds *Fayolle* (*ibid.*).

Les Transports Automobiles sur le Front Français (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. iv, 346), by C. Doumenc, traces the development from August, 1914, when there were only 6000 vehicles, to November, 1918, when there were 92,000. The author was assistant chief of this branch of the service from 1914 to 1917, and chief 1917–1919.

A detailed story of the bombardment of Paris by airships and long-range guns is told by M. Thiéry in *Paris Bombardé* (Paris, Boccard).

The Royal Colonial Institute has planned a series of five volumes on *The Empire at War,* of which the first volume was published by the Oxford University Press early in November. The general editor is Sir Charles Lucas, who has written the first volume, which traces the growth of imperial co-operation in war time previously to the late war. The four remaining volumes, written by many collaborators, will record the effort made in the war by every unit of the empire beyond seas, and the effects of the war upon each such portion of the empire.

Forty-five narratives, by participants of all sorts—commanders, navigating officers, gunnery officers, medical officers, sailors, survivors of sunk ships—are grouped in an intelligent order in *The Fighting at Jutland,* edited by two naval officers, H. W. Fawcett and G. W. W. Hooper (Macmillan), which presents in a most interesting manner the human side of a great naval combat, without pretending to deal with the larger matters of strategy or tactics.

Captain A. F. B. Carpenter, R. N., who, under Vice-Admiral Sir Roger Keyes, had the leading part in the English attack on Zeebrugge, furnishes a vivid and authoritative account of that gallant feat of arms in *The Blocking of Zeebrugge* (London, Herbert Jenkins).

A dramatic episode of the last days of the war is told, with detail, in a defensive spirit, in *Scapa Flow: der Grab der Deutschen Flotte* (Leipzig), by Admiral von Reuter, who was in command of the ships and assumes the whole responsibility for their sinking.

Among the numerous publications by people in diplomatic posts is H. de Villeneuve-Trans's *A l'Ambassade de Washington: les Heures Décisives de l'Intervention Américaine* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 287). The author was an attaché of the French embassy in Washington from 1917 to 1919, and studies the relation of President Wilson with the

Senate. It is sharply critical of the President and attempts to explain his loss of control over the situation.

A volume complementary to that of von Lettow-Vorbeck on the war in German East Africa, written from the civilian side, but with less liberality of mind than that of the military commander, is *Deutsch Ost-Afrika* (Leipzig, Quelle und Mayer, pp. 400), by Dr. Heinrich Schnee, who was governor of the colony during the war. A valuable book surveying the whole episode from the British point of view is *The East African Force* (London, Witherby) by Brig.-Gen. C. P. Fendall, who throughout the whole period was attached to the administrative staff of that force.

Recent discussions of the negotiations for peace and the problems growing out of them include Mermeix's *Les Négociations Secrètes et les Quatre Armistices* (Paris Ollendorff, 1921, pp. 355), Meurer's *Die Grundlagen des Versailler Friedens und des Völkerbundes* (Würzburg, Kabitzsch und Mönnich, 1921), and *Le Traité de Versailles devant le Droit,* I. *La Commission Interalliée des Réparations et les Dommages de Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, pp. xii, 124) by M. Orgia and A.-G. Martini. *Le Droit des Gens et les Rapports des Grandes Puissances avec les Autres États, avant le Pacte de la Société des Nations* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. iv, 544) is by C. Dupuis, professor in the École des Sciences Politiques. The first volume of an *Histoire des Violations du Traité de Paix* (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. 384) by Dr. Lucien-Graux covers the period from June 28, 1919, to Sept. 24, 1920. J. Bardoux has written *De Paris à Spa: la Bataille Diplomatique pour la Paix Française, Février 1919–Octobre 1920* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. viii, 396).

M. Travers has published a second volume of his important work *Le Droit Pênal International et sa Mise en Oeuvre en Temps de Paix et en Temps de Guerre* (Paris, Sirey, 1921). He discusses the legal questions arising during the war and those connected with the Sèvres treaty, particularly exterritoriality. A. Mérignhac, professor of international law in the University of Toulouse, and Dr. E. Lemonon have published a two-volume study of *Le Droit des Gens et la Guerre de 1914–1918* (Paris, Sirey, 1921, pp. ii, 661, 680).

Messrs. Bale, Sons, and Danielsson have published, under the title *Diplomacy and the War,* an English translation of the recollections of Count Julius Andrássy, formerly Hungarian minister of foreign affairs.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A series of five volumes which teachers of English history, particularly in high schools, should welcome and use, is that of *Readings in English Social History from Contemporary Literature,* selected from a wide range of sources (which are sufficiently described) by Mr. R. B. Morgan, inspector of schools in the Croydon district, and published

by the Cambridge University Press. The work of selection is well done, the volumes are small and inexpensive, and the three thus far issued (to 1603) are very interesting, illustrating manifold aspects of the social life of England.

Allyn and Bacon have brought out a revised and enlarged edition of Professor Charles M. Andrews's *History of England.*

The Cambridge University Press will soon publish vols. V., VI., and VII. of their new edition of the *Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave.* The fifth volume will contain *The History of the Anglo-Saxons,* while the sixth and seventh will be devoted to *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth.*

Two volumes of great value in the same special division of English economic history are Mr. E. Lipson's *History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries* (London, A. and C. Black), and Mr. Herbert Heaton's *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries,* which is volume X. of the *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies* (Clarendon Press).

In *The Year Books* (Cambridge University Press) Mr. W. C. Bolland prints three lectures giving a general account of the manuscripts and editions of these books, and of their origin and purpose, and a general introduction to their study.

The Dugdale Society has begun the publication of *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and other Records, 1553–1620,* by the issue of volume I., running from 1553 to 1566, and supplied with introduction and notes by Mr. Edgar I. Flipp (Oxford, printed for the Dugdale Society by Frederick Hall).

Mr. Frederick Chamberlin, in *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth* (London, John Lane, pp. xxi, 334), enters elaborately, and with the aid of first-rate medical authorities, into the physical history of Queen Elizabeth, and on physical grounds, with due consideration of other evidences, acquits her of the scandalous imputations which have been frequent.

Students not only of Shakespeare but of early Virginian history will be interested in *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron,* by Mrs. Charlotte C. Stopes, which is soon to be published by the Cambridge University Press.

Comtesse de Longworth-Chambrun has published a brilliant study of *Giovanni Florio* (Paris, Payot, 1921), the Italian lexicographer and translator, *temp.* Eliz.

An entertaining and extraordinary story, of events and developments that lie at the basis of much of the real-estate holding of present-day London, is told by Mr. Charles T. Gatty in *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury* (London, Cassell, two volumes).

Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army, by C. T. Atkinson, of Exeter College, Oxford, has just been published by Messrs. Putnam.

The Influence of George III. on the Development of the Constitution, by A. Mervyn Davies (Oxford University Press), is the Stanhope Historical Prize Essay for 1921.

In Whig Society, 1775–1818, by Mabell Countess of Airlie (London, Hodder and Stoughton), is compiled from hitherto unpublished correspondence of Lord Melbourne's mother, the first Viscountess Melbourne, and of his sister Lady Cowper, afterward the wife of Lord Palmerston—two exceptionally brilliant women. Parts of the book relate to Byron.

The Life of the First Marquess of Ripon, by Lucien Wolf, based on family and official documents, has lately been published by the house of Murray. Lord Ripon's connection with the Treaty of Washington will be remembered. The same firm has also lately published a volume on Sir Henry Elliot, ambassador at Naples during the eventful years 1860–1861.

Messrs. Cassell of London have issued the authorized life of James Keir Hardie, by his associate William Stewart.

From Private to Field-Marshal (London, Constable), by Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, besides being the record of an unexampled career in the British army, casts light of considerable importance on the relations between the author, as chief of staff, and the prime minister, and on the genesis of the united command of the Allied armies.

An important contribution to the medieval history of London is *The Records of the Augustinian Priory of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great in the City of London* (Humphrey Milford), from original documents, with illustrations, plans, and genealogical tables, by E. A. Webb, in two volumes.

Rev. A. H. Johnson now completes his *History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* by the publication of volumes III., IV., and V. (Oxford University Press).

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for October the chief article, and one of much value, having also an aspect toward the history of emigration to America, is one by Miss Margaret I. Adam, on the Eighteenth-Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem; there is also an interesting article on the Western Highlands in the Eighteenth Century by Canon Roderick C. MacLeod.

Messrs. MacLehose and Jackson of Glasgow have lately brought out the first volume of an important *History of Glasgow from the Earliest Times to the Present Day,* by Sir John Lindsay, town clerk, and the late Dr. Robert Renwick, town clerk depute.

Messrs. Longmans published in October *A Short History of the Irish People,* by Miss Mary Hayden, professor of Irish history in the National University of Ireland, written in collaboration with C. A. Moonan.

Dr. R. A. S. Macalister, professor of Celtic archaeology in University College, Dublin, has a new work in the press entitled *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times,* to be published in Dublin by Messrs. Maunsel and Roberts, and to be followed by a companion volume on *Ireland in Celtic Times.* The same firm announces also a *History of Medieval Ireland, 1119–1500 A. D.,* by Edmund Curtis, professor of history in Trinity College, Dublin.

Rev. Charles Plummer, whose edition of *Latin Lives of Irish Saints* was issued in two volumes by the Oxford University Press in 1910, has two companion volumes in preparation with the same publishers, containing an edition of some of the Irish lives of the same saints, hitherto unpublished, but now edited with his well-known learning and care. *The Latin and Irish Lives of Ciaran* (pp. 190), edited in English translation with full annotation by Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister for the S. P. C. K. series of *Translations of Christian Literature,* presents three Latin lives and one Irish life of the saint who founded the monastery and schools of Clonmacnois.

Alumni Dublinenses, a register of the students, graduates, professors, fellows, and provosts of Trinity College, Dublin, 1593–1846 (London, Williams and Norgate), edited by the late George D. Burtchaell, K.C., and Thomas U. Sadleir, gives details respecting each man similar to those in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*; not a few names are those of Americans, or are connected with American history.

An Historical Atlas of South Africa, by Eric A. Walker, containing twenty-six maps with explanatory letterpress, is published by the Oxford University Press.

In that series of the *Historical Records of Australia* (Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament) which consists of despatches and papers relating to the settlement of the states other than New South Wales (series III.) a second volume has been issued, covering the history of Tasmania from July, 1812, to the end of 1819.

The latest issue in the series of *Helps for Students of History* (S. P. C. K., Macmillan) is *The Colonial Entry-Books,* by C. S. S. Higham, of the University of Manchester.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. E. N. Wheeler and P. G. Laver, *Roman Colchester* (Journal of Roman Studies, IX. 2); M. Treiter, *Die Urkundendatierung in Angelsächsischer Zeit nebst Überblick über die Datierung in der Anglo-Normannischen Periode* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, VII. 2–3); R. N. Sauvage, *La Tapisserie de la Reine Mathilde à Bayeux* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,

LXXXII. 1–3); Felix Liebermann, *New Light on Medieval England* (Quarterly Review, October); M. H. Mills, *"Adventus Vicecomitum", 1258–1272* (English Historical Review, October); J. E. Neale, *Parliament and the Succession Question in 1562/3 and 1566* (*ibid.*, October); C. E. Fayle, *The Ship-Money Fleets* (Edinburgh Review, October); H. P. K. Skipton, *Little Gidding and the Non-Jurors* (Church Quarterly Review, October); G. N. Clark, *Trading with the Enemy and the Corunna Packets, 1689–1697* (English Historical Review, October); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Party System and Parliamentary Government* (Edinburgh Review, October); Algernon Cecil, *Cardinal Manning* (Quarterly Review, October); Charlotte Mendelsohn, *Wandlungen des Liberalen England durch die Kriegswirtschaft* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XVIII.); L. Paul-Dubois, *Le Drame Irlandais*, I. *Les Origines, 1914–1918*; II. *Le Sinn Fein, 1918–1921* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15, October 1).

FRANCE

General review: H. Hauser, *Histoire de France; Époque Moderne, jusqu'en 1660* (Revue Historique, May).

The American Anthropological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America have joined in establishing an American School of Prehistoric Studies in France. Dr. Henri Martin, former president of the Société Préhistorique de France, has given to the new school the opportunity of making extensive excavations at a promising site in the department of the Charente.

The Oxford University Press has published this autumn the first volume (1483–1493) of a *History of France from the Death of Louis XI.*, by John S. C. Bridge.

R. de Boysson's *L'Invasion Calviniste en Bas-Limousin, Périgord, et Haut-Quercy* (Paris, Picard, 1920, pp. 458) is really an account of the wars of religion from a Catholic point of view, frankly hostile to Protestantism.

E. Berger has published the second volume of the late Léopold Delisle's *Recueil des Actes de Henri II.* (Paris, Klincksieck, pp. vi, 465).

Oeuvres du Cardinal de Retz: Supplément à la Correspondance (Paris, Hachette, 1920, pp. xii, 328), by C. Cochin, is a posthumous publication of the Retz documents which he found in the archives of the Vatican, of the Medici, and of the Este, all hitherto unavailable. It is enriched with good notes and several appendixes and forms a monument to patience and scholarship.

After an interval of four years two more volumes, XI. and XII., of the French Academy's *Correspondance de Bossuet* (Paris, Hachette, 1920, pp. 510, 512) have appeared. The editors are C. Urbain and E.

Levesque. They cover the period from December, 1698, to December, 1700, and include 276 letters, many of which were not available before.

A double number, nos. 1 and 2 of vol. VI., of the *Smith College Studies in History* (pp. 184), is devoted to a monograph in French on *Le Dernier Séjour de J.-J. Rousseau à Paris, 1770–1778,* by Elizabeth A. Foster.

Abbé E. Lavaquery has published *Le Cardinal de Boisgelin, 1732–1804* (Paris, Plon, 1921, 2 vols., pp. 410 and 412), an erudite biography of the ambitious archbishop of Aix, whose lack of character it tends to excuse rather too much. It throws much light on the history of society in the eighteenth century.

Messrs. Heinemann have lately published *The Life of Danton* by Louis Madelin, translated into English by Lady Mary Loyd.

Abbé M. Giraud has prepared an *Essai sur l'Histoire Religieuse de la Sarthe, de 1789 à l'an IV.* (Paris, Jouve, 1920, pp. 691), with impartiality and moderation of statement touching a period which easily lends itself to a different treatment. *Le Régime de la Liberté de Cultes dans le Département du Calvados pendant la Première Séparation, 1795 à 1802* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 290), by R. Patry, likewise shows conscientious use of all available material.

Bonaparte au Siège de Toulon (Toulon, Mouton et Combe, 1921) by Commandant Nel (J. Norel) is a critical study of the terrain, an investigation of the manner in which Bonaparte chanced to be there, and a capable narrative of the military events. A. Chuquet's *Le Départ de l'Ile d'Elbe* (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. 210) is a fresh investigation of the events preceding the return and of the motives which prompted it. Other books on Napoleon worthy of notice are *Napoléon d'après le Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène* (Paris, Delagrave, 1921, pp. viii, 300) by Captain M. Gagneur, and Lacour-Gayet's *Bonaparte, Membre de l'Institut* (Paris, Gauthier-Villars, 1921, pp. ii, 94).

Gambetta and the Foundation of the Third Republic, by H. Stannard (London, Methuen), gives the first detailed account in English of Gambetta's creation of a French national army after Sedan.

The years since the separation of church and state, and the adaptation of the two institutions to the new relationship, are dealt with by P. Bureau in *Quinze Années de Séparation* (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1921).

The third volume of *Les Bouches-du-Rhône, Encyclopédie Départementale* (Marseilles, 1921, pp. 868), edited by P. Masson, deals with *Les Temps Modernes, 1482–1789.* Twenty chapters out of twenty-eight are by Raoul Busquet, archivist of the department, and are devoted to a history of the institutions of Provence. It is not only the largest but the most original contribution, and comprises the fullest and most trustworthy account that has appeared. Busquet's chapters have been pub-

lished separately under the title *Histoire des Institutions de la Provence de 1482 à 1790* (Marseilles, Barlatier, 1920, pp. 365).

The history of the oldest organization of its character is to be found in J. Fournier's *La Chambre de Commerce de Marseille et ses Représentants Permanents à Paris, 1599–1875* (Marseilles, Barlatier, 1920, pp. 334). It is important for the history of French commerce as well as for its local interests. Another book of somewhat similar interest is *Souvenirs de Marseille et des Échelles du Levant au XVIII^e Siècle; Deux Consuls Marseillais en Levant: un Courtier de Commerce et un Notaire Marseillais sous la Révolution* (Marseilles, Barlatier, 1921, pp. 111) by L. Bergasse.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Levillain, *Études sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'Époque Mérovingienne* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXII. 1–3); K. Federn, *Das Vermögen und die Geschäfte des Kardinals Mazarin* (Preussische Jahrbücher, August); L. Dubreuil, *L'Élection de Buzot à la Convention* (Annales Révolutionnaires, September); A. Mathiez, *Les Enragés contre la Constitution de 1793* (*ibid.*, July); *id.*, *Les Enragés et les Troubles du Savon, Juin 1793* (*ibid.*, September); L. Dumont-Wilden, *Napoléon et le Prince de Ligne* (Revue Critique, June); Saint-Denis dit Ali, *Souvenirs du Second Mameluck de l'Empereur:* III. *Waterloo, vers Sainte-Hélène;* IV. *La Vie à Sainte-Hélène;* V. *Les Derniers Jours, les Funérailles* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1, September 1, October 1); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Augustin Thierry d'après sa Correspondance,* I. *La Jeunesse* (*ibid.*, October 15); V. Giraud, *Nos Grands Chefs,* I., II. *Le Général Castelnau* (*ibid.*, August 1, 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

An attempt to trace the influence of physical factors in historical development is made by A. von Hoffmann in *Das Land Italien und seine Geschichte: eine Historisch-Topographische Darstellung* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlangsanstalt, 1921, pp. 458).

A. de Bouard has written *Le Régime Politique et les Institutions de Rome au Moyen Age, 1252–1347* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. xxx, 362).

M. Blanchard, *Bibliographie Critique de l'Histoire des Routes des Alpes Occidentales sous l'État de Piémont-Savoie, XVII^e–XVIII^e Siècles, et à l'Époque Napoléonienne, 1796–1815* (Grenoble, Allier, 1920, pp. 120), is a valuable treatise on the sources for the study of public travel over the Alps.

In the *Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragón,* edited by E. Ibarra, D. Sangorrín has published volume XII., *El Libro de Cadena del Concejo de Jaca* (Zaragoza, 1920, pp. 392). The editing is capable and the transcription faithful. The result is a piece of work valuable for the period from the tenth to the fourteenth century.

L. Pfandl has published in book form *Itinerarium Hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii, 1494–1495* (Paris, Paillart, 1920, pp. 180), which first appeared in the *Revue Hispanique.*

The most recent Portuguese historical works of importance are: *A Rainha D. Leonor, 1458–1525* (Lisbon, Portugalia Editora, 1921, pp. 400), by the Conde de Sabugosa, a somewhat rhetorical biography of the queen (and cousin) of King John III.; *O General Visconde de Leiria: Retalhos de Historia Contemporanea* (Lisbon, Ferin, 1920, pp. 719), the life of one who (b. 1794, d. 1873) fought in the Peninsular War against Napoleon and had an important part, on the Constitutionalist side, in the internal wars and politics of the ensuing period, written by Sr. Alexandre Cabral, husband of his granddaughter; and *D. Pedro V. e o seu Reinado,* 1853–1861 (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1921, two vols., pp. 399, 463), by Sr. Júlio de Vilhena, of the Academy.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir Denison Ross, *Portuguese Relations with India and Arabia, 1507–1517* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1921, part IV.).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

An attempt to show the relation of the course of German history to geographical conditions is made by A. von Hofmann in *Das Deutsche Land und die Deutsche Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1920, pp. 603).

A very competent survey of the whole history of autobiography in Germany is presented in *Die Deutsche Selbstbiographie,* by Dr. Theodor Klaiber (Stuttgart, Metzler).

A third edition of R. Munch's masterly treatment of *Deutsche Stammeskunde* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920, pp. 1, 443) has appeared. The second edition was published sixteen years ago. There is new discussion of questions relating to Germanic origins.

Two accounts of German literature in the Middle Age are *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur bis zur Mitte des XI. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920, pp. ix, 261) by W. Unwerth and T. Siebs, and *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur,* I. *Vom 9. Jahrhundert bis zu den Staufern* (Berlin, Ebering, 1920, pp. vii, 512) by S. Aschner.

The third volume of Berger's *Martin Luther in Kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1921) covers the years 1532 to 1546. Hartmann Grisar and F. Heege have published *Luthers Kampfbilder,* I. *Passional Christi und Antichristi*; *Eröffnung des Bilderkampfes, 1521* (Freiburg, Herder, 1921, pp. xii, 68). Another book on Luther is Jordan's *Luther und der Bann in seinen und seiner Zeitgenossen Aussagen* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1920). Other phases

of the Reformation are studied by L. Lehmann in *Bilder aus der Reformationsgeschichte der Mark Brandenburg* (Berlin, Vaterländische Verlags- und Kunstanstalt, 1921); by R. Bottachiari in *Da Worms a Weimar: Contributo alla Storia dello Spirito et della Civiltà Germanica* (Bologna, Oberosler, 1920); and by K. Bauer in *Die Beziehungen Calvins zu Frankfurt am Main* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1921).

A recent study in German constitutional history is P. Haake's *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921).

The first volume of J. B. Kissling's *Geschichte der Deutschen Katholikentage,* prepared under the auspices of the executive committee of the German Catholic General Assembly (Münster, Aschendorff, 1920, pp. xvi, 506), brings the account as far as 1849. It is important for the historical background and the origins of the Centre party.

The Kulturkampf and the war scare of 1875 are dealt with in *Vom Bismarck der 70er Jahre* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920) by A. Wahl.

Under the direction of his widow a collection of the minor writings of Gustav von Schmoller, the noted economist and parliamentarian, has been published under the title *Zwanzig Jahre Deutscher Politik, 1897–1917* (Munich, Duncker und Humblot, 1921, pp. vi, 206). The articles are not intimately associated in subject-matter or in time. Some of the more significant of them, from the historical point of view, are on the Economic Future of Germany and her Fleet, 1899; Common Interests of Germany and Austria, 1909; Prussian Election Reforms, 1910; Social Democrats in the Reichstag, 1912; the Patriotic Attitude of the Social Democrats at the beginning of the War, and a Résumé of the Development of the Party in Germany. A particularly interesting paper (1913) has to do with the danger of war. It sets forth the development of international tension as a result of the democratization of constitutions and the influence of capital, and concludes that some questions having to do with the life of a nation are too large to be settled in any manner other than by war.

As is customary after a period of sharp crisis there is a flood of memoirs appearing in Germany. An important publication is the third volume of H. von Eckardstein's memoirs under the title *Die Isolierung Deutschlands* (Leipzig, List, 1921). A. Winnig has published *Am Ausgang der Deutschen Ostpolitik: Persönliche Erlebnisse und Erinnerungen* (Berlin, Staats-Politischer Verlag, 1921, pp. 125). The second edition of *Die Alte Generation, nach Familienbriefen und eigenen Erinnerungen* (Braunschweig, Maus, 1920, pp. 286), by Bertha von Kröcher, not only deals with the old Mark family of Kröcher and a branch of the Gerlach family, but shows how the circles once Christian-Conservative became Christian-Socialist in politics.

A phase of recent German revolution is dealt with by Maercker in *Vom Kaiserheer zur Reichswehr: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1921).

Various phases of the history of socialism are set forth in G. Mayer's *Friedrich Engels: eine Biographie,* the first volume of which, *Friedrich Engels in seiner Frühzeit, 1820–1851* (Berlin, Springer, 1920, pp. xiv, 317), is warmly praised by Kautsky; Oswald Spengler's *Preussentum und Sozialismus* (Munich, Beck, 1920, pp. 99); and Dörzbacher's *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Nationale Machtpolitik bis 1914* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920).

With the collaboration of a number of archivists C. Schmidt has published *Les Sources de l'Histoire des Territoires Rhénans de 1792 à 1914 dans les Archives Rhénanes et à Paris* (Paris, Rieder, 1921, pp. 332). It is a detailed account of the materials in the archives at Paris, Trier, Coblenz, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden, Dusseldorf, and Speyer. In a general introduction the editor gives an historical résumé of the administration of the area under occupation.

The fifth volume of the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Mainz,* subsidized by the city, is *Die Stadt Mainz unter Kurfürstlicher Verwaltung, 1462–1792* (Mainz, Wilckens, 1920, pp. x, 252) by H. Schrohe, a remarkably well-executed piece of research.

W. E. Oefterings has written *Der Umsturz 1918 in Baden* (Constance, Reuss und Itta, 1920, pp. 304), which recounts the events of the revolution from early in November, 1918, to January, 1919. Documents on the revolution of 1848–1849 in Baden are published by F. Lautenschlager in *Volksstaat und Einherrschaft* (Constance, Reuss und Itta, 1920, pp. 507). A new *Badische Geschichte* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1921) has been prepared by Krieger.

On May 16, 1920, the Swiss electorate, by a vote of 416,870 against 323,719, voted to ratify the federal decree which provided for the entrance of Switzerland into the League of Nations. Since one of the chief arguments of the opposition was that such adhesion was inconsistent with the traditional neutrality of Switzerland, Professor Charles Borgeaud, of Geneva, published an historical pamphlet to sustain the contrary opinion. A second edition of this, *La Neutralité Suisse au Centre de la Société des Nations: Notice Historique* (Geneva, Atar, pp. 107), expounding the history of Swiss neutrality, has now been published.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Rörig, *Die Hanse, ihre Europäische und Nationale Bedeutung* (Deutsche Rundschau, September); G. B. Volz, *Die Auswärtige Politik Friedrichs des Grossen* (*ibid.,* September); S. Kähler, *Das Preussisch-Deutsche Problem seit der Reichsgründung* (Preussische Jahrbücher, July); P. Lenel, *Beiträge zur Biographie des Preussischen Staatsrats von Rehdiger* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXIV. 2).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Volume XLI. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Utrecht Historical Society is mostly occupied with material from the archives of Amsterdam and of Haarlem relating to the trials and executions of the Dutch Anabaptists, from 1533 to 1539.

The subtitle of M. des Ombiaux's *La Politique Belge depuis l'Armistice: la Grande Peur de la Victoire* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 200) indicates the thesis of the book, *viz.*, that King Albert feared a revolution that might overthrow his throne. The author details the political moves that were, in his judgment, inspired by that fear.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A study of the origin and significance of the famous *Lex Regia* of Frederick III. is published by K. Fabricius, *Kongeloven, dens Tilblivelse og Plads i Samtidens Natur- og Arveretlige Udvikling* (Copenhagen, Hagerup, 1920, pp. xvi, 407).

A translation into French of S. Askenazy's *Le Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Maréchal de France, 1763–1813* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 346), has appeared.

S. de Chessin, who has previously published a volume on the first phases of the Russian revolution, has now prepared *L'Apocalypse Russe: la Révolution Bolchevique, 1918–1921* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. xxiv, 336). Another recent book on the revolution worthy of notice is *La Révolution et la Russie* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, pp. x, 316) by Nicolas Karabtchevsky.

Mr. I. V. Hessen, formerly editor of *Rech*, the organ of the Cadet Party in St. Petersburg, is producing a series of volumes whose object is to present eye-witness accounts of some of the more important incidents of the post-revolutionary period, *Archiv Russkoi Revolutzii* (Berlin, *Slovo*), of which two volumes, containing many interesting narratives of the sort indicated, have already been published.

Maj.-Gen. Sir Alfred Knox, K.C.B., C.M.G., who had been for more than three years military attaché of the British embassy at Petrograd before hostilities broke out in 1914, accompanied the Russian army on intimate terms from the beginning of the war until the Bolshevik *coup d'état* in 1917. The two volumes which he now publishes, *With the Russian Army, 1914–1917* (London, Hutchinson, pp. 750), are of the greatest interest and value.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Stern, *L'Insurrection Polonaise de 1863 et l'Impératrice Eugénie* (Revue Historique, May); Peter Struve, *The Russian Communistic Experiment* (Edinburgh Review, October); S. Zagorsky, *L'Évolution Actuelle du Bolchevisme* (Revue d'Économie Politique, May).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Charles Richet in *Les Tchéco-Slovaques* (Paris, Perrin) gives an account of the renaissance of Bohemia from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, and discusses the difficulties in organizing the new state.

Milanko Vesnitch, who represented Serbia at Paris from 1904 to 1921, published, just before his death, *La Serbie à travers la Guerre* (Paris, Bossard, pp. xii, 162), an able statement of Serbia's case. *Le Royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 316) is a new book by A. Mousset, who occupied a position where he could observe and judge events without losing his freedom to comment.

P. Loti in *Suprêmes Visions d'Orient: Fragments de Journal Intime* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1921) tells with incomparable charm his impressions of Turkey in 1910 and 1913.

A recent book on modern Greek history is *Les Régimes Gouvernementaux de la Grèce de 1821 à nos Jours* (Paris, 1921) by Conclelis.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Lechat, *Lettres de Jean de Tagliacozzo sur le Siège de Belgrade et la Mort de S. Jean de Capistran* (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXIX. 1–2); *Posthumous Memoirs of Talaat Pasha* (Current History, November).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

General review: P. Masson-Oursel, *Philosophies de l'Orient* (Revue Philosophique, September).

A serious and intelligent study of *La Résurrection Géorgienne* (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. xiii, 318) is published by P. Gentizon who was sent by the *Temps* to Georgia, as the state which showed the most vitality and political capacity of any in the Caucasus group. W. Woytinski in *La Démocratie Géorgienne* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. vii, 304) discusses not only recent events in Georgia but its past relations with Russia, its ethnic unity, and its economic condition.

The first volume of the *Cambridge History of India,* edited by Professor E. J. Rapson (Cambridge University Press), is published at about this time. It brings the history of ancient India from the earliest times to about the middle of the first century A. D. The contributors are such scholars as Sir Halford MacKinder, the Master of Emmanuel College (Dr. Peter Giles), Dr. and Mrs. T. W. Rhys Davids, Professor E. W. Hopkins, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, and Mr. Edwyn R. Bevan.

A new periodical, entitled *Journal of Indian History,* to be published three times yearly by the University of Allahabad and edited by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, professor of modern European history in that university, made its appearance in November. The editor himself contributes the first four articles, dealing with British India and the East Indian trade in the seventeenth century.

The Hakluyt Society has issued the second and concluding volume of Mr. M. L. Dames's valuable annotated translation of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa,* mainly concerned with the Malabar Coast during the long period of the author's residence there.

Mr. John Murray has published a volume by Vice-Admiral George A. Ballard on *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Col. T. E. Lawrence, *Arabian Nights and Days* (World's Work, September); *id., Adventures in Arabia's Deliverance* (*ibid.,* October); P. S. Reinsch, *The Rise and Fall of Yuan Shih-Kai* (Asia, December).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Georges Hardy, director of public instruction in Morocco, who combines ripe scholarship with years of colonial experience, has published in rapid succession four volumes, *Les Éléments de l'Histoire Coloniale* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1921, pp. 180); *L'Enseignement au Sénégal de 1817 à 1854* (Paris, Larose, 1921, pp. v, 148); *La Mise en Valeur du Sénégal de 1817 à 1854* (*ibid.,* pp. xxxiii, 376); *Les Grandes Étapes de l'Histoire du Maroc* (*ibid.,* pp. 136).

Mr. H. A. MacMichael, assistant civil secretary in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, has nearly ready for publication two volumes, largely based on native records, of *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* (Cambridge University Press).

M. Sabry in the second part of *La Révolution Égyptienne* (Paris, Vrin, 1921, pp. 277) has treated in a clear style of the relations of the British Empire with Egypt since the armistice—of the attempted revolution, the futile appeal to the Peace Conference, the Milner mission, the boycott of that mission, and subsequent events.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington returned from Europe in November, after having spent three months in London in the collection of material for the earlier volumes of the *Correspondence of the British Ministers in Washington,* and after brief visits to the chief Spanish archives. Miss Elizabeth Donnan, of Wellesley College, returning temporarily to the work of the department, spent the summer in the search for additional materials, among the papers of the Royal African Company in the Public Record Office, and in the British Museum, for her volumes of documents respecting the African slave-trade to English America. For the series of volumes of the *Correspondence of Andrew*

Jackson, all letters of Jackson thus far found have been copied, and about two-thirds of those letters to Jackson which are to be printed. The second volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* has gone to the printer.

Following are some recent accessions of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress: Letter-books of John Bradford, Continental agent for prizes at Boston, two volumes, 1776–1782; letter-book of Samuel Bradford, United States marshal for the district of Massachusetts, one volume, 1796–1804; typewritten copies of correspondence of Col. Nicolas Fish, one volume, 1785–1786; a collection of more than a hundred broadside acts, bills, and committee reports of Congress, 1789–1810; letters from John Marshall to his wife, 1797–1831; letters from various Presidents to the commissioners of the District of Columbia and others, one volume, 1791–1869; J. R. Murray's diary of travels in Europe, 1799, two volumes; papers of Oliver Wendell Holmes, seven volumes; papers of George A. Trenholme, 1853–1897; the George H. Stuart Collection (Christian Commission), 1861–1877, two volumes and unbound letters; and photostat copies of the following: letters from Braxton Bragg to his wife, 1861–1863 (22 pieces, from originals in the collection of W. K. Bixby), Beauregard's report on the bombardment of Fort Sumter, Apr. 16, 1861 (from the same collection), and miscellaneous papers and letters of Col. John S. Mosby, 1861–1886 (35 pieces). It is to be noted also that the original Declaration of Independence and the original Constitution of the United States have been transferred to the library from the Department of State, by presidential order.

Though this journal has an opportunity, each quarter, through the kindness of the chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, to note briefly the most important of its many accessions, attention may well be called to the fuller description of those of the last year which is to be found on pp. 28–45 of the *Report* of the librarian for 1921; also, to a valuable report on the transcription of documents from French archives, by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, printed as an appendix, on pp. 177–186.

The Knights of Columbus Historical Commission offers five prizes, ranging in amount from $3000 to $500, for the best unpublished studies, based on research in primary sources, in the field of American history, submitted respectively by (1) professors or instructors in history or other social sciences in the colleges of the United States, (2) other specialists in history or other social sciences, (3) scholars and graduate students having access to material in Hispanic America, dealing with the international relations of the Americas, (4) school superintendents and teachers—on matters within the school curricula, and (5) undergraduate students in colleges. There is also provision for a co-operation not competitive in character, the object being the encouragement of

historical investigation. Studies submitted in competition must be sent to the commission on or before May 31, 1922. Descriptive circulars may be obtained by addressing the commission at 199 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston.

A new edition of Professor John S. Bassett's *Short History of the United States* brings the narrative down to the election of President Harding (Macmillan).

The house of Badger (Boston) has brought out *The American Dictionary of Dates,* in three volumes, compiled by Charles R. Damon.

Professor Waldo S. Pratt, of the Hartford Theological Seminary, has edited, and the Macmillan Company has published, an *American Supplement,* in one volume (pp. vi, 412), to Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* which contains on the one hand a great mass of newly collected biographical information, and on the other hand a valuable series of chapters and essays on the history of music in America.

Volume VI., no. 3, of *Smith College Studies in History* is *Letters of Ann Gillam Storrow to Jared Sparks,* edited, with an introduction, by Frances B. Blanshard. The letters, beginning in 1820 and, with one exception (1857), ending in 1846, give interesting glimpses of the intellectual world in and about Boston. No. 4 of the *Studies* is *The Westover Journal of John A. Selden, Esqr., 1858–1862,* with an introduction and notes by Professor John S. Bassett.

In the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are found some Notes on Franco-American Relations in 1778, compiled from contemporary sources by Miss Elizabeth S. Kite. The letters of Francis Patrick Kenrick to the Allen family are continued, this installment being of the years 1857–1860.

The *Journal* of the Presbyterian Historical Society for September and December contains the conclusion of Professor Frederick W. Loetscher's article on Presbyterianism in Colonial New England; it also begins the printing of the Journal of Rev. Lemuel Foster, who came to Illinois in 1832 as a home missionary and wrote an account of his experiences, which was continued, after his death in 1872, by his wife.

The *Transactions* of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, no. 25, embodies the proceedings of the society in 1919 and 1920, of which the most significant feature was the celebration, Apr. 10–13, 1920 (deferred from April, 1919), of the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. A number of historical addresses of value and interest were delivered in connection with the celebration, among which we note the Huguenots of New Paltz, by Hon. Ralph LeFevre, of New Paltz, N. Y., and the Family of Coligny

and the Colonial Policy of the Admiral, by Col. William Gaspard de Coligny, of Hendersonville, N. C.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In commemoration of the Pilgrim Tercentenary, the University of Illinois Press has published a booklet, of 48 pages, containing an excellent address on the Place of the Pilgrims in American History, by Professor Evarts B. Greene.

In *A Day in a Colonial Home* (Boston, Marshall Jones, 1921), Della R. Prescott has given a simple sketch of a day's activities in a colonial household and added an appendix showing how a typical New England kitchen of the eighteenth century may be reconstructed in a school, library or museum.

Volume V. of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States* has appeared (Macmillan). The volume covers the period 1815–1848 and bears the subtitle *The Period of Transition.*

The life of *Chief Justice Roger B. Taney,* on which Dr. Bernard C. Steiner has long been engaged, is now in press (Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Company).

The Atlantic Monthly Press announces the *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson,* prepared by Dr. Bliss Perry.

Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star: War-Time Editorials by Theodore Roosevelt, edited, with an introduction, by Ralph Stout, and *Roosevelt in the Bad Lands,* by Herman Hagedorn, are among the publications of the Roosevelt Memorial Association, and from the press of the Houghton Mifflin Company. Charles Scribner's Sons have brought out *My Brother, Theodore Roosevelt,* by Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson. The Rev. Dr. Ferdinand C. Inglehart has published his recollections of Roosevelt under the title *Theodore Roosevelt: the Man as I knew him* (New York, Burt). *Quentin Roosevelt: a Sketch, with Letters,* edited by Kermit Roosevelt, comprises letters written by Quentin Roosevelt while in the training camps and in France (Scribner).

Woodrow Wilson's Administration and Achievements: being a Compilation from the Newspaper Press of Eight Years of the World's Greatest History, compiled by F. B. Lord and J. W. Bryan, is brought out in Washington by the J. W. Bryan Press (513 Eleventh Street, N.W.).

The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, late American ambassador to Great Britain, by Burton J. Hendrick, will be published in book form when the serial publication of Mr. Page's letters in the *World's Work* is completed.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

Aided by a bequest of the late Gen. George W. Cullum, his *Biographical Register of Officers and Graduates of the U. S. Military Academy* has been supplemented by an addition, called volume VI. and bound in two volumes. Coming to the year 1920, it gives the record of all graduates of the academy in the Great War. The editor is Col. Wirt Robinson.

The Quartermaster Corps in the Year 1917 in the World War is by Henry G. Sharpe, formerly quartermaster general, U. S. A. (New York, Century Company).

The National Catholic War Council has brought out through the Macmillan Company *American Catholics in the War,* by Michael Williams.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out a *History of the American Field Service in France, "Friends of France", 1914–1917,* in three volumes, told by its members and edited by J. W. D. Seymour.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

An attractive story of an out-of-the-way locality in eastern Maine has been written by Miss Minnie Atkinson, with affectionate interest, in *Hinckley Township, or Grand Lake Stream Plantation* (Newburyport, Mass., *Herald* Press, pp. 122, with many illustrations).

In the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* the papers of G. G. Putnam on Salem Vessels and Voyages are continued, as are also the Old Norfolk County Records, and there is a first installment of materials relating to the Essex Guard (War of 1812), compiled by Lieut.-Col. L. W. Jenkins.

The Connecticut organization called the Governor's Independent Volunteer Troop of Horse Guards, instituted in 1788, served for some years on formal occasions as escort and the like, became dormant after one generation, and in 1911 was revived as Troop B, Cavalry, of the Connecticut National Guard. *The Origin and Fortunes of Troop B,* edited by James L. Howard (Hartford, Case, Lockwood, and Brainard Co., pp. 261), recounts its history, chiefly by printing the annual historians' chronicles. The only active service seems to have been that of 1916 on the Mexican border.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The latest publication of the state historian of New York is an *Historical Account and Inventory of the Records of Suffolk County* (eastern portion of Long Island), prepared by the county clerk.

In the April number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* are found the interesting address delivered by Dr. James Sullivan before the association in October, 1920, on Sectionalism in Writing History—Shirley and Johnson; a paper by Harry E. Barnes on the Origins of Prison Reform in New York State; and one by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer on the Schoolmaster's Lot at New Paltz.

The principal contents of the October number of the *New York Historical Society Bulletin* are an article by Charles X. Harris on Pieter Vanderlyn, Portrait Painter, and some Notes on American Artists, compiled by the late William Kelby.

The October number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains an address by Hon. R. Wayne Parker entitled New Jersey in the Colonial Wars; a paper by J. F. Folsom on the Preakness Valley and Reminiscences of Washington's Headquarters in the Dey Mansion; Propositions of Gawen Lawrie for the Settlement of East Jersey, 1682; and a letter from Charles Thomson to his wife, August 21, 1783, relative to fixing the residence of Congress.

Two valuable contributions appear in the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* James Wilson and James Iredell: a Parallel and a Contrast, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson, and Charles Lee: Stormy Petrel of the Revolution, by Edward Robins. The April number contains the journal of Col. John May of Boston, concerning a journey to the Ohio country in 1789. The correspondence of Thomas Rodney, contributed by Mr. Simon Gratz, is continued to 1810.

The Pennsylvania History Press, Haverford, Pennsylvania, has published *The Forks of the Delaware, 1794–1811: Chronicles of Early Travel to Easton and neighboring Parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey,* a paper read by Professor R. W. Kelsey before the Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society in November, 1919.

The contents of the October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* include a paper, by Harry E. Barnes, on the Evolution of American Penology as illustrated by the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania; one by Frank R. Murdock on Some Aspects of Pittsburgh's Industrial Contribution to the World War; a brief sketch, by B. F. Pershing, of Edgar A. Cowan, United States senator from Pennsylvania, 1861–1867; and a short paper, by Clarence R. Thayer, on George Croghan and the Struggle for the Ohio Valley, 1748–1758. In the table of contents, in the title, and in the running headlines, the name is printed "Groghan".

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are found the second part of William B. Marye's paper on the Baltimore County "Garrison" and the Old Garrison Roads, a continuation of Edward S. Delaplaine's Life of Thomas Jefferson, and some Notes from the Early Records of Maryland, by Jane B. Cotton.

Potomac Landings is the title of a narrative and picture history, by Paul Wilstach, of the famous old manor houses on the great plantations along the Potomac in colonial times (Doubleday, Page).

In the October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* A. J. Morrison presents a paper on the Virginia Indian Trade to 1673, which, the author states, "is to serve by way of preface to a rather close investigation of the Southern Indian Trade from 1673 to 1763". The Professional Biography of Moncure Robinson (1802–1891), a noted civil engineer, is a reprint of the biography by R. B. Osborne (1889). The *Magazine* prints, from the Dawson Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, some letters (1745–1758) of Patrick Henry, sr., Samuel Davies, James Maury, Edwin Conway, and George Trask.

Historical articles in the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: Ideals of America; Virginia, Founder of the World's Navies; and Correspondence relating to Lord Botetourt. There is also a genealogical account of the Lanier family.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues in the April number the correspondence of Ralph Izard and Henry Laurens, printing a number of letters of Izard to Laurens during 1777. The *Magazine* presents some documents (1764–1765) pertaining to the Excommunication of Joseph Ash, with a note by Judge Henry A. M. Smith, and some documents (1735) relating to Landgrave Thomas Smith's Visit to Boston, contributed by Edward L. Smith.

WESTERN STATES

The June–September issue (double number) of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains two articles of monographic scope. They are: *In re* that Aggressive Slavocracy, by Chauncey S. Boucher, and the Political Career of Ignatius Donnelly, by John D. Hicks. The first is a well-reasoned argument in the negative, supported by much documentary evidence; the second, the interesting story of a Don Quixote in politics. Among the articles are also found an evaluation by L. B. Shippee, of Rhodes's *History of the United States*, as well as an account of the fourteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, held at Madison, Wisconsin, in April. In the department of Notes and Documents is an item of unusual interest and

value, Trudeau's Description of the Upper Missouri. The recent discovery of this document is related by Miss Annie H. Abel, who has efficiently edited it for the *Review*.

An extra number (November) of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1919–1920. The historical papers which appear in this number are the following: the Timber Culture Acts, by William F. Raney; an Historical Detective Story, by Jacob P. Dunn; Elijah Clarke's Foreign Intrigues and the "Trans-Oconee Republic", by E. Merton Coulter; the Undertow of Puritan Influence, by Arthur L. Kohlmeier; the Moravian Mission Settlement in Indiana, by Arthur W. Brady; the Use, the Abuse, and the Writing of Textbooks in American History, by Wilmer C. Harris; How the War should affect the Teaching of History, by Herriot C. Palmer; the Trials of a History Teacher, by Charles Roll; Perils of River Navigation in the Sixties, by William C. Cochran; Dr. Josiah Gregg, Historian of the Old Santa Fé Trail, by William E. Connelley; the Construction of the Miami and Erie Canal, by Arthur H. Hirsch; and the Strategy of Concentration, as used by the Confederate Forces in the Mississippi Valley in the Spring of 1862, by Alfred P. James.

At a joint session of the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the Ohio History Teachers' Association held in Columbus November 11 and 12 the following historical papers were read: Céloron de Blainville and French Expansion in the Ohio Valley, by Professor G. A. Wood of Ohio State University; the Military Office in America, 1763–1775, by Professor Clarence E. Carter of Miami University; and Three Early Anti-Slavery Newspapers of the Ohio Valley, by Miss Annetta Walsh of North High School, Columbus.

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is given over entirely to papers and materials relating to John Brown. The principal paper is by C. B. Galbreath. An account of John Brown at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown is a lecture by Col. S. K. Donovan (died 1902), who went to Harper's Ferry as a newspaper correspondent immediately after the raid. There is also a reprint of the Execution of John Brown, by Murat Halstead.

The July–September number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the fourth installment of the Gano Papers. These are of the year 1813 and include correspondence of General John S. Gano with Governor Return J. Meigs, Brig.-Gens. Edmund Munger and John Wingate, and Col. Henry Brush.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains the concluding installment of John E. Inglehart's monograph on Methodism in Southwestern Indiana; a discussion, by Logan Esarey, of the Ap-

proach to History; and the first part of a paper, by Charles H. Money, on the Fugitive Slave Law in Indiana. This paper is concluded in the September number, which also contains an account of New Albany and the Scribner Family, by Mary Scribner Davis Collins; and a sketch of Judge M. C. Eggleston, by Blanche G. Garber.

The *Centennial Memorial Volume* published by the Indiana University upon occasion of the commemoration which occurred in July, 1920, contains as part I. a history of the university, composed of six addresses delivered in 1889–1894 by the late Judge David D. Banta.

As a part of the seventy-fifth anniversary of Earlham College, a careful history of the institution is being prepared for publication by Professor Harlow Lindley.

The contents of the April (1920) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* include: Some Pastors and Pastorates during the Century of Presbyterianism in Illinois, by Rev. James G. K. McClure; Old Time Campaigning and the Story of a Lincoln Campaign Song, by William H. Smith; and Pike County Settled 1820, by Jesse M. Thompson. The more important articles in the January number are: the address delivered by Lord Charnwood at the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln on the state house grounds, Oct. 6, 1918; In Meade's Camp: a Diary of the Civil War (February and March, 1864), by Robert M. Hatfield; the Story of the Baptist Church of Waterman, Illinois, by George E. Congdon; and the Spirit of '76 from the Green Mountains, by Gaius Paddock.

The Library of the University of Illinois has recently acquired the library of the Count Antonio Cavagna Sangiuliana di Gualdana (of La Gelada, Italy). The library is estimated to contain about 40,000 volumes, in addition to large collections of manuscripts, maps, and prints. It is especially rich in material for the study of Italian history, literature, and art.

In the September number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* William E. Railey's articles on Woodford County are concluded. Col. M. C. Taylor's Diary of the López expedition to Cuba (1850) is contributed by A. C. Quisenberry.

The *Michigan History Magazine* covers the year 1921 with two double numbers, January–April and July–October. Among the contents of the first are: New England Men in Michigan History, by William Stocking; Recollections of Zachariah Chandler, by O. E. McCutcheon; a Sketch of some Institutional Beginnings in Michigan, by W. O. Hedrick; and an account of Michigan War Legislation, 1919, by Charles Landrum. In the July–October issue are: A Daring Canadian Abolitionist (Alexander M. Ross), by Fred Landon; a Forgotten City (Port Sheldon), by Ralph C. Meima; and Overland to Michigan in 1846, by Miss Sue I. Silliman.

In 1918 the State Historical Society of Wisconsin published *The Movement for Statehood,* the first of four volumes designated the Constitutional Series. The second and third volumes of the series, *The Convention of 1846,* and *The Struggle over Ratification, 1846–1847,* have now been published, and the fourth, which will cover the debates in the second constitutional convention (1847 and 1848), together with the constitution as finally adopted, is ready for the press. The volumes are edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife. The *Proceedings* of the society for 1920, just issued, contains two historical papers. The one bears the title the Rump Council, and embraces the proceedings of the first legislative assembly held on the soil of Wisconsin Territory (at Green Bay, January, 1836). It is edited by Dr. Joseph Schafer. The other is a monograph by Dr. Schafer on Wisconsin's Farm Loan Law, 1849–1863. At the annual meeting of the society, October 20, Miss Louise P. Kellogg delivered the address, which was in memory of the character and services of Dr. Lyman C. Draper.

The September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains the story of How Wisconsin Women won the Ballot, by Theodora W. Youmans; a sketch, by W. W. Bartlett, of Jean Brunet, Chippewa Valley Pioneer; and an account, by Dr. M. M. Quaife, of Wisconsin's First Literary Magazine. The papers by W. A. Titus on Historic Spots in Wisconsin are continued, as are also the letters of Chauncey H. Cooke, "the Badger Boy in Blue". There are also two items relative to the Chicago convention of 1860, the one a letter from Charles C. Sholes to James R. Doolittle, May 21, 1860, the other some Personal Recollections by Amherst W. Kellogg.

Articles in the November number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* are: the Family Trail through American History, by Cyril A. Herrick, and the Early Norwegian Press in America, by Theodore C. Blegen. The *Twenty-First Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Historical Society appears as an extra number (October) of the *Bulletin.*

The November number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account of Old Fort Atkinson, by Bruce E. Mahan, and some newspaper excerpts relative to the beginnings of Burlington.

Following are the contents of the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*: Conditions in Texas affecting the Colonization Problem, 1795–1801, by Mattie A. Hatcher; a first installment of the Correspondence of Guy M. Bryan and Rutherford B. Hayes (1843–1849); Early Irrigation in Texas, by Edwin P. Arneson; and the Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836–1842.

Harper and Brothers have published *The Party of the Third Part: the Story of the Kansas Industrial Relations Court,* by Henry J. Allen.

The *Nebraska Blue Book and Historical Register, 1920* (pp. 536), edited by Addison E. Sheldon, contains besides the usual conspectus of state government, central and local, some items of an historical sort:

for instance, an historical sketch of Nebraska, a history of the capitol, of the state seal and flower, an historical roster of officers, and a brief military history of the state. There is also a sketch of the constitutional history of the state, with the constitution of 1875 as amended by the convention of 1919.

James H. McClintock of Phoenix, Arizona, is the author and publisher of *Mormon Settlement in Arizona: a Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert.*

The principal articles in the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are one by Judge F. W. Howay entitled Captains Gray and Kendrick: the Barrell Letters, pertaining to the voyage of the *Columbia* and *Washington* (1787–1790); one by W. P. Bonney, on Naming Stampede Pass; and one by John T. Condon on the Oregon Laws of 1845.

The September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains a monograph, by Andrew Fish, on the Last Phase of the Oregon Boundary Question, and a second installment (1848–1849) of the Letters of the Reverend William M. Roberts, third superintendent of the Oregon Mission.

Stanford University has recently acquired the correspondence of Stephen M. White, Democratic senator from California 1893–1899, a large and important collection.

The legislature of Hawaii has recently created an Historical Commission of three members and has appropriated $15,000 for a period of two years. Professor K. C. Leebrick, formerly of the University of California but now of the University of Hawaii, has been appointed a member of this commission.

CANADA

The September number of the *Canadian Historical Review* contains a discussion of Statistics in Canada, by Gilbert E. Jackson, and an historical paper on the Law of Marriage in Upper Canada, by Hon. W. R. Riddell. The *Review* also reprints Edward Blake's "Aurora Speech" of Oct. 3, 1874, a speech which possesses especial interest at this time because in it are discussed in particular the need for cultivating a national feeling in Canada and the future relations of Canada to the empire.

The house of John Murray, London, is about to publish a *Life of General the Hon. James Murray, a Builder of Canada,* with a biographical sketch of the family of Murray of Elibank, by General Murray's descendant Maj.-Gen. R. H. Mahon.

The Oxford University Press announces the publication of a biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, by Professor Oscar D. Skelton, and

Correspondence of Sir John A. Macdonald, selected by his literary executor, Sir Joseph Pope, which in this country is published by Doubleday, Page and Company (pp. xxvi, 502).

The *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society for three successive years, 1918, 1919, and 1920 (volumes XVI., XVII., and XVIII., respectively), have been received. The first is a thin pamphlet of 53 pages and contains articles on the Books of the Political Prisoners and Exiles of 1838, by J. Davis Barnett; a Loyalist of the St. Lawrence (Justus Sherwood), by Henry H. Noble; and a History of the Windsor and Detroit Ferries. Volume XVII. (pp. 174) includes: the Retreat of Proctor and Tecumseh, by Judge C. O. Ermatinger; Some Unusual Sources of Information in the Toronto Reference Library on the Canadian Rebellions of 1837–1838, by Miss Frances M. Staton; Canada's Part in Freeing the Slave, by Fred Landon; British Naval Officers of a Century ago, by Lieut.-Col. D. H. MacLaren; and lastly, in some sixty pages, a Concise History of the Late Rebellion in Upper Canada to the Evacuation of Navy Island (1838), edited by Judge Riddell from the manuscript of George Coventry, who died in 1870. Vol. XVIII. (pp. 110) contains fifteen articles, of which the following are of general interest: Early Navigation on the Georgian Bay, by James H. Rutherford; Ship and Shanty in the Early Fifties, by Rev. Canon P. L. Spencer; a Trial for High Treason in 1838, by Hon. W. R. Riddell; Colonel Joel Stone, a United Empire Loyalist and the Founder of Gananoque, a memoir by Judge H. S. McDonald, which includes some of Stone's correspondence; Pioneer Schools of Upper Canada, by Frank Eames; and Genealogical Tables and their Right Uses in History, by A. F. Hunter.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The August number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* contains three articles: La Primera Negociación Diplomática entablada con la Junta Revolucionaria de Buenos Aires, by Julián María Rubio y Estéban, with a body of documents appended; the Old Spanish Trail, a study of Spanish and Mexican trade and exploration northwest from New Mexico to the Great Basin and California, by Joseph J. Hill; and Some Social Aspects of the Mexican Constitution of 1817, by N. Andrew N. Cleven. There are also a report, by Miss I. A. Wright, of the Second Congress of Hispano-American History and Geography, Seville, May, 1921, and some account of the Archivo General de Indias, by Arthur S. Aiton and J. Lloyd Mecham.

Cuba before Columbus, by M. Raymond Harrington, appears among the *Indian Notes and Monographs* of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

The Hispanic Society of America expects before long to publish a volume on *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America,* by Professor Bernard Moses.

J. Humbert is the author of a new *Histoire de la Colombie et du Vénézuéla, des Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 226).

The historical section of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at Buenos Aires has published in a substantial volume a *Relación Descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, etc., del Virreinato de Buenos Aires existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, carefully prepared by the director of that archive, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas.

La Vigía Lecor, by Mario Falcao Espalter, is the first in a series of twenty-two volumes, bearing the general title *Historia de la Dominación Portuguesa en el Uruguay* (1815–1829). According to the plan of the work there will be three volumes on the economic régime, seven on the military, eleven on the political, and one devoted to a philosophico-historical sketch of the domination (*Bosquejo Filosófico-Histórico de la Dominación Lusitana*). The present volume, the first of the economic group (Montevideo, Luis y Manuel Pérez, 1919), covers the period 1817–1820. The other two volumes of the economic group, which have the title *Real Hacienda Cisplatina, 1820–1829*, and are by the same author, are in press.

A temperate and judicious study of an Argentinian warrior, historian, and publicist is *Mitre: una Década de su Vida Política, 1852–1862* (Buenos Aires, 1921, pp. 256) by R. Rivarola.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. E. Prussing, *George Washington, Captain of Industry* (Scribner's Magazine, October, November); Lord Acton, *American Diaries*, I. [1853] (Fortnightly Review, November); A. J. Morrison, *The Commerce of the Prairies and Dr. Gregg* (Texas Review, October); B. J. Hendrick, *Chapters from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* (World's Work, October–December); Henry Morgenthau, *All in a Life-Time: Chapters from an Autobiography*, cont. (*ibid.*, October–December); T. G. Frothingham, *Our Part in the Strategy of the World War* (Current History, December); W. J. Cunningham, *The Railroads under Government Operation from January 1, 1919, to March 1, 1920* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, October, November); E. S. Gregg, *Failure of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920* (American Economic Review, December); Mark Sullivan, *One Year of President Harding* (World's Work, November); R. Roy, *L'Ancienne Noblesse au Canada* (Revue Canadienne, September, October); T. Chapais, *La Politique Canadienne en 1835* (Le Canada Français, September); A Raffalovitch, *Le Canada pendant les Six Dernières Années, 1914–1920* (Journal des Économistes, July); J. Conangla Fontanilles, *Pi y Margall y la Independencia Cubana* (Cuba Contemporánea, October, November); M. de Carrión, *El Desenvolvimiento Social de Cuba en los Últimos Veinte Años* (*ibid.*, September); Francisco Garcia Calderón, *Simón Bolívar* (Inter-America, October); G. Porras Troconis, *The Dismemberment of Greater Colombia* (*ibid.*, October); F. Nieto del Rio, *Chile's Conflict with Bolivia and Peru* (Current History, December).

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The American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT ST. LOUIS[1]

"POSCIMUR", if one may borrow an exordium from Horace, and freely translate it, "We are put to it". It is expected and required of the editor of the *American Historical Review* that in each April number there shall be one article "covering" the then recent annual meeting of the American Historical Association. It is a large order, when a meeting consists of twenty-five sessions, held in eleven different places, and in some instances held three or four at a time, and including in the aggregate at least sixty-five papers. It may be that so prodigious a bill of fare is welcome to most of those who attend, each member being sure to find something that interests him, something that lies in or near his "specialty". It may be that no one but the reporter of the proceedings is confused by their multiplicity. Yet sometimes the thought arises, that it is not the soundest appetites which are ministered to by the complicated hotel *menu*, and that healthy minds might well ask the question,

> What neat repast shall feast us, light and choice,
> Of Attic taste?

The experiment of a simple programme of high quality might well be tried, and might have unifying effects of considerable value.

Howsoever these things may be, the attempt to deal with the St. Louis meeting must nevertheless be made. No one has the right to expect that such a chronicle shall be highly readable, but perhaps it is possible this year to lighten it by some omissions. By decree of the Association a year ago, upon recommendation from the Committee on Policy, it was resolved that hereafter a carefully composed summary of each paper read at any meeting should appear in the *Annual*

[1] Another account of the meeting, by Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, will be found in the *Historical Outlook* for March, 1922.

Report, whether the full text of the paper were printed in that volume or elsewhere or not at all. In view of the fact that some account of each paper will thus be accessible in print, it may be less necessary than heretofore that each should be summarized in these pages.

It added to the diversity, though also to the pleasure and interest of the occasion, that several other historical societies met at St. Louis during the same days, December 28, 29, and 30, 1921. With the Agricultural History Society, which by treaty has an organic relation to the American Historical Association, there were two joint sessions devoted to the agricultural history of the United States. With the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, many of whose members are also members of the older body, there was a joint session devoted to topics in the earlier economic history of the Mississippi Valley, and that society had also a subscription dinner on the evening of the 27th. The American Catholic Historical Association also began its sessions with a dinner on that evening; this was followed on the ensuing days by sessions comprising many interesting papers in American and European church history, by fruitful practical conferences on the general bibliography of church history, on Catholic archives in the United States, and on Catholic historical publications, and finally by a general session in which Professor James J. Walsh, president of the society, read his presidential address, on the Church and Peace Movements in the Past. Much active interest, with promise of much useful work in the future, was manifested in the meetings of all three of these societies. Two other organizations which convened at the same time were the Missouri Historical Society, of St. Louis, and the State Historical Society of Missouri, of Columbia, both of which participated in the exercises of the second evening, when there was a general session commemorative of the centennial anniversary of the admission of Missouri into the Union in 1821.

But besides the elements of diversity, there were of course also elements making for unity. The hotel in which headquarters were established, the Planters Hotel, gave abundant opportunities for conversation and sociability. The Missouri Historical Society entertained the guests, on one of the evenings, at the City Club, with a "smoker" for the men and a reception for the women; and there were several occasions on which the society came together as a whole, and not in specialized sections. Most notable of these was the dinner offered to all the members by the trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden, founded as an institution thirty-three years ago by the will of Henry Shaw of St. Louis. After the dinner an address of welcome was delivered by Dr. Frederic A. Hall, chancellor of Washing-

ton University; and the president of the Association, the French ambassador, Mr. Jusserand, delivered the brilliant and instructive address which we have the honor to print on later pages of this number.

Another unifying, and very agreeable, occasion was the luncheon hospitably offered by Washington University on the second day, which gave members a gratifying opportunity to see the noteworthy campus and buildings of that institution, in whose halls most of the exercises of that day took place. To these should be added two general sessions, in which, with no alternative programmes to attract them elsewhere, members listened to the commemoration of the Missouri centennial, already mentioned, and to a group of papers in French history; at the latter session—held, it will be remembered, on soil that once was French—the ambassador of France presided.

The local arrangements, despite the number of places involved, ran very smoothly. For them the Association was indebted to the local committee headed by Mr. William K. Bixby and Mr. Charles P. Pettus, and especially to Professor Thomas M. Marshall, of Washington University. Evidently the committee must have exerted itself valiantly on the side of publicity also, for the St. Louis newspapers gave the meeting an amount of attention to which the Association is not accustomed; ordinarily, in the cities where the Association meets, the newspapers devote less space to the lucubrations of the historians than to the local weather, the latest bankruptcy, or the firemen's ball.

By a very gratifying action on the part of the railroad authorities, a reduction of fares such as used to be granted before the war was accorded once more on this occasion, though the number of attendants required in order to secure the concession was placed at a height which it will often be difficult for the combined societies to reach. The registration of the American Historical Association at this thirty-sixth annual meeting was 325, as against 360 at the thirty-fifth. The difference is only such as could be accounted for by the greater distances by which Western members are separated from St. Louis as compared with those which separate the average Eastern member from Washington, and the attendance may be regarded as excellent even upon pre-war standards.

The chairman of the Committee on the Programme was Professor Evarts B. Greene, who provided what was, by general agreement, an unusually interesting programme.

In accordance with the customary form of these annual surveys, one may well report first upon the various practical conferences, before speaking of those papers which lend themselves more readily to

a systematic or chronological order. First, then, of the conference on the teaching of history in schools. Its topic was that which has been so anxiously debated in recent years, that of the relations in the school curriculum between history and the other social sciences or studies. The two papers which served as the basis of discussion were one by Professor Rolla M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago, describing various forms of adjustment practised in elementary and secondary schools—independent courses, simultaneous or successive, in history and the cognate studies, and courses in which all these elements are fused, during either the whole or the earlier part of the curriculum—and one by Professor Eugene M. Violette, of the State Teachers College at Kirksville, Missouri, on the various adjustments possible in the curriculum of the college. The discussion showed plainly the perplexities of the present situation, the uncertainty as to how the contending claims of all these studies upon the pupil's time and mind, or, more exactly, upon the minds of school superintendents, can be reconciled. It would appear that it can only be done by joint effort of the representatives of all these studies in some one organic body. With this in view, though many efforts at solution of the problems may prove helpful, especial interest attaches to those undertaken by the National Council of Teachers of Social Studies,[2] a body formed for just such co-operative study, and in which it was intended that the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society should each be represented. The Executive Council of the Association, at this session, requested the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools to take an active part in the movement of co-operation which seems to be indicated as affording the best pathway out of the existing perplexities, and appointed as its representatives two members of that committee, Professors Henry Johnson and Arthur M. Schlesinger.

In the conference of archivists, the question how the states can be persuaded to take better care of their archives was discussed in the light of the experience of Iowa, with many helpful practical suggestions, by Mr. C. C. Stiles, of the Iowa State Department of History, and in the light of Connecticut experience by Mr. George S. Godard, of the Connecticut State Library. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, chairman of the Association's Public Archives Commission, read a history of its achievements during the twenty-two years of its existence, and there was some discussion of its future, in view of the fact

[2] More recently named National Council for the Social Studies; see *post*, pp. 491–492.

that the reports upon the contents of state archives, which have constituted its chief published work, are now nearly completed.

The conference of historical societies, which enjoys a certain degree of autonomy under the auspices of the Association, elected Mr. Paltsits as its president for the next two years. Two papers were read in its session. In the first, Dr. Newton D. Mereness described the different varieties of Historical Material in Washington having Value for the Individual State—papers in the War Department relating to frontier defense, in the Indian Office relating to Indian relations, in the Department of State relating to the administration of territorial governments, in the Post Office Department relating to the development of communications and transportation, in the General Land Office on land matters, and in the House and Senate files on all these subjects. Dr. Theodore C. Pease, of the Illinois State Historical Library, in a paper on Historical Materials in the Depositories of the Middle West, showed how collections of historical material in that region had developed under a succession of concepts as to what constitutes history—from that view which made it consist almost solely in glorifying the heroes of the frontier and the wars of the republic, to the study of past politics as history, and ultimately to broadening inclusion of the economic, social, and religious aspects of the history of the state and of the whole region of which it forms a part.

For less formal consideration of special fields in which groups of members have a practical and effective interest, there were several "luncheon conferences", and a "dinner conference" of those especially interested in the work of the hereditary patriotic societies. At the preceding annual meeting the Council had appointed a special committee on relations with these societies, and this committee, under the efficient chairmanship of Professor Dixon R. Fox, of Columbia University, has made considerable progress in drawing the representatives of those societies into common consultation on matters of historical interest.

The topics of the respective luncheon conferences were: the history of science, that of the Great War, English history, American colonial history, Hispanic-American history, and the history of the Far East. The original intention respecting these conferences, when they were instituted, some years ago, was that they should be occupied with free and informal discussion, especially with practical discussion as to what tasks or problems most deserved to have the labor of scholars expended upon them, and in what manner that labor might best be directed, the prime objects being the exchange of experience

and the promotion of scientific work. But though these conferences, as they now run, by no means lack those elements of interest, in the main they have come to consist of formal written papers, often no different in character from those read in the main sessions—and no shorter. It would seem as if college professors, accustomed to talk informally to classes several times a week, might cut loose on these occasions from written texts, and, if there are tasks in their fields which they wish to urge others to engage or co-operate in, tasks suffering to be undertaken, might be aware of the superior hortatory power which resides in the spoken word as compared with the ten-minute or thirty-minute "paper".

The free and characteristic talk of Professor Breasted on wheat in ancient Egypt, and like topics, in the conference on the history of science, and that of Professor Haskins on opportunities for research in the history of science afforded by European libraries, were examples of the value and attractiveness of this method. Another theme interestingly handled in that conference was that of Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, the various ways in which the natural sciences can be invoked to aid in the study of American history.

In the conference on the history of the Great War, Dr. Wayne E. Stevens, of Dartmouth College, described, with illustrations, the critical problems involved in the use of the official records of that war, problems of both external and internal criticism, attended by difficulties arising out of the enormous volume and varied character of the material, the multitude of inaccurate and unauthentic versions of documents, the haste with which documents were prepared, their technical language, and the various factors of human and military fallibility. Captain Shipley Thomas described the contribution made to the history of the war by a group of officers of the American Expeditionary Force, mostly regimental intelligence officers, one from each combat-unit, who were assembled at Langres for the purpose, a few days after the armistice, and for two months were occupied with the study and discussion of the military operations in which they had taken part.

In the "luncheon conference" on English history, Professor Arthur L. Cross, of the University of Michigan, indicated the dangers involved in the growing tendency to lay the chief emphasis, in historical teaching, on recent history and world-history. Also he pointed out the advantage of legal history as a teaching instrument. A paper on this subject, the need of the study of legal history by the law student or by college students preparing for the law school, by Professor Clarence C. Crawford, of the University of Kansas, was

read at this luncheon, and one by Professor Clarence Perkins, of the University of North Dakota, on Electioneering in the Time of Sir Robert Walpole.

The conference on American colonial history realized most completely the original ideal of these conferences, the speakers directing attention to a large number of fields calling urgently for more thorough research and indicating methods or materials for their cultivation. Thus, Professor Root of Wisconsin dwelt on the financial relations between England and the colonies as deserving further study, Professor Bond of Cincinnati on studies concerning colonial agents and concerning the relations between different regions in the colonial period, Professor Gipson of Wabash College on possibilities in the field of eighteenth-century colonial biography.

In the conference on Hispanic-American history, Professor Hackett, of the University of Texas, described the materials for Spanish history to be found in the library of the late Señor Genaro García of Mexico, recently acquired by that institution; Dr. Arthur S. Aiton of Michigan discussed the establishment of the viceroyalty in the New World, under Mendoza, as a projection into that continent of a Spanish institution which had already had a long development in Spain itself; and Professor Robertson of Illinois read a paper on the policy of Spain toward her revolted colonies in 1823–1824.

Finally, in the conference on the history of the Far East, Professor Rostovtseff of Wisconsin sketched the history of the influence of the art of Central Asia on South Russia and China, and a paper was read on Prince Shotoku and the Taikwa Reform in Japan in 645 A. D., by Mr. Langdon Warner, director of the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia.

Of the more formal sessions devoted to the reading and consideration of formal papers, the one which had the widest scope, and which may therefore deserve to be first spoken of, was a session devoted to the history of civilization. In opening it, its chairman, Professor Breasted of Chicago, in an extended paper, entitled New Light on the Origins of Civilization, adverted to the new opportunities for exploration and study in the Near East opened up by recent events, and to the want of adequate organization in America for exploiting these opportunities. He then passed to a description of the organization and methods of the Oriental Institute established at the University of Chicago, its collections, and its undertaking to edit, with much European aid, those early Egyptian coffin-inscriptions, archaic forerunners of the Book of the Dead, which should present us with our first chapters in the history of religion and morals. He then de-

scribed his very interesting and fruitful archaeological expedition of 1920 in Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria. Finally, from general considerations respecting the origins of civilization, he passed to the origins of science in particular, and described the contents of the Edwin Smith medical papyrus of the sixteenth century B. C., now belonging to the New York Historical Society.

In the same session, Professor Ferdinand Schevill, of the same university, speaking on the Relation of the Fine Arts to the History of Civilization, maintained with emphasis that the history of the fine arts could not be brought into accord with those theories respecting progress which are now dominant in the study of history. General Eben Swift, U. S. A., had a paper upon the Development of the Art of War, Professor William L. Westermann, of Cornell University, on historical aspects of Commerce and Economics, especially on the difficulties attending their treatment in respect to periods prior to the existence of trustworthy statistics.

In a session specially devoted to economic history, Professor N. S. B. Gras, of the University of Minnesota, read a paper on the Development of Metropolitan Economy in Europe and America, which we shall have the pleasure of printing in a later number. That of Professor Harry E. Barnes, of Clark University, on the Significance of Sociology for Economic and Social History, dwelt on the impossibility of treating these subjects suitably without possessing an adequate knowledge of sociology, and of sociology in its latest and most satisfactory and most inclusive forms. While sociology, he said, furnishes the historian with his knowledge of the principles and patterns of human behavior, with which alone he can proceed intelligently in historical synthesis, the historian can provide the sociologist with invaluable genetic and comparative data, by recourse to which the sociologist can vastly improve the breadth and accuracy of his subject. "There is no danger of sociology engulfing or absorbing history. There will always be an ample opportunity for productive labor in gathering the concrete material descriptive of human progress." The last part of the paper was given to specific illustrations of the workings of the chief sociological factors in history.

The papers on ancient history, in the session set apart for that subject, were all concerned with the history of the Roman Empire. Recent Advances in our Knowledge of that field were indicated by Professor A. E. R. Boak, of Michigan, who adverted especially to the modern debates respecting the nature and theory of the principate, the worship of the emperor, the growth of the bureaucracy, the origin of the colonate, the religious transformations, the influence of Egypt

and of Parthia. Professor Frank B. Marsh, of Texas, endeavored to show to what extent and in what sense we may rightly regard the Empire as a Continuation of the Republic, and, urging the need of emancipating our minds from the influence of literary sources originating in the Antonine period, argued that Augustus made a serious effort to conform his settlement of the world to the old republican and aristocratic tradition. Professor Charles H. Oldfather, of Wabash College, described the chief varieties of New Light from the Papyri, dwelling particularly on their contribution to our knowledge of administration and of economic conditions in Egypt.

Of the papers in medieval history, that of Professor August C. Krey, of Minnesota, on the International State of the Middle Ages and Some Reasons for its Downfall, may be expected to appear ultimately in the pages of this journal. That of Professor Louis J. Paetow, of California, on the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in the History of Culture, was largely a plea for a fuller study of medieval Latin, and even for its use as an international language in our time. That of Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Western Reserve University, on Guido Bonatti, dealt with an astrologer of the thirteenth century, placed by Dante in the eighth circle of the Inferno, and especially with his *Liber Astronomicus*.

Mention has already been made of an afternoon session occupied with the history of France. Of its five papers, four related to French history of the last two hundred years, one, that of Professor Earle W. Dow, of Michigan, to a medieval theme, that of Town Privileges under the "Établissements de Rouen", a subject which derives its importance from the fact that the Rouennese system was adopted, wholly or in part, by some thirty or more French towns, from the Channel to the Pyrenees. The ducal or royal charters of various dates from 1144 to 1278, and the communal Établissements, were carefully analyzed, their development traced, and allusion made to the light they cast on municipal life. Professor Albert F. Guérard, of the Rice Institute, followed with a paper, of marked excellence of literary quality, fair and discriminating, on Voltaire's Philosophy of History, as shown in the *Essai sur les Moeurs,* the *Histoire de la Civilisation,* and the *Siècle de Louis XIV.,* and on the rational humanitarianism which he represented. Monsieur Bernard Faÿ, of Paris, in a paper characterized by similar felicity of expression, yet by much evidence of research, discussed the close relations between the Revolutionary Philosophy in France and in the United States at the End of the Eighteenth Century—Luzerne's press, Vergennes's *Nouvelles d'Angleterre et d'Amérique,* the manner in which the young

French revolutionaries brought American ideas of politics and morals to bear on bourgeois minds (moral ideas more permanently than political), and, after the moral bankruptcy of the Directory, the manner in which Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant, Châteaubriand used their ideas of American society in their efforts toward a new Catholicism. Professor Fling, of Nebraska, gave a sketch of the history of the French Revolution; Professor Hazen, of Columbia University, described the Part which France has played in Liberating Other Countries—Greece, Belgium, Rumania, and Italy.[3]

Europe after the Congress of Vienna was the general subject of another session, with papers by Professor William A. Frayer, of Michigan, A Criticism of the Italian Settlement of 1815; by Professor Robert J. Kerner, of Missouri, on Nationalism and the Metternich System; by Professor Parker T. Moon, of Columbia University, on British Jealousy of French Imperialism after 1815; and by Professor J. M. S. Allison, of Yale University, on the July Days and After. Professor Frayer urged that, Italy having no man capable of ruling the whole peninsula, to divide it again into individual states checking and balancing each other was a more defensible policy than had commonly been thought, and indeed was practically inevitable. Dr. Kerner drew from the failure of Metternich's policy of repressing nationalism a hundred years ago the lesson that, however nationalism may prove to be outworn in regions of Europe already industrialized and otherwise economically advanced, it marks a necessary stage in the evolution of the new, chiefly agricultural, states lying to the eastward. Professor Allison's main effort was to account for the failure of the government of Louis Philippe. He considered its downfall to have been due, not to the laborers, but to the radical leaders, who, though unorganized and discordant, were able, under the leadership of the Friends of the People, to take sufficient advantage of the ministry's instability to wreck the general control.

In the session arranged for military history, after a paper by Col. Charles R. Howland, U. S. A., on the Causes of the World War, Col. Conrad H. Lanza read one on the Fifty-fifth Division on September 29, 1918, of particular interest to a St. Louis audience because that division consisted largely of Missouri and Kansas troops. The incident discussed occurred in the Ardennes, the division having a position on the right bank of the Aire. An attack which it was to make on the morning of the day named proved a failure, and the division was "withdrawn for reorganization", but Colonel Lanza showed in detail that the responsibility for the failure must be widely

[3] Printed in the *North American Review* for April.

distributed, that it was due to misunderstandings and blunders on the part of many officers in army, corps, division, and brigade staffs.

Few if any of the sessions evoked more interest than that which was devoted to the history of the American Revolution. It gave gratifying evidence that, though school-board politicians and members of legislatures still regard that history as solely a series of military events, in which the children of light, uniformly animated by the most glorious and unexampled patriotism, were uniformly victorious over the base children of darkness, serious students of history in increasing numbers take a rational view of the episode, and study it as they would study any other portion of history, with an eye chiefly to the political and social developments involved. This was made especially manifest in the discussion which followed the papers, in which Professors McLaughlin, Becker, Schlesinger, and Morison all took an illuminating part, and which, in a degree unusual in our meetings, was real discussion. The papers were two. Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, of Michigan, in his paper on the American Revolution in the Light of the Last Two Decades of Research, described and critically discussed the contributions made to a sounder knowledge of the period by various investigators, including the late George L. Beer and Professors Alvord, Becker, and Andrews, with exposition of the present-day opinion.

In the other paper, entitled *In re* the American People *vs.* George III., Professor Clarence W. Alvord, of Minnesota, opposed to the older habit of ascribing all objectionable legislation to the sole influence of George III. the need of more thorough and discriminating study of the views and actions of the politicians who surrounded him. Dr. Alvord maintained the hypothesis that the factions of George Grenville and of the Duke of Bedford, desiring vindication for the repeal of the stamp tax, were the leaders in ministry and Parliament who caused the American Revolution. The active causes in the colonies were the financial depression succeeding the French and Indian War, the development of a non-English people in the colonies, and the propaganda put forth first for political purposes and then for the gaining of independence. The remarks of Professor Schlesinger included some very pertinent suggestions as to lines along which the history of this propaganda might well be further pursued.

The other period of American history to which a session was given was that of the generation following the Civil War. Mr. Paul L. Haworth, of Indiana, opened the session by a discussion of the Emergence of the Problems of the Period out of War and Reconstruction. The question of the status of the former Confederates

and of that of the seceded states proved comparatively simple. The problem of the negro was more difficult, and remains unsolved, though by reason of his having been left economically dependent upon his former master no very acute labor problem has arisen. But in the years from 1865 to 1877 financial problems of great importance claimed attention, problems connected with the debt, the tariff, and the currency, and in the field of economics the stimulation of manufactures accelerated the transition from the agricultural to the industrial age, forcing to the front new questions, for whose solution the American mind was ill prepared.

Professor Theodore C. Smith, of Williams College, illustrated the Congressional dealings with these problems, and especially with those of finance, in a paper on Light on the Period from the Garfield Papers. The collection was described as a rich mine of information on Congressional and party history from 1863 to 1880, but especially for the period after 1875, when, the Democratic party controlling the House, Garfield became "floor leader" of the Republican minority. When his own party was in power, his advocacy of resumption and of tariff reform had prevented him from becoming chairman of the committee of ways and means.

Three of the papers read in this session were devoted to the consideration of fields of study and research still imperfectly cultivated. Professor Arthur C. Cole, of the Ohio State University, discussed the application of the principles of historical criticism to newspapers and periodicals, and, since adequate direct use of these voluminous sources by the general historian has become a physical impossibility, urged the building-up of systematic means for their intelligent use through the making of a large number of careful monographs on various phases and various examples of modern American journalism. Professor Francis A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School, treating of the Field of Religious Development, set forth as the most conspicuous movement of the period the national organization, or drawing together, of loosely related churches, combined with a shifting of emphasis to ethical and philanthropic interests; hence such developments as the Christian Commission and Sanitary Commission of the Civil War, the Conferences of the Evangelical Alliance, the Federal Union of the Churches of Christ, and the various interdenominational lay societies. Several of these deserve fuller study. Another factor was the development in the theological schools, with large consequences in clerical and other minds, of a scientific method for dealing with the data of religion. Fields awaiting full and dispassionate treatment are the progress of efforts toward social reform,

the marked adaptation of Catholic churchmanship to the principles of American political life, and the vogue of a new conception of divine grace in the circle of Christian Science and New Thought. Miss Ella Lonn, of Goucher College, propounded a remarkably wide variety of questions calling for investigation in the political, financial, economic, social, and cultural history of the South after Reconstruction, specifically of the years 1875–1890.

The papers read in the two joint sessions held with the Agricultural History Society happily combined the history of American agriculture with that of American social conditions. Thus, Professor Archer B. Hulbert, of Colorado College, discoursing of the Soil Factor in Pennsylvania and Virginia Colonization, showed how the abundant wheat crops of the Lancaster County region in Pennsylvania enabled that region to take the lead in furnishing the means of transportation—developing the Conestoga horse, the Conestoga wagon, the first turnpike, the first canal of any length—and, with these and its manufacture of firearms, in promoting the earlier waves of migration toward the West. Dr. Joseph Schafer, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, showed how the *Wisconsin Domesday Book,* the plan of which has been heretofore described in this journal, and which is being prepared under his supervision, casts abundance of fresh light—the light of exact data in place of tradition—on the processes of pioneer settlement in one state at least, and illuminates the character of land speculation, the choices made of lands, the differing social results of settlement in forested and in prairie townships. In the paper by Professor William W. Carson, of De Pauw University, on Agricultural Reconstruction in North Carolina after the Civil War, two matters were mainly discussed: the transition from wage labor, experimented with in the first few years after emancipation, to the system of cultivation on shares; and the westward extension of cotton cultivation, by means of fertilizers, and that of tobacco, of varieties suitable to lands hitherto considered too poor for that staple.

The other three papers in agricultural history looked rather at the political relations of agricultural industry and life. Professor Theodore C. Blegen, of Hamline University, had as his theme the Scandinavian Element and Agrarian Discontent. Sketching the early history of agricultural settlement on the part of the Scandinavians, and their relation to the Republican party down to the nineties of the nineteenth century, he attributed their defections from that party, at that time and later, to the general agrarian movement, particularly the Farmers' Alliance and Population, and to the influx of immigrants unfamiliar with the Republican tradition. The Scandinavians have

been influenced almost exclusively by economic and political, rather than by racial reasons; the habit of independent voting has continued. In quite another quarter, Professor Melvin J. White, of Tulane University, traced the Influence of Agricultural Conditions upon Louisiana State Politics during the Nineties, from the initial discontent of the small white farmer of the hill parishes, and his adhesion to the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party, through the movements of fusion with the Republicans in 1892 and 1894, to the electoral reforms of 1896 or the constitutional convention of 1898, which redressed most of the grievances of which the People's Party had complained. The paper by Professor Edward E. Dale, of the University of Oklahoma, on the Cattle Ranching Industry in that state, was mainly concerned with governmental relations and with influences of the industry upon the development of the West and upon the country as a whole. He described with skill the rapid growth of the business, the extraordinary and spectacular developments which led to its downfall and to the opening of Oklahoma to agricultural settlement, and the incompetence of Congress and government to deal with a situation involving an industry so technical.

Very naturally and appropriately, one of the sessions was devoted to papers commemorating Missouri history. Mr. Frederick W. Lehmann, of the St. Louis bar, described the state constitution of 1820, the general course of legislation under it, and the experiences which led to extensive modifications of the governmental system in the constitution of 1875. Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, set forth a variety of incorrect Traditions concerning the Missouri Question and a variety of paradoxes in Missouri history, urging a closer and a broader study of its development.[4] Under the title, A Sidelight on the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, Dr. H. Barrett Learned presented an investigation, based on contemporary newspapers and the papers of Philip Phillips, M. C. from Alabama at the time of the repeal, designed to show that Phillips's careful formulation of an amendment to the Nebraska Bill about January 19, 1854, probably influenced the ultimate form of that bill. Professor William O. Lynch, of Indiana University, in a paper on the Influence of the Movements of Population on Missouri History before the Civil War, analyzed the population according to origins, period by period, and showed how ineffective relatively were the efforts of pro-slavery and anti-slavery partisans to direct immigration into Kansas at the height of the Kansas conflict; between 1850 and 1860 Tennessee contributed to Missouri eleven times the number

[4] For these two papers, see the *Missouri Historical Review* for January.

of people that she furnished to Kansas, Kentucky five times the number, and even New England sent more settlers to Missouri. In 1860 Missouri ranked seventh in population among the Union states; she also ranked seventh in the number of soldiers sent to the Union armies.

Last of the sessions, and last to be here spoken of, was one held in concert with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, of which the general theme was the economic history of the Mississippi Valley. Professor Cardinal Goodwin, of Mills College, read a paper on the Fur Trade and the Northwest Boundary, 1783–1818, a topic closely allied to that of Professor Bemis's article printed on later pages of this journal. Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey, of New York, who on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington is compiling the *Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives relating to the Mississippi Valley* devised originally by a committee of the Association, drew from her great repository of notes the materials for a paper on the Growth of Industries in Louisiana, 1699–1763, full of new and detailed information, especially on the development of agricultural industries in that colony during the French period. For a later period, Professor Albert L. Kohlmeier, of Indiana, showed the relations between Commerce and Union Sentiment in the Old Northwest in 1860, demonstrating how, despite the commercial attachments of the northern part of the region to the northeastern states and of the southern portion to those of the southeast, which caused discord and hesitation in 1860, conditions of greater force held the region to unity, and by the middle of 1861 gave Union sentiment an overwhelming majority.

It is difficult, perhaps it is unnecessary, to generalize respecting papers so numerous and so multifarious. Many contributed new matter or new points of view, some made little or no such contribution. There was a gratifying tendency, which we believe to be general in the historical profession since the war, to pursue subjects having real importance, episodes which have had significant consequences or aspects of history which the interests of the present day have made worth while, as distinguished from topics which are pursued because it has been the conventional habit of our guild to pursue them, *idola tribus,* so to say. On the whole, it seems that most of the papers were good, but that few were of extraordinary excellence. Certainly few of the papers by Americans showed any of that gift of expression, those fruits of wide reading, which marked the papers of the two Frenchmen, and many were distinctly ill-written.

It remains to record the results of the business meeting of the Association, at which the first vice-president, Professor Haskins, pre-

sided. The secretary's report showed a total membership of 2,633, as compared with 2,524 reported a year ago, a gain of 109 members. The treasurer's report showed receipts of $13,264, expenditures of $12,584, but it is to be noted, from the summary of his report printed at the end of this article, that the excess of receipts over expenditures, $680, is almost entirely accounted for by the receipt of $650 in life-membership fees, which by vote of the Association are to be kept, as is proper in such cases, in a separate fund. Still further it is to be noted that $2,904 of the receipts was derived from the voluntary contributions, additional to annual dues, which members have made in response to the invitations sent out in company with the annual bills. Therefore the need of a larger regular revenue remains apparent, and the constitutional amendment proposed last year, increasing annual dues from three dollars to five, and life-membership fees from fifty dollars to one hundred, beginning with September 1 next, was voted without dissent. It is hoped and believed that the change, in which the Association only follows at last a step which the analogous societies have already taken, will not cause the withdrawal of more than a very few, if any, of the members; and an increased revenue will enable the Association to resume or promote activity along several lines of investigation or other work which in recent years its poverty has compelled it to suspend or renounce. Meanwhile, the large response to the suggestion of contributions has given most gratifying evidence of the interest which members have in the Association and of their desire to sustain it effectively. The budget proposed by the Council is printed on a later page.

The amendment to the by-laws, relative to discontinuance of the primary ballot for nominations to office and to membership in the nominating committee, printed a year ago in this journal (XXVI. 436), was rejected; it was voted that the portion of the by-laws referred to should be so interpreted as not to make the results of the preliminary ballot mandatory upon the Committee on Nominations, but merely an aid in the making of its recommendations.

It was voted, upon hospitable invitation from Yale University and upon recommendation from the Council, that the annual meeting of December, 1922, should be held in New Haven. The Council recommended that that meeting should begin not earlier than Wednesday morning, December 27, and should close not later than Saturday noon, December 30. It was recommended that the meeting of December, 1923, be held in Columbus.

Reports from several committees were presented, and an oral report on behalf of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Professor Robert C.

Clark, its official representative on the present occasion. On report from the Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, that prize was awarded to Dr. Einar Joranson, of the University of Chicago, for an essay on the Danegeld in France. This may be the best place in which to mention that the award of the Justin Winsor prize, delayed a year ago, was finally made to Mr. F. Lee Benns, of the University of Indiana, for an essay on the American Struggle for the British West Indian Carrying-Trade, 1815–1830. A series of rules for the award of the George Louis Beer Prize, for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895", was proposed by the committee appointed a year before, and adopted by the Association. Copies can be obtained from the assistant secretary. A committee of five was appointed for award of the prize. The annual elections followed precisely the list presented by the Committeè on Nominations. Professor Charles H. Haskins was elected president for the ensuing year, Professor Edward P. Cheyney first vice-president, Honorable Woodrow Wilson second vice-president. Professor John S. Bassett and Mr. Charles Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. The eight elective members of the Executive Council were all re-elected, none of them having yet served the usual three years. For the Committee on Nominations to be presented next autumn, the Association chose Professors Henry E. Bourne, William E. Dodd, William E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, and William L. Westermann; the committee has since chosen Professor Bourne as chairman. The Council elected Professor William E. Dodd a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professor Van Tyne, whose term had expired. A full list of the committee assignments for 1922 follows this article.

J. F. J.

Amendment to the Constitution

That in article III. there be substituted for "three dollars", "five dollars"; and for "fifty dollars", "one hundred dollars"; so that the article shall read:

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars. On payment of one hundred dollars any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not residing in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Summary of Treasurer's Report

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1920		$5,031.16
Receipts to date:		
Annual dues	$7,059.71	
Life memberships	650.00	
Registration fees	54.25	
Voluntary contributions	2,903.75	
Publications	336.44	
Royalties	78.11	
Interest on investments	1,368.51	
Interest on bank account	67.44	
Special contribution from American Historical Review Fund	500.00	
Miscellaneous	56.87	
Transferred from Endowment Fund	188.91	
		13,263.99
		$18,295.15
Gift, George L. Beer Prize Fund		5,000.00
Total receipts		$23,295.15

EXPENDITURES

Office of secretary and treasurer	$2,928.77	
Pacific Coast Branch	43.86	
Committee on Nominations	46.93	
Committee on Membership	23.85	
Committee on Programme	383.15	
Committee on Local Arrangements	100.26	
Committee on Policy	39.75	
Committee on Agenda	75.03	
Committee on Bibliography	295.39	
Committee on Publications	677.29	
Committee on History and Education	300.00	
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00	
Writings on American History	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies	153.89	
Robert M. Johnston Prize	250.00	
American Historical Review	7,040.90	
	$12,584.07	
Investments	8,113.65	
		20,697.72
Cash balance November 30, 1921		$2,597.43

BUDGET, 1922

Receipts	
Annual dues	$7,000.00
Registration fees	150.00
Publications	100.00
Royalties	50.00
Interest	1,400.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
	$8,750.00

Expenditures

Secretary and Treasurer	$3,000.00	
Pacific Coast Branch	50.00	
Committee on Nominations	100.00	
Committee on Membership	100.00	
Committee on Programme	300.00	
Committee on Local Arrangements	50.00	
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00	
Committee on Publications	700.00	
Council Committee on Agenda	300.00	
American Historical Review	7,000.00	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	20.00	
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize	200.00	
Writings on American History	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies	150.00	
Committee on Bibliography	500.00	
Committee on the Writing of History	75.00	
		$12,770.00

Deficit, $3,695.00

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.
First Vice-President, Edward P. Cheyney, Philadelphia.
Second Vice-President, Woodrow Wilson, Washington.
Secretary, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
Treasurer, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.[5]
Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.
Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.
Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

James Ford Rhodes,[6]
John B. McMaster,
Simeon E. Baldwin,
J. Franklin Jameson,
George B. Adams,
Albert Bushnell Hart,
Frederick J. Turner,
William M. Sloane,
William A. Dunning,
Andrew C. McLaughlin,
George L. Burr,
Worthington C. Ford,
William R. Thayer,
Edward Channing,
Jean J. Jusserand,[6]
Arthur L. Cross,
Sidney B. Fay,
Carl R. Fish,
Carlton J. H. Hayes,
Frederic L. Paxson,
Ruth Putnam,
James T. Shotwell,
St. George L. Sioussat.

COMMITTEES:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting: David S. Muzzey, 492 Van Cortlandt Park Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y., chairman; Eloise Ellery, Walter L. Fleming, Charles Seymour, Wilbur H. Siebert; and (*ex officio*) Nils A. Olsen and John C. Parish.

[5] For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

[6] The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Jusserand are those of ex-presidents.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, chairman; William E. Dodd, William E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, William L. Westermann.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Carl Becker, Archibald C. Coolidge, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, J. Franklin Jameson, Williston Walker.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, chairman; Annie H. Abel, Eugene C. Barker, Robert P. Brooks, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt.

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THE SCHOOL FOR AMBASSADORS[1]

Of the various honors with which I have been favored in the course of a long career, none gave me more pleasure with less trouble than the presidency of the American Historical Association: for which, as the last sands in my presidential hour-glass are about to fall, I beg to renew to the members of this society the expression of a truly felt gratitude. The lack of trouble is for me a cause of regret: I wish I had been better able to show my zeal for the great cause we have at heart. And what is that cause, outsiders may say? The cause of truth, with the persuasion that the past, better known, does not merely afford amusement to dilettanti, but may help us to discern the future, to avoid mistakes, to hasten the coming of better days. The past is like a great reflector; we want to keep it bright and its light turned toward the future.

A long career, I said: a very long one, indeed, begun forty-five years ago and continued without a break for illness or any other cause. The war of 1870 determined my choice; too young to enlist, at school while the older boys had joined the army and were defending Belfort, during that gloomy winter, when half the college was set apart for troops on their way to the front, we heard our professors tirelessly repeating that our ignorance, and especially our ignorance of foreign countries, had been our bane. And we were studying furiously, at the same time developing our bodies, by riding, fencing, swimming, climbing, trying to be complete men, learning dead languages and three or four modern ones, graduating in several branches instead of one, in the hope to be some day useful citizens for hard-tried, bleeding France. I took degrees in law, literature, and science, and was studying a variety of other matters besides, when my family remonstrated, declaring: This cannot go on, you should select one special profession; we leave you alone this afternoon; when we return you must have made your choice.

So, I remained alone, in our country home, overlooking the valley of the Loire, with the familiar landscape before me, trees, fields, and distant mountains; mute advisers. Would it be a military career or a civil one? I spent some hard moments of doubt, then thought that, with such a terrible war (we considered it so in those days) so recent,

[1] Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at St. Louis, December 28, 1921.

there would probably be no other for a great many years; that if there were, everybody would serve as a matter of course, and that other callings might offer chances of more immediate usefulness. When the family returned, I had made up my mind, and shortly after, having reached the necessary age, I passed the competitive examination and entered the profession which I have now followed for nearly half a century, my good fortune having secured for me as my post of longest duration, the United States of America.

Of this profession I should like to say a few words to you. What was it in former times, and what is it now? Will it continue of use when there shall no longer be any distant posts; when, from his seat, your Secretary of State will be able to call: "Hello, give me Paris, give me London"; and even when Blériot's prediction shall have proved true, if ever it does, of people taking their breakfast in Paris, their lunch in New York, and flying back for their dinner in Paris the same day?

I.

Of very ancient lineage, born of necessity, this profession reached, in the fifteenth and immediately following centuries, such prominence as to become the subject of numerous treatises in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, in which was taught and described the art of diplomacy, the functions of the ambassador, the qualities the man should possess, the means he should resort to and abstain from, with hints as to his dress, his table, his manners, his talk, his secretaries and servants, his wife and whether he had better take her with him, his rights and privileges, the subject and style of his letters, and many more topics: a complete schooling. Those manuals of the perfect ambassador (which is the title of several of them) were especially numerous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with some excellent ones of an earlier or later date, the work of Rosergius, Barbaro, Dolet, Braun, Danès, Maggi, La Mothe-Le-Vayer, Tasso, Paschal, Hotman, Gentili, Marselaer, Vera de Çuniga, Bragaccia, Germonius, Wicquefort, Rousseau de Chamoy, Callières, Pecquet, and a host of others,[2] belonging most of them to the profession. Many are of great interest, not only on account of their actual subject, but for the insight they give into the private manners and public morals of the day.

On the antiquity and nobility of the art all agree. Ambassadors, according to La Mothe-Le-Vayer, became a necessity among men at

[2] See a short bibliography of the subject in Nys, "Les Commencements de la Diplomatie", in the *Revue de Droit International* (Brussels and Leipzig), XVI. 170, and Delavaud, *Rousseau de Chamoy* (1912), p. 46.

the moment, "or shortly after", when, Pandora's fateful box having been opened, evils were scattered throughout the world, and prospered, finding for their growth "a fruitful well-tilled ground".[3] Vera de Çuniga agrees, ambassadors became a necessity after Pandora's days, when the golden age came to an end, and men began to live in houses and to divide mine from thine: "Ambassadors had then to try and show where equity was, and recover what the ambition and the force of the ones had usurped upon the weakness or simplicity of the others. . . . It is reported that King Belus first made use of this means; poets however attribute it to Palamedes."[4]

Other writers find for ambassadors an even more exalted origin: the first ones were the angels of God, as was so appropriately recalled to his troops by King Herod, whose envoy had been done to death by the Arabs, a most execrable deed in the eyes of every nation, he said, especially for us who have received "our sacred laws from God, through his angels, who are his heralds and ambassadors".[5] Several commentators took pleasure in recalling how Solomon was, in his wisdom, favorable to ambassadors: "A faithful one is for his sender like the coolness of the snow during the harvest; he gives rest to the sender's soul."[6]

Pecquet at a much later date declares that "for men to live together in a state of society implies a kind of continuous negotiation. . . . Everything in life is, so to say, intercourse and negotiation, even between those whom we might think not to have anything to hope or fear from one another".[7] De Maulde in our own days wrote to the same effect: "Diplomacy is as old as the world and will not die before the world does."[8]

[3] *Legatus seu de Legatione, Legatorumque Privilegiis, Officio, ac Munere Libellus* (1579). The institution began, according to Bragaccia, when the world was still in its cradle: "Cominciarono adunque gli huomini quasi nelli primi incunabuli del mondo essercitar questo ufficio, trattando fatti di pace e confederationi di guerre." *L'Ambasciatore, del Dottore Gasparo Bragaccia, Piacentino, Opera . . . utilissima alla Gioventù, cosi de Republica cosi de Corte* (Padua, 1626).

[4] *El Enbaxador, por Don Juan Antonio de Vera y Çuniga, Commendador de la Barra* (Seville, 1620), fol. 22. The author, born in 1588, had been Spanish ambassador to Venice. A French translation by Lancelot, *Le Parfait Ambassadeur* (Paris, 1635, several times reprinted, one last edition, Leyden, 1709), greatly contributed to the spreading of his ideas. The work is in the form of a dialogue between Jules and Louis.

[5] In Josephus's *History of the Jews*, bk. XV., ch. 8; referred to by Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus* (London, 1585), ch. XX., "De Legationum Caussa et Antiquitate."

[6] Prov., xxv. 13.

[7] *Discours sur l'Art de Négocier* (Paris, 1737), pp. viii, x.

[8] *La Diplomatie au Temps de Machiavel* (Paris, 1892, 3 vols.), I. 1.

As a matter of fact, whether Belus or Palamedes, the angels or unconscious Pandora, were the founders of the order, it is a very ancient one, and the oldest and remotest nations had of necessity recourse to it. The more so that, before the establishment of Christianity, which however did not entirely sweep away the evil, every nation, including the most civilized, saw in the others, as a matter of course, and whatever their state of development, enemies and barbarians. In the Greek language, the word *βάρβαρος* means a foreigner, a man who, being not a Greek, is, of necessity, a barbarian. In Latin the word *hostis* means both a foreigner and an enemy; the poet Lucan calls a civil war *bellum sine hoste,* a war with no foreigner (no enemy) in it.

In spite of prejudices, intercourse was, however, conducive to a better understanding of each other and to the discovery of the fact that, notwithstanding a man's having a native tongue different from ours, he might possibly be something else than a barbarian and an enemy. Embassies were sent, temporary ones, it is true, by all nations, from the earliest days; the Greeks use ambassadors, *πρέσβεις*, in the Iliad, among whom figures, I am sorry to say, that shrewd, unscrupulous slacker, Ulysses. Plato, under the name of Socrates, derides the use sometimes made of sophists for the purpose, and shows one of the most famous, Hippias, thus explaining the infrequency of his visits to Athens: "Time has failed me, Socrates. On each occasion Elis has some business to settle with another city, it is of me, first of all, that she thinks for an ambassador, considering me cleverer than any, either to form a judgment or to pronounce the words necessary in those relations between states."[9] Temporary satisfaction, especially for the speaker, but no durable advantage could be expected, Plato leads us to understand, from the eloquence of sophists.

Immense hopes were raised when that new régime was established in the world which had for its dogma no longer: any foreign nation is an enemy nation, but "love ye one another". The consequence was a wonderful attempt to form, in the midst of rampant barbarity and ferocity, of unspeakable sufferings and destruction, of falling empires and dying former-day religions, a first grouping of all the nations of the world or at least the Christian ones, not in a league, or a society, but, for a wonder at such a period, a family of nations: love ye one another.[10]

[9] Beginning of the dialogue *Hippias Major.*

[10] There were even attempts at general arbitration covenants, one of 1304: "Quant au principe de l'arbitrage pour la solution des difficultés internationales, de tout temps il a été posé et l'on a cherché à le faire pénétrer dans la pratique.

The father of the family, the ever ready umpire, the peacemaker, was to be the Vicar of Christ, the pope. The prodigious attempt was a comparative success and a comparative failure, the sum total being however progress, with the introduction of the "truce of God", the efforts to localize wars, to suppress private ones, to settle disputes peacefully. God was admittedly the real ruler of the world; popes, holding their powers direct from him, exalted themselves high above kings: hence the devising by kings of the theory of their own divine right, so as not to have to go any more to Canossa.

As the powers of kings rose, that of the pope diminished, but the notion of a family of Christian nations long survived. "Mankind," wrote the *doctor eximius,* Suarez, in 1613, "although divided into various peoples and realms, ever has a certain unity, not only a specific, but a, so to say, political and moral one, as evidenced by the natural precept of reciprocal love and pity, which extends to all, including even foreigners of whatever nation."[11] Love ye one another.

No wonder that the first diplomatic service to develop was that of the pope; that of the princes and republics of Italy followed suit, the Venetian one foremost, endowed with strict regulations as early as the thirteenth century. The dangerous, ill-paid function being not attractive to everybody, the Venetian appointees were forbidden under severe penalties to refuse to serve except by reason of confirmed ill-health; the slightest indiscretion was punished; on their return the ambassadors were expected to hand to the public treasury any presents they had received while abroad; they had to draw up a general report on their mission, and those reports early enjoyed wide fame, well deserved and still enduring. The clever French diplomat and writer Hotman de Villiers declares in his treatise on *L'Ambassadeur,*[12] that Venetian envoys will have nothing to learn from him, being themselves past masters.

Des patentes du roi de France du 17 Juin 1304 promulguent un pacte d'arbitrage permanent avec le comte de Hainaut . . . les cas seront jugés par quatre arbitres au choix des deux gouvernements. . . . Mais cette pratique ne fit aucun progrès". De Maulde La Clavière, *La Diplomatie au Temps de Machiavel* (1892), III. 102.

[11] "Ratio autem hujus partis et juris est, quia humanum genus quantumvis in varios populos et regna divisum, semper habet aliquam unitatem, non solum specificam, sed etiam quasi politicam et moralem, quam indicat naturale praeceptum mutui amoris et misericordiae, quod ad omnes extenditur, etiam ad extraneos et cujuscumque nationis." *Tractatus de Legibus ac Deo Legislatore . . . authore P. D. Suarez, Granatensi* (Antwerp, 1613), p. 129.

[12] *L'Ambassadeur, par le Sieur de Vill. H.* (n. p., 1603); this remarkable work enjoyed great success and had several editions; the author, a Protestant, 1552–1636, filled several missions as secretary or envoy in Switzerland and to the Protestant princes of Germany.

The advantage of possessing such a service was so obvious that all nations arranged to have one, selecting for the function their best men, and most famous writers, poets, thinkers, speakers. Ambassadors, a word in use from the thirteenth century, and like that of minister meaning servitor, were often called *orators*. Without speaking of numerous preachers and prelates, Italy had recourse to Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli; Tasso was secretary of embassy; France employed Eustache Deschamps, the friend of Chaucer,[13] Alain Chartier, "father of French eloquence", using at the Renaissance the services of the famous humanist Budé as an ambassador, and of Ronsard and Joachim du Bellay as secretaries of embassy; England had for her envoys Chaucer, Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Philip Sidney;[14] Scotland had Sir David Lindsay, and others of great fame.

II.

Those missions were temporary ones; the custom of having permanent embassies spread greatly however toward the end of the fifteenth century; the increase was coeval with the establishment of permanent armies, the one being as the antidote of the other.

The idea of a family of nations had definitively failed; the father of the family had been unequal to the task; the great schism had shown a house divided against itself; worldly, military, political, interests had made it impossible for the popes to inspire in the conflicting nations, with one or the other of which they were themselves more or less in league, confidence in their impartiality; a new religion had sprung up, and there was no longer one Christianity but, as it seemed, several, each warring on the other.

That keen observer of the ways of the world, Erasmus, was stag-

[13] Who described in one of his poems the woes, in those days, and in other days, of an "Ambassador and messenger".

> Vous, ambasseur et messager,
> Qui allez par le monde ès cours
> Des grands princes pour besogner,
> Votre voyage n'est pas court. . . .
> Il faut que votre fait soit mis
> Au conseil, pour répondre à plein:
> Attendez encor, mon ami!
> Temps passe et tout vient à rebours.

Oeuvres, ed. de Queux de St. Hilaire, VII. 116.

[14] The only perfect ambassador that ever was, according to Gentili: "In uno enim viro excellentem hanc formam inveniri et ostendi posse confido; nam omnia sic habet, quae ad summum hunc nostrum oratorem constituendum requiruntur, ut cumulatoria etiam habeat et ampliora. Is est Philippus Sydneius." *De Legationibus* (Hannover, 1607), last chapter.

gered at the sight, and, writing in the early years of the sixteenth century his book of advice for the young prince who was to be the famous Emperor Charles V., he wondered how this retrogression could be possible among Christian nations: how can they try to destroy one another? "In both camps Christ is present, as if He were fighting against Himself." How could the idea of a family of nations have fallen into such disregard? "Plato calls the fights between Greeks and Greeks sedition, not wars, and they should be conducted, he recommends, with great moderation. What shall we therefore call battles between Christians and Christians when they are bound together by such links?" Family ties are falling into disrespect and the world goes back to the time when the words foreigner and enemy meant one and the same thing: "Nowadays the Englishman hates the French, the Frenchman the English, for no other cause except that he is English." The same with all the others. "How can it be that we are absurdly separated by those mere names, more than we are bound together by the name of Christ?"[15]

No hope, indeed, was left for a family of nations. In the ceaseless turmoil, with religious wars added to political ones, and armies overrunning France, Italy, Germany, whence could come any faint ray of hope for better and more peaceful days? There seemed to be no hope; writing in the latter part of the fourteenth century his famous *Arbre des Batailles,* Prior Honoré Bonet had already devoted one of his chapters to the question: "Is it a possible thing that naturally the world be in peace?" and the first sentence in the chapter was: "To this, I answer, No."[16] And it had gone since from bad to worse.

Having nowhere else to turn, many thought of those messengers of peace, and assuagers of quarrels, the public envoys; and then began to flourish that extraordinary literature of manuals to teach those men their duties, and to impress on them the sacredness and the quasi-sacerdotal character of a mission, the chief object of which was, of course, the service of their country, but moreover that of the peace and welfare of the whole world. Early expressed, this view was maintained for ages, the consequence being more and more strict

[15] And this when our fragile lives are troubled by so many calamities: "Quam fugax, quam brevis, quam fragilis est hominum vita, et quot obnoxia calamitatibus, quippe quam tot morbi, tot casus impetunt assidue, ruinae, naufragia, terrae motus, fulmina? Nihil igitur opus bellis accersere mala et tamen hinc plus malorum quam ex omnibus illis." *Institutio Principis Christiani* (first ed., Louvain, 1516).

[16] "Si c'est chose possible que naturellement le monde soit en paix? A quoy je vous respons que nennil." *L'Arbre des Batailles,* ed. Nys (1883), part III., ch. 2. Bonet was prior in the Benedictine monastery of Salon.

requirements exacted from people on whose action so much depended. In the course of the fifteenth century, the French prelate Bernard du Rosier (Rosergius), archbishop of Toulouse, had written one of the first manuals for ambassadors, "grande hoc officium ne vilescat".[17] As late as the second half of the eighteenth century Lescalopier de Nourar wrote his, in order to show that, smoothed by negotiators, the road followed by mankind could "become the road to happiness. The welfare of nations is in the hands of ambassadors; their designs maintain calm or blow troubles. They arm or pacify nations".[18]

Immense therefore was the responsibility of those men; immense the need that they be well chosen, well prepared for the task, and that they act properly. Never was, and no wonder, a public career the occasion of so many studies and guide-books, a rather puzzling collection, it is true, for the advice in it, sometimes contradictory, was always imperative, being ever justified by examples from the Bible and the almost equally indisputable practice of the ancients.

In the theories of an art so important for mankind nothing was neglected, from the physical appearance of the person to the most exalted of the religious and moral virtues. According to those experts, an ambassador should be, as far as possible, good-looking; a man who is lame, says the Greek scholar and former secretary of embassy, Dolet, whose remark does not indicate much kindheartedness in his contemporaries, "is received with laughter".[19] Archbishop Germonius insists: "Beauty commends a man better than any letter"; remember that "David is called handsome by God", and that one "could not be a Vestal if afflicted with any deformity".[20] Vera y Çuniga tolerates baldness, for the unanswerable reason that Caesar was bald, and there is nothing to show that this great general would not have been a great ambassador if he had tried.

Each is however wise enough to add that talent is after all the

[17] *Ambaxiator, Brevilogus Prosaico Moralique Dogmate pro Felici et Prospero Ducatu circa Ambaxiatas Insistencium Excerptus,* in MS. at the National Library, Paris, printed by V. E. Hrabar in his *De Legatis et Legationibus Tractatus Varii* (Dorpat, 1906). The author, Bernard du Rosier (or de la Roseraie), wrote his *Ambaxiator* in 1436: he died, archibishop of Toulouse, in 1475. See also Hrabar in *Revue de Droit International,* second series, I. 314.

[18] *Le Ministère du Négociateur* (Amsterdam, 1763), p. xvi. The author, a "maitre des requêtes" and writer on political subjects, was born in Paris, 1709, and died there 1779.

[19] "Quod si deformes sumus, aut vitio aliquo deturpati, aut re aliqua manci, tum cum risu excipimur." *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 11.

[20] *Anastasii Germonii. . . . Archiepiscopi et Comitis Tarantasiensis et. . . . Allobrogorum Ducis. . . . Legati, De Legatis Principum et Populorum* (Rome, 1627), bk. I., ch. 12. Born in Piedmont in 1551, in great favor with several popes, he died in 1627, being then ambassador of Savoy to Spain.

chief thing, and must be considered first in the selection of an ambassador. So much the better if he has good looks, if he is in, at least, "moderately easy circumstances",[21] and possesses "a well sounding name" (*legatum bene sonans nomen habere debet*), but merit outranks all else; Cicero's name was commonplace, *ignobilis*; none more famous. Actual merits are of more import than the deeds of our ancestors.[22]

According to nearly all, the envoy should be neither so old as to be inactive through ill-health or the number of his years, nor so young as to prove immature or inconsiderate.[23] Vera wonders whether it would not be appropriate to send in some cases two ambassadors, an older one who would shine by his wisdom and a younger one by his sprightliness. The temper of the prince to whom the ambassador is sent should moreover be taken into account, for this as for the rest; it would never do, Hotman says with unimpeachable wisdom, to send a Protestant to the pope or a bishop to the Turk.

Written most of them at the time of the Renaissance or under its influence, those treatises want the ambassador to be very learned and supremely eloquent. He should be able to speak admirably, either in private or in public, the latter, says Hotman, being of importance especially "in popular states", which continues indeed to be true. All insist on eloquence. The Italian jurist Maggi wishes his perfect ambassador to possess "supreme eloquence, the most splendid gift", he says, "bestowed on mankind by immortal God".[24] No one, according to Tasso, who wrote on ambassadors a dialogue less famous than his *Gerusalemme Liberata,* "can be a perfect ambassador, who is not at the same time a good orator", and for this reason the Romans had early called their envoys "orators".[25] For Vera, eloquence "is the most essential part of the ambassador"; Gentili has a whole chapter, "Legatus ut sit orator".[26] Some ambassadors of the

[21] "En quelque médiocrité pour le moins." Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), p. 12.

[22] Germonius, *De Legatis Principum et Populorum* (1627), bk. I., ch. 11. "On ne choisit pas," Blaise Pascal said later, "pour gouverner un vaisseau celui des voyageurs qui est de meilleure maison." *Pensées.*

[23] "Trop gay, léger et imprudent, comme un qui fut envoyé à quelques alliez de ceste couronne, lequel se pourmenoit le soir et partie de la nuit par les rues, avec des gens de son aage, jouant de la mandore, en chausses et en pourpoint." Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur,* p. 18.

[24] *De Legato Libri Duo Octaviani Maggi* (Venice, 1566).

[25] "Non puo dunque alcuno esser perfetto ambasciatore, ch'insieme non sia buon' oratore." *Il Messagiero, Dialogo del Signor Torquato Tasso,* first ed. (Venice, 1582).

[26] *De Legationibus Libri III.* (London, 1585, several editions). Alberico

period had among their personnel a professional orator to help them with their speeches.

The envoy must, however, be careful not to allow himself to be carried away by his own gift of speech. After having stated that "prudence and learning are of little avail, for an ambassador, without eloquence", Braun, whose treatise is of 1548, says: "The name of eloquent we refuse however to the verbose, the irrepressible, the inconsiderate, the empty and insincere speakers, such as the courts of kings and princes are wont to produce and foster, who fill the lands and the seas with the vain sound of their words . . . to them applies the saying of the Scriptures: the fool multiplies his words." The really eloquent aptly fit their discourse to the occasion; "their words do not come from their lips but from their hearts." [27]

Able to speak at length when there is need, the ambassador should by preference be brief.[28] "His way of speaking", Hotman says, "will be grave, brief and weighty, not interspersed with many quotations, as a master of arts would do, or with rare words, and antiquated: I have seen more than one fail through affectation." [29] He must attune himself to the people he addresses; to "pindarize" is not the way to touch the Swiss or the Dutch. He should prepare his public speeches with care, but never learn them by heart, for fear that, if a word escapes him, he might utterly break down.

As for knowledge, that of the ambassador, according to his most zealous teachers and well-wishers, should be boundless. Sir Thomas More's Utopians had ambassadors and they selected them, as well as their priests, "oute of this ordre of the learned".[30] The envoy must be an indefatigable reader,[31] else he is as sure to fail as a soldier who should be indifferent to physical exercise. History is to be, of course, his chief study; on this all agree, but this is only one item of the living encyclopedia he must be. Maggi wants him well versed in the Scriptures, in the art of dialectics, in the civil science, that is

Gentili, an Italian Protestant refugee and very prolific author, was professor of civil law at Oxford; he died in 1608.

[27] One of the rare good passages in Braun, a Württemberg jurist (d. 1563), himself remarkably verbose: *D. Conradi Bruni Jureconsulti Opera Tria. . . . De Legationibus,* etc. (Mainz, 1548, fol.). Of pedantic disposition, he examines not only who can be an ambassador but who should not, taking the trouble to exclude children.

[28] "Quid enim juvat inanis loquacitas? cui usui est supervacanea scribendi ostentatio?" Dolet, *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 12.

[29] *L'Ambassadeur,* pp. 16 ff.

[30] Ralph Robinson's English version, first ed. 1551, Arber's ed. p. 86.

[31] "Legato itaque opus est lectione, eaque assidua; ne sit inutilis labor atque inanis opera." Germonius, p. 79.

the government of states and cities, in natural history, astronomy, mathematics, geography, the military art, philosophy, for, as Plato has observed, the city will not be happy until philosophers reign or kings philosophize; he must know the lands and the seas and be a good musician; he should practise contemplation, for it is the source of action.

Maggi, who had painted his ambassador as his compatriots painted their glorified, godlike princes on the ceilings of their palaces, had gone so far that some protested, Hotman for instance, who reproaches him and his like for making of their diplomat "a theologian, astrologer, dialectician, excellent orator, learned as Aristotle and wise as Solomon". But, while recalling that to be an expert *de omni re scibili* was, especially for a man in active life, an impossibility, critics might have acknowledged the fact, still a fact, that there is no kind of knowledge, science, or accomplishment that cannot happen to be of use in such a profession, and therefore as many as "nostra tam actuosa vita" allows us, to use Maggi's words, should be acquired. I should have been greatly surprised, if I may quote a personal example, had any one told me, when in boyhood days I was swimming rivers and climbing rocks, that this "accomplishment" would be of service years later, when, an ambassador in far-off America, in order to keep company with the chief of the state, President Roosevelt, I swam the Potomac and climbed the quarries south of the stream. The same with contemplation; many may have experienced, as I often have, the good done by a solitary walk, in inspiring resolutions and rectifying judgments.

Even those however who did not go so far as Maggi, mapped out a wide enough plan of studies for their ambassadorial pupil. Hotman, for all his criticism, wants his envoy to know history, moral and political philosophy, foreign languages, Roman civil law, and generally speaking, to be addicted to letters, for such an intellectual training "teaches you how to talk and answer, to judge of the justice of a war, of the equity of all pretensions and requests . . . how to weigh reasons and escape sophisms and subtilities". If the appointee lacks that education, he must, even while in office, try to acquire as much of it as he can, "though, truth to say, it is rather late to begin digging a well when feeling thirsty. . . . He will especially avoid showing disdain for lettered people, but display consideration to men of learning and experience, who are cherished in all civilized states".[32] A just measure must be observed by him and he shall carefully ab-

[32] *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 13.

stain from imitating, says Wicquefort, "l'humeur contredisante" of pedants.[33]

Foreign languages were to be learned by the ambassador, in spite of the fact that he necessarily possessed Latin which was in early times the common language of all Christian nations, and French which had succeeded Latin, being spoken, says Rousseau de Chamoy, "by most princes and ministers with whom ambassadors of France have to deal".[34] It is nevertheless a great advantage to know the idiom of the country where you are, and the people are grateful to you for the effort. The idea however that English should be one of the languages to be learned never occurred to any one, and it does not, to my knowledge, appear in any list drawn then, of those to be studied. Besides Italian, Latin, Spanish, French, German, Maggi's list includes Turkish, but not English. Even Callières's list, which is of 1716, omits English.[35]

As to the moral virtues of the ambassador the manuals of the period are no less exacting than as to his learning. Was not the ambassador a kind of lay priest, with a sacred task and moral duties to fulfill, of interest for the whole of mankind? The Ruler of the world must guide him; piety must therefore be one of his basic qualities: on this all manuals agree. Bernard du Rosier draws, in the fifteenth century, a list of twenty-six virtues with which this pacificator of quarrels must be endowed: he is expected to be "veracious, upright, modest, temperate, discreet, kindly, honest, sober, just", etc., etc.[36] Ermolo Barbaro, in the same century, wants him to have "hands and eyes as pure as those of the priest officiating at the altar. Let him remember that he can do nothing more meritorious for the Republic than to lead an innocent and holy life".[37] The same views in the following centuries: "The ambassador," says the friend of Ronsard, Bishop Pierre Danès, who had taught Greek at the Collège de France and represented the king at the Council of Trent, "must appear, in his private life, pious, just, and a friend of the common quiet".[38] Dolet wants him irreproachable in his morals even in countries where, immorality

[33] *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions* (the Hague, 1681), I. 168.

[34] *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, p. 24.

[35] "Il serait encore à souhaiter qu'ils apprissent les langues vivantes afin de n'être pas exposés à l'infidélité ou l'ignorance des interprètes et d'être délivrés de l'embarras de les introduire aux audiences des Princes et de leur faire part de secrets importants." His list includes German, Italian, Spanish, and Latin. *De la Manière de Négocier*, p. 98.

[36] *Ambaxiator, Brevilogus*, as above, p. 5.

[37] *De Officio Legati*, as above, p. 70.

[38] *Conseils à un Ambassadeur* (1561), ed. Delavaud (1915), p. 11.

being widely practised, his conforming to the general custom would possibly be rather approved than blamed: "Virtutis studiosissimus habeatur"; avoiding however crabbedness: "summamque severitatem summa cum humanitate jungat".[39] Hotman's ambassador is to be above all an honest man, charitable to the poor, and trustworthy for all, "careful not to promise lightly, but religiously doing what he has once promised; for, of course, people are less offended by a refusal than by a perfidy". Bragaccia wants him to possess every virtue, and devotes a separate chapter in his huge treatise to each virtue, recommending moreover to his envoy to appeal, in his difficulties, "first to God, the source of all good".[40] Let him be virtuous, says Germonius, who however, as we shall see, condones lying, "for there is nothing more lovable than virtue, nothing that better wins men's love, so much so that we love, in a way, for their virtue and probity, even men whom we have never seen".[41]

An anonymous Frenchman, of about 1600, desires the ambassador to show himself "a great observer and defender of his religion, of justice, and of the common weal".[42] Louis XIV. had observers to tell him whether his ambassadors went to mass every day, and one of them, Barrillon, accredited to England, got a severe remonstrance because he did not, and because he had been seen talking with his neighbors during the service.[43] This however was no longer piety, but, in an age of pomp, gold lace, wigs, and feathers, a show thereof.

Drinking, which, as one of the manuals recalls, is described by Seneca as "a voluntary madness", is wrong and dangerous, but in some countries of central and northern Europe, indispensable; it is therefore regretfully allowed.

A fundamental virtue in an ambassador is punctuality. "The people of Troy sent their deputies to Tiberius, in order to offer him condolences on the death of his sons, seven or eight months after the event. 'And I,' said the emperor, 'deeply regret the loss you sustained of Hector your good and valorous compatriot.' At which all laughed for Hector had died several centuries before."[44]

[39] *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 17.

[40] *L'Ambasciatore* (Padua, 1626), bk. I., ch. 8, "Della Pieta e Religione verso Dio dell Ambasciatore"—"Diciamo adunque, ch'egli dovra prima ricorrere a Dio, fonte d'ogni bene, senza l'aiuto e consiglio del quale sono vani tutti gli humani sforzi e consigli."

[41] *De Legatis* (1627), p. 70.

[42] "Instruction Généralle des Ambassadeurs", ed. Griselle, *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* (1914), p. 773.

[43] Unprinted letter of Colbert de Croissy to Barrillon, April 13, 1686, Archives of the French foreign office, "Angleterre", CLVIII., fol. 209.

[44] Hotman, quoting Suetonius; *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 27.

The good ambassador will watch over his words, never deride the country he is in nor disparage the prince to whom he is accredited; he must not "blame the form of a popular government", much less will he venture any obloquy to the detriment of his own people: "Our country is our mother . . . we must be as jealous of her honor as of our own."[45]

Owing to the dangers accompanying certain missions, a temperament impervious to fear was held indispensable:

> For which cause the Romans and other republics, well aware of the perilous character of legations, honored with a statue the memory of those who had died in fulfilling such missions. Hence the blunt reply of an Athenian ambassador to King Philip of Macedon who threatened him with having his head cut off: "If thou hast this head removed, my country will give me another which will be immortal, *statuam pro capite; pro morte immortalitatem.*"

It is not everybody however that would enjoy the change, and more than one would prefer keeping his own.[46]

III.

Among the moral questions relating to the ambassadorial profession, none was more passionately discussed, for centuries in succession, than that of whether an ambassador should swerve from the truth, when his country's good is at stake, that is, whether he should answer the definition of his calling humorously inscribed in the album of a German merchant at Augsburg, in 1604, by Sir Henry Wotton, when on his way to Venice as English ambassador: "Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicae causa", a joke which, brought to the notice of a king who could never understand one, James I., caused the envoy to fall into temporary disgrace.[47] Casuists, innumerable in those days, had a splendid field for the exercise of their ingenuity, and of their knowledge of precedents, classical authors, and the Bible.

For a few, there was no question: *Salus populi, suprema lex*; for fewer, there was no question: *Super omnia veritas.* Machiavelli can-

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[46] Same page.

[47] Under the name of Oporinus Grubinius, one of his many aliases, the infamous blackmailer Gaspard Scioppius, a man of several religions and no faith, who alleged that Wotton had tried to have him assassinated in Milan, wrote a whole pamphlet on this incident, concluding that, so far as Wotton himself was concerned, the true definition was: "Legatus Calvinianus, maxime Anglicanus, est vir bonus, peregre missus ad mentiendum et latrocinandum Reipublicae suae causa." *Oporini Grubinii Legatus Latro, hoc est Definitio Legati Calviniani* (Ingolstadt, 1615).

not imagine that discussion be possible: when the country is at stake, the result only counts, and there is "no longer any question of just or unjust, merciful or cruel, praiseworthy or shameful".[48] For most, however, the question *has* to be discussed and, true casuists as they are, they first peremptorily state that an ambassador should never lie, for "lying is a mortal sin"; and then they add that, in certain circumstances, he must. They busy themselves thereupon to find the concord of this discord and their usual way consists, after having eloquently declared in favor of absolute truth, in adding a little *but* or a subtle *distinguo*.

Many save themselves by setting apart what they call officious lies, *officiosa mendacia,* by which they mean those caused by the function, *officii causa*:[49] a sufficient justification even for an ambassador answering Wotton's ironical definition.

Braun first rejects the officious lie, then admits it if no third party is to suffer. Tasso has also recourse to a *distinguo*.[50] Gentili writes a treatise *De Abusu Mendacii* which is rather one *De Usu,* so numerous are the cases when lies are justifiable, according to his count, on the part of physicians, poets, historians, theologians, and politicians; an admirer of Machiavelli he agrees with him: the saving of the country is the supreme law.[51] Paschalius declares decidedly against lying, adding however the usual *but:* "I want the ambassador to shine by truth, the best assured of virtues. . . . But I am not so boorishly exacting as to entirely close the lips of the envoy to officious lies."[52] For pompous, pedantic, retrograde Marselaer the ideal ambassador must be very noble by birth, very rich, and perfect at dissembling and lying; such is the rule of the game; it is necessary *cum vulpe vulpinari*.[53] Bacon's essay "On Truth" resembles that of Gentili, so much does it contain in favor of lies, a necessary alloy to the pure gold of truth: "A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure." Truth absolute is "the honor of man's nature", but it must be admitted that a "mixture of falsehood is like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work better, but it embaseth it".[54]

[48] "Dove si delibera al tutto della salute della patria, non vi debbe cadere alcuna consideratione ne di giusto, ne d'ingiusto, ne di pietoso, ne di crudele, ne di laudabile, ne d'ingnominioso anzi prosposto ogn'altro rispetto seguire al tutto quel partito che li salvi la vita et mantenghile la liberta." *Discorsi . . . sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* (Venice, 1540).

[49] Scioppius, as above, p. 3.

[50] "Ma io teco favellando, cosi distinguerò." *Il Messagiero.*

[51] *Alberici Gentilis . . . De Abusu Mendacii* (Hannover, 1599).

[52] *Legatus* (Paris, 1613), chap. LIV.; first ed. Rouen, 1598.

[53] *Frederici de Marselaer Equitis, Legatus* (Antwerp, 1626), p. 170; first ed. less complete, 1618.

[54] A late essay, first published in 1625.

Vera and Bragaccia surpass all as casuists. According to the latter, "Pythagoras being asked when men most resembled the gods, answered, 'when they speak truth'. And wisely to be sure, for there is nothing belonging so properly to God as truth."[55] He demonstrates, however, that "in case of urgency or for a good reason", one may consent not to be so very godlike; there are moreover many ways to speak the truth without revealing it, "for example when you include the lesser in the greater, as one would say, when having ten crowns, that he has two". It can scarcely be doubted that the officious lie, *bugia officiosa,* is a sin, but circumstances can attenuate the fault.

Vera is in no way inferior as a casuist. For him, "there is no end so honest that may cause a lie to be condoned, or may exempt the liar from mortal sin". True it is that the people of a different opinion allege that inventions and artifices are indispensable antidotes against "the venom of a powerful enemy", and are a means for transforming inequality into equality. They say also that "Nature, and God her maker, have endowed with ruse and shrewdness the animals which they have not armed with teeth and nails, so that the ones may compensate the others". But this is a false doctrine, based on pagan authors and misinterpreted Bible. "The ambassador must avoid this path, and beware of causing the plans of his king to develop along such a line."

We seem to be on firm ground, but we are not, for Vera now comes to the usual *distinguo,* and persuades himself that, "between those two extremes, that is to say to conduct business with downright falsehood or downright truthfulness, there can be found a midway which is the golden path of Horatius, and we shall move forth without falling into the abyss of evil, though swerving a little from the straight line of perfect purity".[56] Numerous examples follow, of people who, in old or recent times, acted thus and, according to Vera, deserved praise.

On dissembling, which is very near lying, Vera has no doubt, "Blamable in a private man, it is excusable in public business, since it is impossible to manage government affairs well if one is unable to dissemble and feign. This ability is acknowledged as the true attribute of kings, and it has been observed long ago that one who does not know how to feign is inapt to reign."

To the credit of Hotman, chief spokesman of the early French school of diplomacy, it must be said that, while referring to the Bible

[55] *L'Ambasciatore* (Padua, 1626), p. 430.

[56] *El Enbaxador* (Seville, 1620), fol. 87, 88, 99, 107, 111.

and admitting that there are cases when a falsehood is unavoidable, he feels, at the thought, pangs of regret, which is very much to his honor. "To act thus is hard," he says, "for a man of worth who does not care to wound his conscience in order to be considered clever; it is hard for a frank and generous soul who, in lying, strains his nature: and no wonder, since to lie and dissemble is an undoubted mark of a low-hearted and low-born individual." There is however a difference between delusive words used to harm, or used to help, as happened when Abraham and Isaac declared that their wives were their sisters, which they did in order to save the honor of these women. And remembering the time when he was himself employed abroad, Hotman adds from personal experience:

> There was no choice but to disguise to the Swiss Leagues, to Germany, England, and the other Protestant states and princes the folly of the Saint-Bartholomew; and I know some of those who were thus employed who would have willingly passed on this duty to cleverer liars. But what? It was for the service of the king and to endeavor to shield our nation from a stain which however no water has been able to wash away since.[57]

The solution of the problem continued remote. Well within the seventeenth century appeared the characteristic work before mentioned, of Archbishop Germonius, whose authority in such matters was great, he being, at the same time, a prelate and an ambassador. After having demonstrated that "to lie is servile and cannot be tolerated even in a slave"; that "any lie is a sin"; that, according to Aristotle, "the penalty of the liar is that he will not be believed even when he speaks the truth", the learned author bravely goes on to show that there is nevertheless a good deal to say in favor of lying: "What is not permitted by natural reason, is by civil reason; else princes and republics would often be upset and perish. In the same way as, among the laws of old, the most famous is, *salus populi suprema lex esto,* for the same reason, to an ambassador, the safety of the republic must be the supreme law." Can we aspire to be wiser than the Greeks or the Romans? Asked by Neoptolemus whether it was shameful to lie, Ulysses answered: "Not at all if safety is to be the result."[58] Titus Livius praises Xenophanes "for having used the subterfuge of a lie". No one blames physicians because they cheer their patients with false hopes.

In war, continues the archbishop, who obviously would have been favorable to "camouflaged" *communiqués,* untrue news may be indispensable to keep up the morale of troops.

[57] *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), pp. 48, 49.

[58] He speaks so in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, to which Germonius refers.

How much greater and nobler, one may remonstrate, the peoples who need no such falsifications of the truth and whose force of resistance grows because they know that the peril is great and not because they fancy it to be small, the nations able to offer thanks even to a Varro for not having despaired of the Republic, or able to defend and save Verdun when the defense seemed hopeless. A "They shall not pass" from men of heart is worth any amount of sophisticated *communiqués*.

In defense of his system, Germonius appeals also to the Bible as being full of lies which "get there no condemnation, but praise"; a list follows of those of Abraham, "a man of worth, and very pleasing to God", and of others. Jacob's lie when securing for himself Esau's birthright was worse than one in words, being one in action, "unless we believe with Saint Augustine that we are not confronted with a lie, but with a mystery".[59] We may accept such an interpretation if we please, but cannot be prevented from remembering besides that we have each of us, within ourselves, a guide, also God-inspired, called conscience.

Corruption, the use of spies, a good deal of intriguing, were admitted as necessities. And then the question arose: Is an ambassador justified in wrong-doing if he is so ordered by his master? Is it permissible for him to interfere in local politics to the detriment of the local sovereign? Tasso bluntly answers: "If the prince orders something unjust", the envoy must try to open his eyes, and if he fails, must obey: "Egli altro non può facere, ch'essequir il commendamento del Prencipe." Vera thinks it is a pity, but decides in the same fashion, and saves the ambassadors possible doubts by some new sample of his ever ready casuistry: the envoy should discard all scruples, saying to himself that, after all, what he is aiming at is not primarily the destruction of the prince to whom he is accredited, but the salvation of his own:

> And if it happened that the advantage procured by the ambassador to his master should result in damage to the other prince, it would be enough for the ambassador to have no load on his conscience, that his object and intention were only to protect his own prince against dangers threatening him; the more so that accidents cannot be prevented.[60]

But there were, even in those days, some men with a stricter conscience who would answer such questions with a no, the same Hotman foremost among them. The ambassador should, according to him, entirely abstain from intrigues hurtful to the country where he is:

[59] *De Legatis* (1627), bk. II., ch. VI.
[60] *El Enbaxador* (1620), fol. 101.

What, however, if he is commanded to act otherwise? . . . Will he be allowed to excuse himself, to judge of the justice of his master's intentions and of the equity of his commands? Does it belong to him to penetrate the secret or control the will of his prince? Here the man of worth will once more find himself greatly embarrassed. . . . The solution of the problem seems to me to be the same as that adopted by philosophers, jurists, and theologians concerning the obedience due by the son to his father, the slave to his master, the subject to his prince, and the vassal to his liege lord: for all agree that this obedience does not cover what is of God, of nature, and of reason. Well, to lie, mislead, betray, to attempt a sovereign prince's life, to foster revolt among his subjects, to steal from him or trouble his state, even in peace-time and under cover of friendship and alliance, is directly against the command of God, against the law of nature and of nations; it is to break that public faith without which human society and, in truth, the general order of the world would dissolve. And the ambassador who seconds his master's views in such a business doubly sins, because he both helps him in the undertaking and performing of a bad deed, and neglects to counsel him better, when he is bound to do so by his function which carries with it the quality of councillor of state for the duration of his mission, even if he had not had the honor of being previously received as a councillor.[61]

With a number of fighting bishops along the Rhine ("Bishops' Street", the valley was familiarly called), with the omnipresent but often nebulous pretensions of an elective emperor and an elective pope, with an elective king in Poland, with innumerable princelings in Germany and Italy, accessible to many reasons with which reason had little to do, intrigue had an immense field. An infinity of tiny states had an infinity of petty ambitions, petty wars, petty pacifications; greater states played some of the smaller ones against the others, the more efficaciously that these diminutive countries could, according to the ideas of the time, be parcelled out, sold, given away, serve as the pledge for a loan or the portion of a princess, without the inhabitants being any more consulted than their own cattle. The fate of flocks of men and of a number of countries had been changed by such marriages as that of Eleanora of Aquitania to the future Henry II. Plantagenet, or Mary of Burgundy, only daughter of Charles the Bold, to Maximilian, the future emperor. Cardinal Wolsey had however found means to make sure of preserving an even mind in the quarrels between Francis I. and Charles V. by accepting pensions from both.

In the hope of winning the help of a nation in a great war, pensions were offered to her ministers, sometimes to her king, rich jewels to the mistress of the king, and the whole court would be in ecstasies as to the good taste and generosity of the sender. The ministers

[61] *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), p. 84.

would not only accept but occasionally insist on an increase, for having so well betrayed their country. "Money," says Hotman, "opens the most secret cabinets of princes." Rousseau de Chamoy recommends that "gratifications" be adroitly offered to the foreign commissioners with whom the ambassador has to negotiate a treaty, but deplores that the French neglect too much this means of success.[62]

Presents were constantly on the move, between monarchs, ministers, ambassadors, members of public assemblies, etc., and it was no easy matter to discern where courtesy stopped and corruption began. Venice, as we have seen, solved the problem by obliging her ambassadors to hand to the public treasury the gifts received by them in foreign countries. Parsimonious Bishop Danès advises ambassadors to provision themselves, before starting, with "objects of small value, but rare and therefore greatly esteemed where they go"; and we know that Regnault Girard, sent to Scotland in 1434 to fetch Princess Margaret, the betrothed of the future king of France, Louis XI., had brought as presents "a gentle mule", considered "a very strange beast, because they have none there, six barrels of wine and three of chestnuts, pears, and apples, for there is little fruit in Scotland".[63] But you could not win thus the good will of a royal mistress, and the presents sent by Louis XIV. to a Duchess of Cleveland or a Duchess of Portsmouth were not of so homely a nature; the ladies themselves were not of a homely nature.

The question was again one in which casuists could give free play to their *distinguos*. Vera and others are thus able to both exclude and admit presents.[64] Most manuals however specify that no ambassador should consent to receive any except with the assent of his prince, or when he leaves the country: "An effect of his abstemiousness," says Hotman, "will be his refusal to accept any gifts or presents, either from the prince to whom he is sent or from any of his people for any cause whatsoever, unless, having already taken leave, he is about to mount his horse." Many princes regretfully spent large sums at those partings but considered it a kind, as is now said,

[62] *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, pp. 36, 40. I note with pleasure in the excellent article of Professor Nys, of Belgium, written in 1883, the remark: "On doit cependant dire à l'honneur des hommes d'état français qu'ils ne se laissaient point acheter et demeuraient incorruptibles." "Les Commencements de la Diplomatie", in *Revue de Droit International*, XVI. 67.

[63] The mission, at that date, was a very dangerous one, and Girard, to the indignation of his king, had offered 400 crowns to any who would go in his stead. *Romance of a King's Life* (1896), pp. 62, 66.

[64] *El Enbaxador*, fol. 129, 131.

of "propaganda", useful for their good fame and glory.[65] "The custom is," says Rousseau de Chamoy, "that, on such occasions, the prince give, as a present to the ambassador, his portrait set in diamonds or some similar object, and that he cause to be sent to his secretary a golden chain with his medal or something else."[66] This use was so well established that when the American republic was founded it was considered indispensable to submit to it, and George Washington bestowed on foreign envoys as they left the country a golden chain with a medal, choosing however to send to the French representative a heavier one than to the others. To that extent at any rate did the great man practise secret diplomacy.

Portraits continue to be given in our days, but consisting in signed photographs, a great improvement and leaving no room for casuistry; they are accompanied however in most countries with a decoration, a more debatable practice.

IV.

Endowed, as much as nature and study would allow, with so many accomplishments, political, moral, or literary, having bought expensive carriages, liveries, and plate, secured, as best he could, trustworthy secretaries and "chiffreurs"[67] and very numerous servants, selected, some for their "taciturnity" and others for their ability to play the part of semi-spies, but of otherwise good morals,[68] the ambassador would enter his coach or mount his horse (Eustache Deschamps complains that his "sits on its knees", out of fatigue, on the long road from Paris to Prague) and start on his mission.

The manuals keep their eyes on him and flood him with advice. How should he behave when he arrives? Whom should he see first? Ought ladies to be the object of his attention? Yes, says Pecquet, provided he does not fall in love with them. What should be his table, his expenses, the style and subject of his despatches, the ceremonial and rules of precedence he should observe? Must he be secretive? Yes, the wiser manuals answer on this last point, but

[65] Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 35.

[66] *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, p. 43.

[67] "Ea illi commi[illegible]enda sunt quae literis ignotis (chiffrum vulgus Gallicum vocat) significari res ipsa postulat." Dolet, *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 14.

[68] "Porro autem ex servis unum aliquem cautum atque versipellem Legatus habeat qui per urbem vagando et in multorum tum sermonem, tum familiaritatem se insinuando, omnes rumorum ventos colligat." *Ibid.*, p. 15. The ambassador will watch over their morals, for maybe he will be judged in accordance with them: "Sciendum est tale fere fieri de moribus nostris judicium, qualis est servorum nostrorum vita." *Ibid.*, p. 13.

within due limits. They do not back Ben Jonson's advice to Politick Would-bes:

> First for your garb, it must be grave and serious,
> Very reserv'd and lock'd; not tell a secret
> On any terms, not to your father, scarce
> A fable, but with caution.[69]

The question of precedence, being of immense importance in those days, gets of course ample attention.[70] For questions of precedence, which were supposed to imply the rank and dignity of their country, people would risk their lives and sometimes lose them, the rivalry as is well known being especially keen between France and Spain. The "most Christian" kings of France, anointed with the miraculous oil at Rheims, considered themselves as without a peer. Their right had been recognized at the meeting of more than one council, that of Constance among others in 1434. "And not without cause," wrote Claude de Seissel in 1558, "did the king of the Romans, Maximilian, playfully say more than once that if he were God and had several children, he would make the eldest God after him, but the second he would make him king of France."[71] The quarrel nevertheless continued more and more fierce, until the terrible d'Estrades incident occurred, when for a question of precedence between two ambassadorial carriages several people remained dead on the London pavement, a general war was with difficulty averted, and the "Catholic King" had to definitively admit the pretension of his "most Christian" but very unyielding brother, young Louis XIV.[72]

The ambassador must be liberal in his expenses, but not extravagant; certain envoys have so behaved that it seemed as though they wanted to outshine the greatest of the land where they lived; they have thus displeased the very people they wanted to conciliate. A sense of measure is an important item in the art of diplomacy, and

[69] *Volpone*, IV. i; dedication dated 1607. De la Sarraz du Franquesnay writes on this subject: "Les gens du monde regardent cet air mistérieux des ministres, soit naturel, soit affecté, comme un caractère de pédanterie; ce dehors magistral les blesse; il leur semble que ceux qui l'ont viennent donner leçon au public." *Le Ministre Public dans les Cours Étrangères* (1731), p. 171.

[70] For instance in Wicquefort, *Mémoire touchant les Ambassadeurs* (Cologne, 1679), II. 48 ff. "Il faut aussi parler de la préséance," says Hotman, "où il y a mille belles choses à dire, qui sont pour un discours à part." *L'Ambassadeur*, pp. 72 ff.

[71] *Histoire Singulière du Roy Loys XII.* (Paris, 1558), fol. 69.

[72] Year 1661. Not long after, however, in 1697, Rousseau de Chamoy saw a sign of narrow-mindedness in paying too much attention to questions of ceremonial: "Sur cela comme sur toute autre chose il évitera d'estre pointilleux et homme à incidents; c'est la marque d'un petit esprit d'estre remply et vivement touché de ces sortes de choses." *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur*, p. 29.

is of value whatever the occasion. For selecting the chief objects of expense, account must be taken of local tastes: "The expenditure of the house must be well regulated, yet splendid in every respect, chiefly for the table and cooking, to which foreigners, especially those of the North, pay more attention than to any other item. In Spain and Italy the table is frugal; but one must shine there in the matter of horses, carriages, garments, and followers." [73]

Now for the ambassador's actual functions, his raison d'être. They are, as we have seen, of the highest a man can be honored with. Whatever the circumstances and the temptations, he should never forget what the paramount duty of an ambassador consists in, which is to "zealously act in such fashion that he be rather the maker of peace and concord than of discord and of war".[74] His task will be comparatively easy if he is personally trustworthy and if he represents a nation which also can be trusted: hence the constant recommendations to keep promises; one of the elements of Louis XIV.'s power in Europe was that, with all which now appears to us as blemishes on his politics, he kept his promises more faithfully than any monarch of his time.

The untrustworthiness of many envoys, whose word was empty and promises meant nothing, whose conscience was as pliable as casuists would have it, and whose very presence was a danger for the state, had retarded, in the fifteenth century, the progress of the institution. Several kings, among them Henry VII. of England, were averse to receiving any. Philippe de Commines the historian, who had himself been an ambassador (*e.g.*, to Lorenzo de' Medici), has strong words on the subject: "'Tis not too safe a thing, those constant goings and comings of embassies, for very often bad things are treated of by them; yet the sending and receiving of them cannot be avoided." What is the remedy? some will ask; others might give a better answer,

> As for me, this I would do. Ambassadors who come from true friends and not to be suspected, I deem that they should be well treated and be granted permission to see the prince pretty often, taking however into account what the prince himself actually is; I mean if he be wise and honest; for when he is otherwise, the least shown the better. And when he is shown, let him be well dressed and well informed of what he ought to say, and let him not stay long. [If, on the other hand, ambassadors come from princes filled with a perpetual hatred,] as I have seen it among those many of whom I have spoken before, there is, I think, no safety in their coming. They must however be well and honor-

[73] Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 22.

[74] "Videat praeterea sedulo ut pacis concordiaeque potius auctor sit quam belli et discordiae." Dolet, *De Officio Legati* (1541), p. 20.

ably treated; they should be met on their arrival, comfortably lodged, and safe and sensible people should be ordered to accompany them; which is both safe and honest, for thus one knows who is about them, and light-headed and discontented men are prevented from giving them news, for in no house is everybody content.

They must be well feasted, offered presents, promptly heard, and sent back, "for it is a very bad thing to keep one's enemies in one's house". In the meantime a continuous watch ought to be kept, night and day, to know whom they see. "And for one messenger or ambassador that would be sent to me I would send two. . . . Some will say that your enemy will take pride on it. I do not care, for thus I shall get more news of him." [75]

The ambassador knows from his instructions what he has to do, and if he has followed the wise advice to men of his calling, given in 1436 by Archbishop Bernard du Rosier, he must have verified, before leaving, that they were perfectly clear and straightforward, whether expressed verbally or in writing.[76] Being moreover an ambassador, and present on the spot, powers of appreciation are left him; he may have lights that his sender had not, and he must, under his responsibility, follow them; which is just as true today as in the past centuries, and which I, for one, had to put more than once into practice during the Great War. Danès,[77] Montaigne, Tasso,[78] Hotman, Wicquefort, Rousseau, all agree. "It should be noted," says Montaigne, who wrote no treatise about ambassadors, but who, interested in all kinds of men and things, has a variety of observations to make about them:

[75] *Mémoires,* bk. III., ch. VIII. The sending of several ambassadors together became exceptional after the custom was established of having permanent embassies. The several ambassadors forming one single mission rarely agreed on all points; rivalries and quarrels arose, and it was thought better to send only one man professionally prepared to assume alone the complex task, "except however", Callières says, "when the question is of a peace conference"; no single man could then suffice. *De la Manière de Négocier,* p. 378.

[76] "Caveant tamen ambaxiatores, ne instrucciones acephalas, ambiguas, vel dupplicitatem continentes verbo vel scriptis a mittentibus suscipiant." *Ambaxiator, Brevilogus,* as above, ch. X.

[77] "Son maistre lui peut bien prescrire en gros ce qui est de son instruction pour son service, mais il ne peut lui bailler ni la direction ni l'industrie pour la conduite des accidens inopinés et casuels: ainsi le jugement et la vigilance sont deux parties bien requises à celui qui est constitué en cette charge." *Conseils à un Ambassadeur* (1561), ed. Delavaud, p. 13.

[78] "E se l'Ambasciatore altro no fosse che semplice relatore delle cose commendatelo, non havrebbe bisongno nè di prudenza, nè d'eloquenza, e ciascun' huomo ordinario in quest' ufficio sarebbe atto: ma noi veggiamo che i Principi con diligente investigazione fanno scieltà de gli ambasciatori." *Il Messagiero.*

It should be noted that unswerving obedience fits only with precise and peremptory commands. Ambassadors have somewhat freer duties the fulfilling of which, in several respects, entirely depends on their own dispositions. They do not simply execute, but form also and direct by their own advice the will of their masters. I have seen in my day people in authority blamed for having rather obeyed the words in the king's letters than the dictates of the affairs in the midst of which they themselves were.

Hotman, shortly after, wrote

that a number of things must be left to the discretion of a prudent ambassador without thus tying his tongue and hands. *Mitte sapientem, nihil dicito.* But when he has played the part of a man of worth, 'tis ill done to repay him with a disavowal; and such princes do not deserve to be served by people of worth, especially when these have done for the best. Industry and diligence are of ourselves; a successful issue is of heaven.[79]

The same views in Rousseau de Chamoy a century later:

As he is bound to know the interests of his master, he may and must make up his mind (without waiting for instructions) in accordance with events, and those are the occasions when the clever and true negotiator distinguishes himself from the common man and the ordinary minister of no parts.[80]

In negotiating the ambassador will be careful not to be brusque, haughty, arrogant:

Prudence demands [said, in early days, Bishop Danès,] that he listen with gentleness and modesty to the reasons of others, without being enamored of his own nor too absolute in his opinion. When one has to contradict somebody else's advice in a conference, be the cause one sustains ever so good and well justified, the words must be tempered in such a way that none may remain offended at the opposition, but that everybody, on the contrary, may notice the respect felt by the contradictor for the company. One must yield sometimes out of complaisance, and then avail himself of the next colloquy to amicably bring back the others to the cause of justice.[81]

Having to keep his government well informed, the ambassador will neglect no opportunity in order to be himself aware of what goes on, and since nothing in the world stands quite apart, and everything has ramifications everywhere, he must be able to establish comparisons. Early written books advised him to keep up therefore a constant correspondence with the other ambassadors of his country in different lands, having if need be a special code to exchange confidential views with them. He must also take care to keep well posted on what happens or threatens to happen in his own country, counting for this, less on the secretary of state, often very remiss in that respect, than on some friends or even on paid informers, "not grudging two

[79] *L'Ambassadeur,* p. 57.

[80] *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur* (1697), ed. Delavaud, p. 26.

[81] *Conseils*; as above, p. 13.

or three hundred crowns for this, if need be". He will thus be able to counteract enemy propaganda (the thing, not the word, being in use at an early date), especially hurtful to his own country in war time.[82]

If he uses spies, as was then the custom, he is to be very much on his guard. In order to get pay, rascally fellows will bring him thrilling news in abundance, even when there is no news; being moreover men of no conscience they will never hesitate to betray one paymaster to the advantage of another and to their own profit. No account should therefore be taken of their statements, unless it be possible to control them.

The importance of being well informed is such that Rousseau de Chamoy goes the length, alone then of his kind, of recommending the ambassador to read, would you believe it? "the gazettes". The news they give is, to be sure, abundantly false, but it may chance that some be true, though rather difficult to distinguish from the imaginary; nothing however should be neglected; false news has moreover its advantage, in "evidencing the spirit of partiality in the place where it is devised".[83]

But above all the ambassador must study the country where he is, and do so personally, see people of all ranks, talk with them, understand the trend of opinion and discover the various forces at play there. The task is not so easy for French ambassadors abroad as for foreign ambassadors in France: "Everything, in France, is bared to the curiosity of foreigners, partly owing to the natural freedom with which we speak of every subject, partly because of the factions in the state and the divisions in religious matters which have torn France for the last forty years."[84] This was written in 1603.

The ambassador's despatches will convey to his government all the information he can gather. Must he also send data which are

[82] "Et d'autant que les secrétaires d'Estat ne font si fréquentes despesche à l'ambassadeur et ne luy donnent toujours advis de ce qui se passe en la Cour et en l'Estat si souvent comme il le voudroit bien et qu'il seroit parfois expédient qu'il en eust la cognoissance pour les faux bruits que sèment ordinairement les ennemis d'un Estat, mesmement en temps de guerre. . . il sera fort bien d'avoir quelque amy en court qui l'advertisse souvent de ce qui se fait, voire jusques aux moindres particularitez par lesquelles il peut quelquefois faire jugement des choses d'importance. La peine où j'ay veu en Suisse Monsieur de Sillery Brulart et en Angleterre Monsieur de Beauvoir la Nocle . . . me fait donner cet advis à ceux qui vont en Légation, et qu'ils n'y doivent espargner deux ny trois cens escus par an si besoin est." Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 24.

[83] *L'Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur*, p. 35.

[84] Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur*, p. 66.

sure to displease and irritate his own prince, playing the unwelcome part of the carrier of bad news? Without doubt he must, sternly answers Bishop Danès:

> Hold it as a maxim that displeasing things must be sent as well as pleasing ones, and the prince, in the end, if he is a man of wisdom and understanding, will be better satisfied with the ambassador who will not have concealed from him any item he may have learnt where he is stationed, than with the one who, to spare him annoyance, will have abstained from writing unpleasant things (*des choses facheuses*), but which it would have been of interest for him to know in time.[85]

Hotman agrees, adding one proviso, however, that is: except when the conveying of such information can only cause useless irritation and diminish the chances of that good understanding between nations, which is, as we have seen, the chief object of diplomacy. If however any untoward incident has been public the ambassador has no choice:

> The matter would be different if, in full council of the prince, or in the pulpit by preachers, or on the stage by comedians,[86] or by writings or lampoons, the ambassador saw his master's honor defamed, for then he must send the information at once and crave justice and reparation from those who owe it, using however moderation not to make the harm greater than it is, for the case is similar to that of ladies who often by over-defending their honor render it more suspected and doubtful.

The lady, Shakespeare thought, should not protest too much.

Doubts as to the sending of the whole truth scarcely exist at all nowadays, especially in democratic countries, but still linger in some others. A change of foreign minister having happened in an imperial country some years ago, I was asked by that country's ambassador for information as to the new man, who happened to be unknown to him but well known to me. I made, in general terms, a polite answer. "But that is not what I want," the other said, "Is he a man to speak the truth to the Emperor?" The only answer I could conscientiously return was, "Yes, if it is agreeable."

The ambassador, according to the manuals, will avoid giving room in his letters to trifling incidents, piquant as they may be, to news of the amours of the court ladies, to the quarrels of their admirers, and similar subjects, though in great demand on the part of certain princes and their fair friends "who want to know every-

[85] *Conseils à un Ambassadeur* (1561), p. 15.

[86] The Chapman incident, with the intervention of the French ambassador La Boderie and the sending to jail of the players for an objectionable passage in *The Tragedie of Charles Duke of Byron*, is an exactly contemporary example of such a case, the play having been performed in 1602 or 1603, when the chief personages, including the King of France, Henry IV., were still alive. See *Modern Language Review*, IV. 158, and VI. 203.

thing". The best, if he can not avoid writing on these "frivolous topics, just fit to amuse idle persons", is to treat of them in "separate letters which, since they would not deal with what is the business of the office, would not have to be submitted to the council and read there". This advice was followed later by the ambassadors to England of Louis XIV., who, though no "idle person", greatly relished full accounts of what was going on, in the way of loves and scandals, at the court of his royal brother the merry monarch Charles II. Separate sheets added to the official correspondence, and of which many remain in our foreign archives, kept him informed.

In his style the envoy will imitate good models, who differ according to the periods and countries: French, Italian, or Spanish, d'Ossat, du Perron, Mazarin, Bellièvre, d'Estrades, the Spaniard Saavedra, the texts collected by Vittorio Siri, and, for a wonder, one Englishman, but at a late date, and in a translation, "le Chevalier Temple".[87]

The despatches will be "grave, brief, compressed, containing much in a few words, drawn in terms rather plain than far-fetched, seasoned but only seldom with traits and maxims. For the better intelligence of the facts, it would be appropriate that each question be dealt with in a separate letter, according to the example of Monsieur de Villeroy". The report might else seem "grotesque", that is to say like the artificial grottoes so much the fashion in those days, "a patchwork made of different pieces".[88]

Thus admonished, garnering information, remembering precedents, studying the approved models of the art, looking splendid in their silks, laces, and embroideries, assisted by the renown of their cook in the North and of their horses in the South, now obeying, now guiding circumstances, and displaying talents sometimes of the highest order, ambassadors worked for two centuries at the establishment in Europe of the system which gradually replaced the family of Christian nations, namely that of the, not yet so called, balance of power. The first had for its basis a hard-to-realize brotherly love; the second, more practical, was grounded on safety. The moment one power, be it the house of Austria, the house of France, or that of Spain, became so strong that it might dominate all the others if it chose, these others, by instinct or treaty, united together for the preservation of equilibrium. The establishment and maintenance of this order of things, which rendered great service, and which though much abused and

[87] Pecquet, *Discours sur l'Art de Négocier* (1737), p. xlviii. He had in mind the *Lettres de M. le Chevalier Temple et autres Ministres d'État* (the Hague, 1700, 2 vols.; several editions).

[88] Hotman, *L'Ambassadeur* (1603), p. 71.

held antiquated is not yet dead, gave occasion to innumerable negotiations and treaties in which envoys could show whether they answered the requirements of the manuals. They have a right to be judged by the outcome, and it is a fact that some of the treaties negotiated by them, those of Westphalia or of Utrecht for example, count among the great events in the history of mankind.

V.

Important results and a wider practice having permitted the guiding principles of the profession to be better tested, manuals appeared in the eighteenth century in which former-day advice was filtered, exaggerations were pruned off, and new pictures were drawn of what a modern ambassador should be. The best of those portraits are so carefully devised as to be worthy of attention even now and doubtless in after time. The most characteristic trait in them is increasing austerity.

Visible already in Rousseau de Chamoy, 1697, the change is much more striking in such manuals as those of Callières, a member of the French Academy and a former ambassador, 1716, and Pecquet, a clerk in the French foreign office, 1737, especially the latter, by far the best. Without neglecting the gifts of the mind necessary for an ambassador, these two writers give an unwonted place to the qualities of his heart: we are moving further and further away from Machiavelli. "It is not enough," according to Callières, "in order to make a good negotiator, that he have all the dexterity and the other fine gifts of the intellect; it is necessary for him to possess also those resulting from the sentiments of the heart; there exists no function needing more elevation and nobility in conduct." One who enters this profession without disinterestedness and who wants "to promote other interests than those consisting in the glory of having succeeded . . . is sure to play in it the part of a very mediocre individual and if any important negotiation happens to succeed in his hands the result should be attributed only to some happy chance that cleared for him all difficulties". Pomp, gold lace, embroideries, great wealth, ancient lineage, are but secondary matters: "There are temporary embassies for mere ostentation, for the fulfilling of which nothing is needed but a great name and much wealth, like those for the ceremony of a marriage or a baptism. . . . But when affairs have to be negotiated, a man is needed, not an idol." [89]

[89] *De la Manière de Négocier avec les Souverains . . . par Monsieur de Callières . . . cy-devant Ambassadeur . . . du feu Roy pour les Traitez de Paix conclus à Riswick, et l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Française* (Paris, 1716),

Callières's ambassador must have travelled abroad and studied foreign nations, "but not in the fashion of our young men who, on leaving the academy or the college, go to Rome to see fine palaces, gardens, and the remains of some ancient buildings, or to Venice to see the opera and the courtesans; they ought to travel when a little older and better able to meditate and to study the form of government of each country".

Agreeing with his predecessors, Callières wants the envoy's learning to be considerable, on condition however that he be not crushed by it, or make of it his chief occupation. It is appropriate that "negotiators should have a general knowledge of the sciences sufficient to enlighten their understanding, but they must possess it and not be possessed by it, that is to say that they must not make more of the sciences than they are worth for their profession, but see in them only a means to become wiser and cleverer; abstaining from pride and from showing scorn for those less well informed". They should moreover not give too much time to those studies. "A man who has entered public employ must consider that his duty is to act and not to remain too long closeted in his study; his chief work must be to learn what goes on among the living rather than what went on among the dead." [90]

In the way of austerity Pecquet[91] is stricter than all. The aims of true diplomacy are so high, the responsibilities so great, that such a calling has a sacred character; for him, more even than for the mentors of early days, it is a kind of apostleship, and in the same way as for other sacred vocations, a severe mental and especially moral training, to be begun in boyhood, is indispensable. Fathers of families are guilty in not understanding these truths and in abstaining from a timely preparation of their sons for such a service. The result is that the French do not succeed in it as they should:

> Though desirous of avoiding a partiality which every writer should eschew, it is certain that our nation produces a large number of bright minds who join to attractive parts great sagacity; but these natural talents are obscured by faults born of inapplication or are devoted to objects entirely foreign to the profession of the negotiator. I do not speak thus out of an undue predilection for a profession which, I confess, is dear to me, I only speak as a citizen. I have always considered

pp. 35, 75; other editions same year, Brussels and Amsterdam; another, "augmentée", London, 1750. An English translation was published in London, 1716: *The Art of Negotiating with Sovereign Princes.* By the same, *e. g., De la Science du Monde et des Connoissances Utiles à la Conduite de la Vie* (Brussels, 1717).

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 99.

[91] *Discours sur l'Art de Négocier* (Paris, 1737), dedicated to the king.

it shameful and hurtful for my country that the lack of preparation and an unjust prejudice on the part of fathers of family leave us inferior in this to other nations who give us very different examples.

Think how important is such a calling "which prepares those great events whose éclat strikes the eye", war, peace, conciliation, alliances. "The fate of his country is in the hands of the negotiator"; his functions are of the most difficult, for "all in them is, so to say, conjectural", and requires deeper thought than "matters offering fixed and demonstrated points".

Just therefore as for the Church, the prentice ambassador, "if he is to become superior, should be prepared from childhood for those important functions. His studies, his amusements too, must have no other object; he must ceaselessly labor to form his judgment, accustom himself early to get clear ideas on every matter, and to fill his mind with principles capable of guiding him as infallibly as possible in every juncture". He thus should, when studying history, even modern history which will be the chief subject of his attention and offers so many burning problems, try to remain impartial: "Since every country has taken part in public events, it is only too usual, while reading, to favorably judge one's own nation and feel a passion for her to the detriment of the others." From such prejudices may flow "consequences of no small importance".[92] It is never an advantage, when walking, to be blindfolded.

Former writers had drawn up, as we have seen, interminable lists of the accomplishments necessary for an ambassador. Pecquet, without forgetting the study of foreign languages, in spite of "ours having become in a way that of all Europe",[93] offers to ambassadors a no less impressive list of the moral qualities indispensable to any worthy member of this, in his eyes, quasi-holy profession. The ambassador he approves of is fair and moderate in his judgments, avoids vain fits of enthusiasm or hatred, is careful not to "confuse nervousness (*inquiétude d'esprit*) with activity", is patient and plucky, never feels disheartened.

While neglecting nothing of what may secure the success of an undertaking, all the obstacles should be considered coolly, a firm stand being taken against those sometimes encountered at every step. The ambassador must never be discouraged, but feel satisfied when he has done all that accords with humanity, and, above all, keep no ill humor nor prejudice against the people who put obstacles in his path; they do nothing else, in many cases, than what we should have done if we had been in their place.

[92] *Discours*, pp. xix, xxiii, xxxi, xxxiv, xli.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

Personal modesty should be practised,

> Being not incompatible with the dignity attached to the representative character of the ambassador; without this, it is hard to please men. All the moments in the life of an envoy do not require that he be hampered by his professional character; he would become a burden to himself and to the others. . . . The honors accorded to the representative character are easily mistaken by the one who enjoys them as a personal homage. . . . The fault is frequent with beginners; they fancy they have become new men; they consider themselves as actual princes, they exact everything, and think they are dispensed from everything, the language soon accords with the attitude, and the name of dignity is given to what is nothing but pride and self-sufficiency.[94]

Disinterestedness is of the highest importance; not only presents will always be refused, even when allowed by custom and by one's government, but no ambition of wealth or profit of any sort can be tolerated in an ambassador, except that of properly serving his country. Let all those who entertain other desires besides, look elsewhere; in "a profession so important", those desires are the sign of a great risk that should be avoided at all cost, the risk of a "corruption of the heart". This exclusion is applied even to rewards from one's own country, which may come or not, the thing is of no importance; one should never work in view of them:

> It is good to be able to say to one's self that, with a pure heart and innocent hands, one deserved to be well treated. It is in itself a recompense, to be worthy of one. Let us moreover agree that every man owes himself to the service of his country without having any title to exact rewards. We are born in a country and partake in her glory, splendor, and safety; we owe to her the goods and fortune inherited from our fathers; we therefore owe a service to her of one sort or another. . . . If men were well penetrated with these principles they would take the habit of not serving their mother country as mercenaries.[95]

Military service for all, with no pay, as established later in France, is in essence in these remarks.

The tendency was decidedly toward austerity. The ambassador is to be the more exacting toward himself that he is so much in view and so many people have an interest in finding out his faults and foibles and taking advantage of them against him. Even when he has no choice and must needs follow custom he should not be the dupe of it. He will have a sumptuous establishment, "and yield to this folly since

[94] Same idea in Callières: "Ces négociateurs novices s'enivrent d'ordinaire des honneurs qu'on rend en leur personne à la dignité des maîtres qu'ils représentent, semblables à cet âne de la fable qui recevait pour lui tout l'encens qu'on brûlait devant la statue de la déesse qu'il portait." *De la Manière de Négocier* (1716), p. 7.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 16, 20, 25.

the opinion of men has made it a consequence of his representative character"; but he will remember that it is a folly. He will become acquainted with all sorts of people, especially in republican states where the sovereignty belongs to all, but be careful to keep absolutely aloof from internal politics and avoid taking sides with one party or another, especially, again, in republican states. "This care to seek out everybody, this kind of popularity, must not be accompanied by anything that might lead people to suppose that the envoy is endeavoring to enter into the detail of domestic affairs, which he should not, or profit of the multiplicity of the members composing the sovereignty, to sow division among them." He would become at once suspected. "The republican spirit, or spirit of liberty, which liberty, to be solid, must rest on internal union, ever leads all the other affections to this rallying point." The envoy who forgets those truths becomes useless to his government in the country where he is and in all others.[96]

There may be cases, to be sure, when the right course will be difficult to discern. The heart then will decide: "The heart it is that causes us to make a good or a bad use of the qualities of the mind."

Needless to say that on all questions of sincerity and truthfulness, Pecquet is absolutely positive. No casuistry with him, no room for "Faux-Semblant". Not in vain had Pascal in his *Provinciales* passed sentence on easy-going casuistry, nor Molière said by the mouth of Alceste:

> Je veux qu'on soit sincère et qu'en homme d'honneur
> On ne lâche aucun mot qui ne parte du coeur.

At that date the cause of truth had been won; Rousseau de Chamoy, in 1697, had been equally positive there was "no quality more important for an ambassador than probity."[97] Bayle in his great *Dictionnaire Historique* has nothing but scorn for dissembling ambassadors;[98] De la Sarraz du Franquesnay, Lescalopier de Nourar, at a later date, fully agree. "We must recognize," says the first, "that, generally speaking, bad faith is destructive of society . . . cunning and guile are of no avail to those who use them."[99] "Cun-

[96] Callières, pp. 120 ff.

[97] *Idée du Parfait Ambassadeur*, p. 22.

[98] And, an aggressive skeptic, he generalizes against them: "Agir selon la doctrine des équivoques, c'est le métier des ambassadeurs; c'est pour eux principalement qu'elle aurait dû être inventée;" *sub verbo* Bellai (Guillaume du). *Cf.* La Bruyère's sarcastic portrait of the "chameleon plenipotentiary". *Caractères*, ed. Lacour, II. 74.

[99] *Le Ministre Public dans les Cours Étrangères* (Amsterdam, 1731), p. 171.

ning," says the second (an optimist it is true, according to whom the "detention of a king or an attempt on his sacred person had become impossibilities"; and he was writing in 1763), "has been banished from politics." [100]

The ambassador, according to Pecquet, will offer in his despatches nothing but unalloyed truth, and the desire to please his master will never induce him to color it falsely:

> The most essential care of the envoy should be exactitude in the facts he reports; he must neither weaken them nor change their hue, but distinctly state which are in his eyes certain, and which doubtful. . . . He must not flatter his master by his selection of the facts he narrates or by his way of narrating them. The object of his mission is not to lead his chief astray but to enlighten him.

The judgments of certain men are biassed by personal considerations; nothing can be worse in an ambassador:

> It often happens that an envoy who does not believe himself well enough treated or enough considered in a court, poisons the simplest things. In other cases, if he sees that a disposition to a good understanding does not subsist between the prince he serves and the one to whom he is accredited, he thinks he pays his court to the former by embittering everything and giving violent advice. [The duty of a negotiator is] to make a complete abstraction of his own person.[101]

The use of spies is utterly contemptible. The envoy should have recourse, for information, not to traitors, but, what is a little more difficult, to his own brains. "The other means, consisting in keeping paid spies and corrupting men in a position to know, cannot be considered praiseworthy or honorable. Most people, as is well known, have no scruples in using this means and they hope that their master will consider it a merit in them." Their merit however is nil, gold does all. "One would perhaps risk being stoned, in the political world, if one wanted to positively forbid all recourse to such sources of information, but at least let the use thereof be restricted to occasions when every other means fails." There is little to choose between the scorn due to the seduced and that due to the seducer. Add moreover, from the practical point of view, that there is never any safety in using a traitor.[102]

[100] *Le Ministère du Négociateur* (Amsterdam, 1763), p. 299.

[101] Pp. 95, 96. Pascal in his *Pensées* had already denounced the lack of courage of those who acted otherwise: "Dire la vérité est utile à celui à qui on la dit, mais désavantageux à ceux qui la disent parce qu'ils se font haïr. Or ceux qui vivent avec les Princes aiment mieux leurs intérêts que celui du Prince qu'ils servent, et ainsi ils n'ont garde de lui procurer un avantage en se nuisant à eux-mêmes."

[102] P. 91.

The question of falsehoods *pro bono publico* does not exist for Pecquet: none can ever be allowed. A man is not bound to say all he knows, but he must never speak an untruth. "It has often been the stumbling-block of many negotiators," he says, "to have ignored or have wanted to ignore that one can, without the help of falsehood, well serve one's master and one's country." He does not even admit the political definition of a lie which I recently heard given by a man of note: "A lie consists in not speaking the truth to one who has a right to know it." It is, he considers, a question of the heart, and we have seen the part reserved to the heart in the new manuals, written in the century of sentiment and sensibility, the century of Richardson, Rousseau, Bernardin de St. Pierre:

> The qualities of the heart in every profession, and especially that of the negotiator, are the most important. His success chiefly depends upon the confidence he inspires; sentiments of candor, truth, and probity are indispensable to him. One may seduce men by the brilliancy of one's talents, but if these are not guided by probity, they become useless and even dangerous instruments. Men do not forgive having been deceived.

Nothing built on falsehood has any duration; events are not long in bringing truth to light. "We are persuaded that there remains to-day none of those princes who prided themselves on cleverly deceiving others. There is nothing a man jealous of his reputation must avoid more carefully than missions contrary to probity."[103]

When the mission of an ambassador comes to an end, his duties continue. The knowledge he has acquired belongs not to him but to his government, he must sum it up in a general report which will instruct those who sent him; he will not publish it for fear of hurting the interests of his own country. "The public, usually curious, without any advantage for the state, will possibly see in this reserve nothing but ridiculous scruple and useless secrecy, instead of respecting a discretion inspired by probity and the love of the state." The envoy must not yield, but resist an inducement the more dangerous "that self-love and a desire to shine may cause him to find a certain satisfaction in falling into this kind of temptation".

Like the man who has once pronounced perpetual vows, Pecquet's ambassador, when he has returned home, will not become indolent; he may be wanted again by his country. "An envoy must consider himself, even in his moments of rest, as consecrated forever to a special service, the obligations of which should be ever present to his mind, be the object of his studies, and serve as a rule of conduct in his conversations and actions."[104]

[103] Pecquet, pp. xiv, 6 ff.

[104] Pp. 156. 158.

VI.

Most of the principles propounded by modest and now forgotten Pecquet have been justified by events. The most terrible revolutions, the most cruel wars mankind has ever seen, have one after the other proclaimed to the world, as the moral of their tale of destruction and slaughter: Falsehood and cruelty do not pay.

They will more and more, and in louder tones, proclaim the same dogma. That mankind progresses does not, for sincere observers, allow the possibility of a doubt. Old Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, the translator of Aristotle, used to say to me years ago when he was our foreign minister: "The proof that good prevails over evil in the society of men is that this society still exists." Certain it is, therefore, that honorable ways of acting will increasingly be the only ones admitted; the others will be rejected, and, if resorted to, will entail such punishment as to more and more efficiently prevent their use. The ideas of Pecquet will triumph, and those of Germonius be defeated.

In spite of whatever set-backs, let us keep our faith. Set-backs may occur in the future; the most appalling ones are of yesterday, when some peoples were seen following the wrong road, re-enacting and obeying a gospel of force, of inequality among nations, of the weaker, because weaker, having to obey the stronger, of the end justifying the means whatever the end and whatever the means, proclaiming as their guiding principle that of wolves and ravens, that necessity has no law, persuaded that, hand in hand, force and falsehood were sure to triumph, and relying so much on them that when they wanted to start that "fresh and joyous war", which was to result in the agonizing death of millions of brave and useful citizens, yours, ours, theirs, they did not even take the trouble to devise probable stories, but declared war on France because she had bombarded Nuremberg. Had she indeed?

What was retrogression, they called progress, forgetting that, as John Morley observed, "the law of things is that they who tamper with veracity, from whatever motives, are tampering with the vital force of human progress".[105] The moral of the tale is there, however. Men and nations obeying different tenets have been powerful men and nations—for a time; rising, but only *unde altior esset casus.*

No one would now relate as a fine trait to the credit of a great man what Moritz Busch admiringly reports of Bismarck's instructions to him when the memoirs of the Emperor Frederick began to

[105] *On Compromise,* ch. III.

appear in the *Deutsche Rundschau*: "I myself consider the diary even more genuine than you do," said Bismarck to his trusty confidant; nevertheless, "first assert it to be a forgery, and express indignation at such a calumny upon the noble dead. Then, when they prove it to be genuine, refute the errors and foolish ideas which it contains, but cautiously".[106] The trusty confidant made this public in order to increase the admiration of his compatriots for their great man.

The day for such things has gone by, we hope; evidence is growing that the rules of honesty cannot be of one sort for ordinary men and of another for powerful ones or for nations. "I know but one code of morality for men," Jefferson had written to Madison, at an earlier date, Paris, August 28, 1789, "whether acting singly or collectively. He who says, I will be a rogue when I act in company with a hundred others, but an honest man when I act alone, will be believed in the former assertion but not in the latter." The code of Jefferson will more and more triumph and that of Bismarck be more and more contemned.

In their sorrow for the past, their anxiety for the future, honest nations have recently been considering what could be tried to prevent the recurrence of catastrophes and to secure the safety of even the smaller among them. And, as in the time of the barbaric invasions of yore which had so greatly contributed to the attempted formation of a family of Christian peoples, with an ever ready pacific judge and umpire, they bethought themselves of that organism which we now see struggling for a useful existence, the League or Society of Nations, with its permanent tribunal.[107] No Perdita ever had a stormier infancy than the new being,

> Thou 'rt like to have
> A lullaby too rough: I never saw
> The heavens so dim by day.

The mere fact however of such a birth is an important symptom, and another of an even greater value is that the very men who disagree with the plan such as it is, agree with the object: the fate of nations must depend in the future on something else than force and falsehood.

[106] Sept. 26 and 28, 1888. *Bismarck . . . being a Diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch* (London and New York, 1898, 2 vols.), I. 428, 435.

[107] The League of Nations was devised chiefly to replace the "balance of power", held to be inadequate, by something more exalted, which would be, though no one probably thought of it at Versailles, an attempt at a more practical family of nations: "There must now be", said President Wilson in his Guildhall speech of Dec. 28, 1918, "not a balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set off against another, but a single, overwhelming, powerful group of nations who shall be the trustees of the peace of the world."

Years may elapse before the goal is reached, and in the meantime no precautions necessary for safety should be neglected, for neglect would result in lengthening the journey. But a great thing it is that the goal stands visible as a beacon before the eyes of the whole world. Without perhaps reaching it in our days, to come nearer will be a great boon. And how much nearer shall we not be, how much lighter the burdens and anxieties of mankind, when one nation whose thinkers, poets, and scientists had won for her of yore the admiration of the world, may find her way to pronounce these three short words: "We are sorry!"

In the task of hastening better days, honest negotiators, busy with the task and not with the building of their own fortunes, obeying the most austere of the olden-day manuals, will have an important part to play: *Conamur tenues grandia.* No invention, no telephone, no aeroplane, no wireless, will ever replace the knowledge of a country and the understanding of a people's dispositions. The importance of persuading a prince and his minister has diminished; that of understanding a nation has increased. The temper, qualities, and limitations of many a man can sometimes be divined on short acquaintance; those of a nation need a longer contact. Temporary missions may suffice in the first case; permanent ones are indispensable in the second, and will therefore be continued. Instead of showing signs of reduction in the more recent period, the ambassadorial system has been adopted by more and more numerous countries. "It would be an historical absurdity," one reads in such a recent and authoritative work as the *Encyclopedia Britannica,* ninth edition,[108] "to suppose diplomatic relations connecting together China . . . and Japan"; this has nevertheless come to pass.

Secret treaties, already forbidden by the present League covenant, which has been accepted by the immense majority of nations, will cease to be resorted to. Nothing better shows the change of sentiment throughout the world than another anecdote triumphantly told by Busch in his memoirs of Bismarck. The latter is represented giving as an "exquisite example" of the political incapacity of Emperor Frederick III., the fact that, being informed by him of a secret treaty of neutrality concluded by his country with Russia, in case of an Anglo-Russian war, the then *Kronprinz* replied: "'Of course England has been informed and has agreed to it.' Great laughter, in which the ladies also joined."[109] There would be no laughter nowadays and the ladies would not join.

[108] Published 1875–1889.

[109] Sept. 29, 1888. Busch's *Diary,* as above, I. 436.

Actual negotiations, however, will be initiated and conducted in public in all their phases, only when humanity is composed of men impervious to the praise, the sarcasms, the exigencies, the threats, the fury, the ridicule, the idolatry of the *agora*: not a thing for today, we may fear, nor perhaps for tomorrow.

Born on the day when the evils escaped from Pandora's box, ambassadorial functions will cease only on the happy, but maybe distant day, when the evils go back to their box.

Let us trust however that history in the making will more and more have the same ideal and motto as history in the telling, the same as our American Historical Association, *Super omnia veritas.* May future ambassadors never forget that, as old Dolet wrote centuries ago, their chief duty "is to be rather the makers of peace and concord than of discord and of war", and that, as Erasmus wrote in his book for the guidance of the future Emperor Charles V.: "Wars beget wars; good will begets good will; equity, equity."[110]

J. J. JUSSERAND.

[110] "Bellum quid gignat nisi bellum? At civilitas civilitatem invitat, aequitas aequitatem." *Institutio Principis Christiani,* ch. XI.

JAY'S TREATY AND THE NORTHWEST BOUNDARY GAP

Had the negotiators of the treaty of peace and independence between the United States and Great Britain in 1782 been accompanied by the staffs of experts so indispensable to twentieth-century peacemakers there probably never would have been any northwest boundary gap. As it was, the peace commissioners, after some debate, agreed to fix the northern boundary on the general principle of the now familiar river-and-lake line from 45 degrees north latitude on the St. Lawrence to the Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi. There is nothing to indicate that these men ever made use of any other knowledge of the northwestern corner of the United States than was contained in the official British Mitchell's Map of 1755. This showed the territory as far west as the Lake of the Woods, and to that body of water the line was carried with reasonable precision. But over the northwest corner of Mitchell's Map from forty-seven to fifty-two degrees north latitude is spread an inset map of Labrador and Hudson's Bay. Out from under the inset flows the Mississippi, its source shrouded in mystery. A legend on the main map reads: "The head of the Mississippi is not yet known. It is supposed to arise about the 50th degree of latitude and western bounds of this map." The commissioners complacently projected the line from the northwesternmost corner of the Lake of the Woods due west to the hypothetical Mississippi.[1] Any professor-expert, had there been such in those days of inefficient diplomacy, could have shown the commissioners that such a line was impossible because the Mississippi really rises well to the south of the latitude of the Lake of the Woods, as many maps drawn between 1755 and 1782 indicate with fair accuracy.[2]

The treaty thus left a boundary gap of approximately 175 miles in an air line between the source of the Mississippi and the northwesternmost corner of the Lake of the Woods. It was not until nine years after ratification that this fact was discovered and became a

[1] For facsimile of Mitchell's Map, see Channing, *History of the United States*, III. 361. For discussion of the northern boundary negotiations, 1779–1782, *ibid.*, 386; A. J. Hill, in Minnesota Historical Society, *Collections*, VII. 305–317; A. N. Winchell, *id.*, VIII. 187–194.

[2] For enumeration and description of contemporary maps, see *Statutes, Documents, and Papers respecting the Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1878), pp. 135–140.

matter of diplomatic negotiations. From the first, however, the new boundary line was the cause of consternation to British subjects in Canada. Immediately the terms of the preliminary articles of peace were known on the banks of the St. Lawrence it was apparent that the British diplomatists in yielding to the extensive territorial claims of their adversaries had overlooked a matter of great economic consequence to Canada, a geographical detail which might have been adjusted easily had the negotiators known anything about the lands they were dividing. This was the location of the Grand Portage between Lake Superior and the navigable portion of Pigeon River, up which stream went the goods of the Montreal fur merchants to be carried across the height of land and by way of the Lake of the Woods to the intricate canoe routes of the virgin fur country of the great territory of the Northwest.

The Canadian fur trade, the prostration of which appeared to be threatened by fulfilment of the treaty terms and which thus came to be connected intimately with the boundary question, was the most profitable single industry of eighteenth-century North America. On it depended the immediate prosperity of the remaining British continental possessions. For the ten years after the peace of 1783 the business produced furs worth £200,000 sterling annually.[3] Half of this came from United States territory to the south of the Great Lakes, country dominated until 1796 by British occupation in violation of Article II.[4] of the treaty of peace. Moreover, furs to the value of £40,000 annually already were coming in from the Northwest over the Grand Portage,[5] which portage to their disappointment the fur princes of Montreal discovered to have been ceded to the United States through the ignorance of the king's peacemakers. At the same time that the traders contemplated the withdrawal of British forces from control of their fur preserves in what was now American territory to the south of the new boundary line—a withdrawal against which they vigorously protested[6]—it was by no means pleasant to

[3] "Importation of Skins from Canada, 1788", Canadian Archives (hereinafter cited as C. A.), Q 43, p. 826, from C. O. 42: 66; "Report to Grenville on the Fur Trade of Canada, furnished by John Inglis to Lord Grenville", Mark Lane, May 31, 1790, C. A., Q 49, p. 287, from C. O. 42: 72; "Memoir in regard to the Fur Trade, about 1794", Chatham MSS., bdle. 346. These three documents are now available in print in the appendix to Davidson's *North West Company*.

[4] That American soil should be evacuated by British troops "with all convenient speed".

[5] Account of the fur-trade of Canada furnished by John Inglis, *supra*, note 3.

[6] Benjamin Frobisher to Adam Mabane, Montreal, Apr. 19, 1784, C. A., B 75–2, p. 75, printed in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (herein-

observe that the Grand Portage, artery of the fur trade to the new and unexploited regions of the Northwest and the Rocky Mountains, had been carelessly ceded away.[7]

The first effort to escape the consequences of this loss was to send out explorers to find some other route, wholly within British territory, between the Lake of the Woods and Lake Superior. Under the employ of the North West Company, Umfreville and St. Germain in 1784 did find an alternative route by way of the Kaministiquia River and Lake Nipigon,[8] a passage previously known to old French traders but neither so convenient nor so direct. But it soon became evident that recourse to the new waterway would not be necessary. The British government, acting in the interests of the fur merchants of Canada and London and in behalf of the Indian nations of the Ohio Valley, their former allies who were uneasy at anticipated American dominion over their lands, decided not to fulfill for the time being the terms of the treaty of peace.[9] Orders to the governor-general of British North America to refuse delivery of the frontier posts went forth from Whitehall, in fact, the day before George III. proclaimed ratification of the treaty and publicly promised to enforce it.[10] Soon thereafter it developed that the United States on its side was unable to carry out faithfully some of the American obligations under the treaty, notably the guaranty of unimpeded collection of ante-bellum debts due to British creditors. In this way the armory of British diplomacy was furnished with a plausible enough excuse for refusing to deliver. As long as these strategic positions thus continued to be garrisoned by British troops the fur trade on United States soil went

after cited as *Mich. P. H. C.*), XX. 219–222. Compare this letter with that of Haldimand to Captain Robertson, Quebec, May 6, 1784, *ibid.*, p. 226. For direct solicitations of the fur traders to the government, see Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, Oct. 4, 1784, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. 50; Haldimand to Thomas Townshend, C. A., Q 21, p. 220; unsigned letter to Nepean, Detroit, Sept. 1, 1784, *Mich. P. H. C.*, XXIV. 17.

[7] "Observations by Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish", etc., Chatham MSS., bdle. 346, printed in Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

[8] Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher to Haldimand, Montreal, Oct. 4, 1784, C. A., Q 24–2, p. 409; James McGill to Hon. Henry Hamilton, *ibid.*, Q 25, p. 111.

[9] Evidence on this point has been abundantly found by the present investigator after painstaking examination of the Canadian Archives and of the Colonial Office Papers in the Public Record Office, the results of which he hopes to embody in another work. The correspondence is too voluminous to cite here. Some of it has been presented in McLaughlin's "British Debts and Western Posts", in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1894, p. 444. See also Douglas Brymner's comments in his introduction to *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1890, p. xxxi.

[10] Sydney to Haldimand, Apr. 8, 1785, C. A., Q 23, p. 55. The ratification of the treaty was proclaimed by the king on April 9.

on unrestricted and the North West Company's *voyageurs* used the Grand Portage without hindrance, the nearest American being hundreds of miles away.

The question of the retention of the posts soon developed into that protracted diplomatic contest, familiar to students of the period, which eventually ended by their evacuation in 1796 according to the terms of Jay's Treaty (signed November 19, 1794). Observing that the matter of the frontier boundary had thus passed into a long diplomatic contest the fur traders importuned the government to secure their interests in any final settlement to be reached with the United States: (1) by providing that British traders might freely pass and repass the boundary to trade with the Indians on the American side,[11] and (2) by securing for British subjects liberty of passage through the few miles of United States territory to the southward of Pigeon River over which ran the Grand Portage.[12] It might even be possible, some of them thought, to secure such minor rectification of the boundary in the northwest corner of the United States as would include the Grand Portage within British territory.[13]

Affairs were in this posture when the British minister at Philadelphia, George Hammond, received from Montreal a map proving that the line due west from the Lake of the Woods could never strike the Mississippi. It was evident that a new line would have to be drawn in that part of the country, and England now had a good reason for wishing to change the boundary there. It dawned on Hammond that the necessity for a boundary rectification might be turned to the great profit of his government.[14] At the time, he was competing in an unequal contest with the astute Jefferson in regard to the whole field of questions in dispute between the two governments, the most important of which was the frontier question—which involved the posts. The British minister now introduced the rectification of the northwest boundary gap as another matter to be regu-

11 "Memoir in regard to the Fur Trade, about 1794", *supra*, note 3.

12 The topography of the country on the north or British bank of the river made a portage there impossible. For map, see J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, vol. VI., pl. 57.

13 Frobisher to Mabane, Apr. 19, 1784, C. A., B 75–2, p. 75.

14 Hammond to Grenville, Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1792: "I trust that this Government [*i. e.*, the United States] will not endeavour to take advantage of this accidental geographical error, which, if not rectified, will not only leave the limits between the two countries undefined, but also render entirely nugatory the eighth article of the treaty, which stipulates that the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the ocean is to remain free and open to the subjects of the two countries respectively." Foreign Office Papers, Public Record Office (hereinafter cited as F. O.), 115: 1; printed in Dropmore Papers, II. 254.

lated in any general diplomatic settlement, and he proceeded further to couple the boundary question with that article of the treaty of peace which had guaranteed the free navigation of the Mississippi to the subjects and citizens of both nations.

To appreciate fully Hammond's argument on this point we should keep in mind that the boundary of the United States is fixed by Article II. of the treaty, the article which follows immediately after recognition of independence. Six articles then intervene before the eighth, which is the last but one of the whole document. The eighth article reads: "The navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States." Hammond argued that the fixing of a boundary from the Lake of the Woods "on a due west course to the River Mississippi" was proof of intention of the negotiators of the treaty to bring the territory of British North America to abut on the river. He then cited the navigation article (which occurs in another part of the treaty and has no textual relationship to the boundary article) to prove that the geographical impossibility of a line due west of the Lake of the Woods to the river would render "nugatory" one of the chief guaranties of the treaty and one of the most valuable ones for Great Britain, for of what use would a guaranty of navigation be if the territory of that power were prevented from touching the river? The boundary, he maintained, should be rectified in such a way as to bring British territory up to the banks of the river and thus to realize the true intention of the men who drew up the treaty. Such a rectification, Hammond presumed to suggest, would be to the interest of the United States in that it would place a British buffer between that nation and Spanish Louisiana.

Observing the map, the reader will notice that the insertion of British territory to act as an appreciable buffer between the United States and the vacant prairies of Spanish Louisiana would have made necessary a long southward extension down the left bank of the Mississippi. This was exactly what Hammond ventured to propose, an extension which would bring a finger of British soil as far south as the "navigable waters" of the river,[15] which become navigable, for other craft than canoes and small boats, below the Falls of St. Anthony near the present city of St. Paul. It was an effort to create a situation out of which, in the give-and-take of the pending general diplomatic settlement, England might obtain a much desired cession of commercially strategic territory in a little-heard-of part of the North American continent.

[15] "Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Hammond, June 3, 1792", Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 193–198.

It is certain that some English students of colonial affairs were estimating the future importance of the Mississippi Valley as the seat of a great future Anglo-Saxon population which would constitute a market for English manufactures more valuable than the existing fur trade of that valley, a trade certain to be exhausted as soon as the country should be settled. Both Hammond and Simcoe, the first governor of Upper Canada, placed great stress on the advantages to England of establishing a commercial connection with the future population of the Illinois country by way of the navigation system of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. In the words of Simcoe, Upper Canada might become the vestibule of trade between the increasing population of the future Mississippi Valley and England, in the same way in which the Netherlands was then the vestibule of commerce between the German states and England.[16] Hammond, in describing the possibilities of rectification of the boundary gap, wrote to Grenville, the secretary of state for foreign affairs:

> The rapid progress in population and improvement of the settlements formed along the banks of the Mississippi undoubtedly renders the free navigation of that river an object highly desirable, as it will open a new, extensive and unrivalled market for British manufactures, with which the inhabitants of those settlements can be more reasonably and plentifully supplied by the means of water communication with Canada than through the United States.[17]

Such arguments as these, made during the Industrial Revolution when English manufactures were demanding wider markets and when the British ship of state was wafted to a considerable degree by trade winds, did not escape the attention of Pitt's government. We are not surprised to find among the papers of the prime minister in 1794 an anonymous memorandum on frontier policy which must have been under his eye during the Jay negotiation. The writer of this document advocated evacuation of the frontier posts in order to reach a peaceable settlement with the United States. Military protection, he held, was not necessary for the fur trade, as could be instanced in the trade about Lake Superior. The great aim which British policy should serve was not protection of a commerce in peltries, bound soon to perish; rather, the Americans should be conciliated and England should encourage the population of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys—territory which would then furnish extensive markets for British manufactures to be supplied by water carriage from Canada.

> The only object Great Britain can have in retaining Canada in a

[16] Simcoe to Dundas, London, June 2, 1791, C. A., Q 278, pp. 228–255; report of Simcoe to the Lords of Trade, Sept. 1, 1794, *ibid.*, Q 280–2, p. 307.

[17] Hammond to Grenville, Feb. 2, 1792, *supra*, note 14.

commercial view, is that Canada extends all along the back of America. It will at all times secure to Great Britain a sale of her manufactures and oblige the Government of America to be moderate in their duties, otherwise the goods will be smuggled in upon them. A good understanding must be courted with all the subjects of America that joins Canada. . . . It is our business from every tie of justice, humanity and sound policy to put an end to the Indian war, and to encourage the Back Settlers all in our power. It is from that country that we will be supplied with hemp. The settlers there will never rival us either in shipping or in sailors nor for ages in manufactures. We will have all their trade without any expense of maintaining them. What more would you require? . . . Receive their wheat on moderate terms and they will take our manufactures. Every check on the sale of their wheat, etc., will drive them the sooner to manufactures.[18]

In the light of such considerations the proposal of Hammond to extend a strip of British territory south to the "navigable waters" of the Mississippi assumes no small significance. It was a design the importance of which has since been emphasized by the economic history of the Mississippi Valley. It was not only of economic importance; such a projection of British territory might have been used as an entering wedge for future political connections. Any one familiar with the intrigues between the officials of British North America and the frontier settlements of the American back-country knows that such a connection had been plotted frequently in the years between the establishing of American independence and the ratification of Jay's Treaty. Even if economic penetration should not lead eventually to political connection, the commerce with the American West, with the mouth of the Mississippi closed by Spain, was likely to prove of great profit. Finally, as will be shown, it would have worked against future American sovereignty over an important area of the Far West.

Jefferson was quick to discern Hammond's purpose. The Virginian agreed that there should be no objection to closing the boundary gap, but insisted that it should be done by "as small and unimportant an alteration as might be", such as a line drawn from the most northern source of the Mississippi due north to strike a line extending due west from the Lake of the Woods. The navigation article had nothing to do with the boundary article, he asserted. It concerned the southern boundary of the United States and the secret article of the preliminaries of peace which had contemplated British possession of Florida as a result of a peace between England and

[18] Chatham MSS., bdle. 344. Unsigned and undated, but indorsed, "Considerations on the propriety of Great Britain abandoning the Indian Posts and coming to a good understanding with America"; see also letter of N. Miller to Alexander Hamilton, Feb. 19, 1792, *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, VIII. 264–266.

Spain, in which case the navigation of the Mississippi would have been most important to Great Britain as a riparian power.[19] In bringing up the subject in this fashion the British minister, Jefferson decided, "showed a desire that such a slice of our Northwest Territory might be cut off for them as would admit them [the English] to the navigation and profit of the Mississippi."[20]

The subject having now been introduced by Hammond, it came up for attention in Washington's cabinet, but not as a result of the conversation between Hammond and the Secretary of State. On October 31, 1792, a Cabinet meeting was held to consider what reply ought to be made to Spain on the matter of Spanish interference in the execution of a treaty between the United States and the Creek Indians,[21] and on the question of the southwestern boundary then in dispute between the United States and Spain. According to Jefferson's notes of the meeting, he himself favored transferring the whole discussion from Philadelphia to Madrid, thus postponing the question and creating a delay during which new developments might make it possible to avoid a rupture, which delay was "much to be desired, while we had similar points to discuss with Great Britain".

Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, then spoke. He advised peace as a growing period for national strength but anticipated eventual war with Spain and sought an ally—England. To purchase that alliance he proposed among other equivalents the adjusting of the northwest boundary in such a way as to admit England to "some navigable part of the Mississippi", and argued that joint possession with Great Britain of the navigation of the Mississippi would be desirable because it would mean joint protection of the same.[22]

How did Alexander Hamilton, who confessedly had not even looked the matter up on a map, come to make a proposal that fell in so neatly with the project for rectification suggested by the British minister at Philadelphia? In other pages the writer has shown the

[19] "Notes of a Conversation with Mr. Hammond, June 3, 1792", *supra*, note 15.

[20] Jefferson to Madison, June 4, 1792, Jefferson, *Writings* (Library ed.), VIII. 364. Hammond's account of this part of the conversation is very brief. He merely states that he emphasized the necessity of ascertaining with precision the respective boundaries, particularly those of the St. Croix [*i. e.*, in Maine] and in the northwest. "Mr. Jefferson acknowledged the truth of this observation, but assured me that this government would readily concur in any reasonable settlement." Hammond to Grenville, June 8, 1792, F. O. 4: 15.

[21] *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (hereinafter cited as *A. S. P., F. R.*), I. 259.

[22] Jefferson, *Writings*, I. 237.

intimacy which existed between Hamilton and Hammond. It amounted to collusion between the two to thwart what Hamilton feared to be the "personal predilections" of "honest" Jefferson in favor of France and his prejudice against England.[23] In pursuit of a perspicuous foreign policy of his own, Hamilton considered peace between England and the United States vitally necessary to the newly engendered American nationality, and he went great lengths to prevent any interruption of Anglo-American commerce, upon which the revenues of his financial system depended. Such would have been his excuse for intriguing with the British minister who was supposed to conduct his negotiations with Jefferson, secretary of state.

Enjoying as he did close relations with Hamilton, whose advice he considered the most weighty of any of Washington's advisers, Hammond had discussed the boundary rectification with the Secretary of the Treasury more intimately than with the Secretary of State. He wrote Lord Grenville that Hamilton had said in the "last conversation" that undoubtedly the United States government would allow a "free intercourse" with the Indians on the American side of the boundary (a matter to which Hammond had not been inattentive) if the British government would allow the same privilege to Americans trading with the Indians on the British side of the line.[24] In his confidence the British minister then asked Hamilton—who had agreed, in the course of a general conversation on the navigation of the Mississippi, that it was for the interest of the United States to share with Great Britain the defense as well as the enjoyment of that navigation—whether anything contrary to British interests might be expected in the negotiations which were going on between the United States and Spain. Hamilton gave assurances that nothing would be agreed to that was contrary to the British rights of navigation on the river. Hammond then ventured to presume that the United States would have no objections to regulating the northwest boundary so as to afford His Majesty's government an effective communication with the Mississippi. Here Hamilton stiffened. He would give no assurances but replied that he believed the United States would consent to as liberal an accommodation as would not be detrimental to its own interests. Hammond did not consider this as a rebuff. On the contrary he wrote to Downing Street: "I am of the opinion that this government would consent to such a regulation of the northwest boundary as would afford a free and effectual connection with the

[23] See this *Review*, XXIV. 26–48.

[24] Hammond to Grenville, no. 26, Philadelphia, July 3, 1792, F. O. 4: 16.

Mississippi by means of some of the rivers falling into Lake Superior." [25]

This conversation had occurred in July, over three months before the Cabinet meeting above described. We conclude that at the Cabinet meeting of October 31, Hamilton was seeking official sanction to an overture which for lack of authority he had not been able to make behind the back of Jefferson, some weeks before. We infer that, as a means of erecting an Anglo-American alliance, he wished to take advantage of the English desire to get into the Mississippi. The arguments which he advanced to his colleagues in the administration reflect what had already passed between him and Hammond. Knox, secretary of war, agreed in general with Hamilton, and Randolph, attorney general, with Jefferson, who opposed the overtures to England. Fortunately for the future of the American West Hamilton's proposal was dismissed by President Washington with the comment that "the remedy was worse than the disease".[26]

The next stage in the history of the northwest boundary gap is to be noticed in connection with the Jay-Grenville negotiations in London during the summer of 1794. The general negotiation between Hammond and Jefferson, into which Hammond, in 1792, had introduced the northwest boundary, had dragged along slowly until in 1793 the outbreak of the war between France and England monopolized the energies of the Foreign Office and postponed discussion of the boundary until John Jay arrived in England in the summer of 1794 on a mission which was to determine peace or war at a time when the British navy was only too busy in controlling the European situation.

Lord Grenville, following Hammond's emphasis on the importance of the rectification, and doubtless adopting the minister's confidence that the United States would accept it, brought forward the matter as one of the necessary settlements in any general treaty.[27] He made use of Hammond's suggestion that the northwest boundary should be rectified in such a way as to give real effect to the navigation article of the treaty of peace. That article, he asserted, meant to give access to the navigable part of the river "*without passing*

[25] Hammond to Grenville, no. 27, Philadelphia, July 3, 1792, *ibid.*

[26] "Notes of a Cabinet Meeting, Oct. 31, 1792", Jefferson, *Writings*, I. 237.

[27] In answer to Hammond's communication on the diplomatic importance of the northwest boundary gap, Grenville had written the following to Hammond, Apr. 25, 1792: "It will be an object of greatest Importance, at all Events, to secure, if possible, to His Majesty's Subjects in Canada the free and uninterrupted Communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi, either by the Ouisconsing River, which I understand affords great Facility for that Purpose, or by such other Rivers as . . . shall appear more proper." F. O. 115: 1.

through foreign territory". He argued with Jay that because of the impossibility of the line due west from the Lake of the Woods, a wholly new line, now a proper subject for negotiation, might be drawn in that quarter with no necessary reference to the old attempt to fix a boundary. Accordingly he offered to the United States a choice of two lines based on such geographical knowledge of the upper Mississippi country as was afforded by Faden's map of 1793. One of the proposed lines ran due west from Lake Superior, at West Bay, to Red Lake River (represented by Faden as one of the western tributaries of the Mississippi), and thence down that river to its supposed confluence with the Mississippi. This would have moved the American frontier of western Canada south to the latitude of the present city of Duluth. That is, it would have done so had it been itself geographically possible, but in fact it was a line as impossible as the delimitation laid down at Versailles in 1783; Red Lake River does not flow into the Mississippi but into the Red River of the North.[28] Such a line undoubtedly was calculated by Grenville to secure British possession of the Grand Portage, but really it would still have left a northwest boundary gap to be settled. The acceptable alternative to this boundary was described as running due north from the mouth of the St. Croix River to the water communication between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods, the communication already followed in the treaty of 1783. It would have left the Grand Portage on American soil but would have extended a wedge of British territory south along the left bank of the Mississippi to an apex located about twenty-five miles below the present city of St. Paul, Minnesota—that is, to the "navigable portion" of the great river below the Falls of St. Anthony. One line would have given to Great Britain undisputed possession of the Grand Portage; the other would have recognized an extension of territory of even greater commercial importance, a trade entrance into the American West and a port on the upper navigable waters of the Mississippi River. In case the latter line were chosen, Grenville had more than provided for the security of British trade over the Grand Portage by introducing into the new treaty a clause by which British subjects were to have freedom of passage "over the several waters, carrying-places, and roads adjacent to the Lakes or connecting with them".[29]

[28] Although Grenville was one of the best-informed men in England on North America, he was not wholly at home in the geography of the American West, a subject little known at best. See his instructions for Vancouver's celebrated expedition to the Pacific Ocean and the northwest coast of America in 1791. *Report of Provincial Archivist of British Columbia* for 1913, p. 46.

[29] *A. S. P., F. R.*, I. 490–495. All the papers relating to the Jay negotiation

To his eternal credit this is one of the few demands of the British foreign minister which John Jay in his anxiety for peace did not accept. The adoption of either of the proposed lines, as Jay pointed out, would have meant the cession of between 30,000 and 35,000 square miles of United States territory. Had he accepted such a limitation, it is difficult to conceive that in the future boundary conventions the United States could have obtained the line of forty-nine degrees north latitude, west to the Rocky Mountains, and, eventually, to the Pacific Ocean.

Jay showed that on the very map on which Grenville relied for his geographical information several other streams were marked "Mississippi by conjecture", and he contended that it would be only reasonable, in view of admitted uncertainty of geographical knowledge in that quarter, to have a joint survey made which should serve as the basis for future definitive settlement. This proposition, which was far from closing all possibilities of rectification favorable to Great Britain at some future date, Grenville had to accept.[30] The reasonableness of Jay's contention is reinforced when one examines the modern map, and finds that the Red Lake River line would have

are not published here, nor were they submitted to the Senate. In the case of the northwest boundary gap, the unpublished papers of the Foreign Office, which include copies of all notes exchanged (the negotiation took place in writing), and which the writer has examined, add nothing to the material in *Foreign Relations*; neither do the Jay Papers in the library of the New York Historical Society.

[30] *A. S. P., F. R.*, I. 490–495. Jay refusing to accept either of the proposed rectifications Grenville drafted an article providing for an immediate joint survey on the basis of this formula: "Whereas it is a question of difference between the said parties, in case these lines [*i. e.*, the boundary lines of the Treaty of 1783] should be found not to close, whether, according to the true intent and meaning of the 2d and 8th articles of the Treaty of Peace, these lines ought to be closed in such a manner, as that Canada should border on navigable water of the said river—which question it would be premature to discuss and endeavour to settle, while the said Parties remain uninformed of the actual extent and many other material circumstances of the said river", etc. The survey was to measure the depth and channel of the river, particularly "the intervals where it may be found to be navigable". A copy of this draft was recently secured for the writer by the editor of this *Review*, who found it among the private, unprinted, manuscripts of Lord Grenville preserved at Dropmore, England.

Jay refused to consider any article which discussed in any way the question of bringing Canada to the navigable waters of the Mississippi, though he included in his treaty draft of September 30 an article for a joint commission to survey the region of the supposed boundary gap. Article IV. of the treaty finally signed provided that "measures shall be taken in concert" for a joint survey, but did not provide the measures at that time. No commission was set up for the purpose, as was done in Article V. for the settlement of the disputed northeastern boundary. A definite settlement was in this way postponed.

still left a northwest boundary gap, and when one reflects that up to that time there had been no question of the identity of the boundary as far west as the Lake of the Woods, part of which accepted line Grenville, under guise of fashioning an entirely new boundary, was now attempting to rectify.

Though Lord Grenville was not successful in securing British title to a tract of land of incalculable value to the future United States, the treaty which he and John Jay signed provided abundantly for the protection of the British fur trade of the Northwest and for the security of the Grand Portage route. Article III. of Jay's Treaty stipulated:

> It is agreed that it shall at all times be free to His Majesty's subjects, and to the citizens of the United States, and also to the Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land and inland navigation into the respective territories and countries of the two parties on the continent of America (the country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company only excepted), and to navigate all the lakes, rivers and waters thereof, and freely to carry on trade and commerce with each other. . . .[31]
>
> The river Mississippi shall . . . according to the treaty of peace, be entirely open to both parties; and it is further agreed, that all ports and places on its eastern side, to whichsoever of the parties belonging, may freely be resorted to and used by both parties, in as ample a manner as any of the Atlantic ports or places of the United States, or any of the ports and places of His Majesty in Great Britain. . . .
>
> [Reciprocal favored-nation privileges were agreed to by the same article, which further provided] that no duty shall ever be laid by either party on peltries brought by land or inland navigation into the said territories respectively, nor shall the Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects of whatever nature, pay for any import or duty whatsoever. But goods in bales, or other packages unusual among Indians, shall not be considered as goods belonging *bona fide* to Indians.

Again, free passage across the portages on both sides of the boundary was stipulated, and goods and traders thus crossing portages and back into their own territory were to be free from tariffs.

Thus, even though in fulfilment of Jay's Treaty Great Britain finally evacuated American soil, she secured permanent[32] commercial privileges on the frontier which enabled her to hold the rich fur trade she had built up among the United States Indians and to secure the use of the Grand Portage to the Canadian Northwest. More than this, by the right to use the inland water navigation and to establish warehouses and other facilities for trade anywhere on the east bank

[31] An exception was made in the case of rivers other than the Mississippi which were navigable from the sea.

[32] The first ten articles of the treaty were to be permanent in their operation.

of the Mississippi, equal in privilege to the port privileges extended by the United States to foreign subjects in Atlantic ports, the way was open for that future great commerce which sanguine Englishmen hoped would flow into the American West by way of the Great Lakes, making Montreal and not New Orleans the future *entrepôt* of the commerce of the Mississippi Valley.

That these trading privileges were nominally reciprocal[33] did not make them, to any great extent, advantageous to the United States. By virtue of their long-standing connections with the Indians within American territory, British traders were able to cope successfully with American competition[34] until the War of 1812.[35] Until that time they had a practical monopoly of the upper Mississippi country.[36] Alexander Hamilton, who became the most powerful advocate before the public for the ratification of Jay's Treaty, in elucidating Article III. dwelt on the advantages of this reciprocity. Only a small proportion of the Canadian furs had come from American territory, he argued, while now all of Canada would be open to the enterprise of American fur traders.[37] This argument rested on mistaken information. As pointed out above, one-half of the Canadian furs had depended on American territory for their production in the years before Jay's Treaty, while no American traders had resorted to Canada. The nominal reciprocity which was now opened to citizens of the United States to pursue the trade among the Indians dwelling on British soil was to a large degree cut away by the treaty's inhibition to Americans to enter the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.[38] It was a great boon to the United States when the War of 1812 put an end to this wholly one-sided arrangement.

[33] As first drafted by Grenville, this article did not even contain reciprocal privileges for American traders in British territory.

[34] Astor's company, which was tied up with Canadian stock-holders, carried on from Mackinaw a considerable fur trade within British territory on the east side of Lake Huron. See H. M. Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, I. 311.

[35] Gallatin to Astor, Aug. 5, 1835, Irving's *Astoria*, appendix.

[36] Pike, in 1807, found only British fur traders in the upper Mississippi country. They were flying the British flag and distributing British medals to the natives, until he requested them to stop the practice. Coues, *Journals of Z. M. Pike*, pp. 15 ff.

[37] "Camillus", no. XII., Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton ed.), VII. 277.

[38] This possibility did not escape Washington. "All this [Article III.] looks very well on paper, but I much question whether in its operation it will not be found to work very much against us. 1st. What are the limits of that Company? . . . 2d. Admitting the fact, will they not, having possession of the trade, and the Indians being in their interest, by every artifice of *their* traders, prevent *ours* from extending themselves into the country, sharing in the profits.

The limits of the Hudson's Bay Company have a curious connection with the northwest boundary. The charter granted by Charles II. to the company in the year 1670 conveyed ownership outright to all the land within the watershed of the streams flowing into Hudson Bay in so far as such territory was not already under the domain of some Christian prince other than the King of England. The watershed of Hudson Bay extends south into the present states of Minnesota and North Dakota. In 1670 this upper portion of the watershed had not been occupied by any other Christian prince, nor had any part of the great Northwest of Canada. Nor for a long time thereafter was it occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company itself, which for a hundred years could not have known the precise southern limits of its charter rights. For a century the company did not venture more than a few miles inland from the shores of the bay, relying on the Indians to bring their furs down the rivers to the factories there. Before the company had occupied any of the great interior described by the royal charter, a Christian prince, the King of France, through the operations and explorations of his subject fur traders and pathfinders, took possession of Canada as far west as the Rocky Mountains, including much of the territory over which the Hudson's Bay Company would have considered that it had legal ownership. Soon the French in peace and war were disputing possession of the shores of the bay itself. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 France "restored" to England the territory on the shores of Hudson Bay. The King of France did not restore the interior country drained by the Hudson Bay rivers. Of the southern part of this territory he had occupied a great part, just how much nobody precisely knew.[39]

By the terms of Article X. of the Treaty of Utrecht an Anglo-French commission was to meet and determine the boundary between New France and the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the commission finally met, in 1719, the English representatives, acting on the behests of the company, claimed a line from Grimmington's Island, off the coast of Labrador (latitude 58° 30′ north) through Lake Mistassine (the source of Rupert's River) thence deflecting southwest to 49° north latitude, which parallel thenceforth was to be

and thereby bringing on disputes which may terminate seriously?" Washington to Hamilton, July 13, 1795, Hamilton, *Works* (J. C. Hamilton ed.), VI. 17.

[39] That the King of France did not restore more than the immediate shores of Hudson Bay did not necessarily destroy the English claims to portions of the interior, as some writers against the Hudson's Bay Company would have us believe (Lindsey, *An Investigation of the Unsettled Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 104). It really depends on just how much France could claim as having occupied, for she could not restore what she had never occupied.

the southern limit of the Hudson's Bay Company's territorial possessions.[40] This claim the French would not accept, and the commission broke up without achieving any result. When New France was ceded to Great Britain, in 1763, the northern limits of the province—that is, the southern boundary of the Hudson's Bay Company's lands—never had been established. Either the charter of 1670 or the undetermined claims of New France had to be taken as the eventual boundary between the new British provinces and the territorial claims of the great corporation, a matter which led later to much Canadian litigation. What interests the investigator of the northwest boundary gap is the fact that contemporary English mapmakers began to consider as the southern limit of western Canada (that is, the boundary between Spanish Louisiana and British North America) the line of 49° north latitude which had been *claimed* unsuccessfully in 1719 by England on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.[41] This cartographical fiction later became the sole precedent for the international boundary of 49°.

The provision of Article IV. of Jay's Treaty for a joint survey of the gap was never carried out. The first accurate survey of the upper waters of the Mississippi was made in 1797–1798 by David Thompson, the distinguished pathfinder and geographer of the North West Company. Thompson designated Turtle Lake (47° 37′ north latitude) as the source,[42] a fact which became known to the world by the publication in 1801 of Alexander Mackenzie's famous *Voyages*.[43] He found the "source" while searching for the precise location of the parallel of 49° north and seeking to locate geographically the North West Company's trading posts in relation to that parallel, the purpose for which he was employed.

Thompson explains in his *Narrative* why the North West Company had this survey made. The motive which he attributes to them can easily be shown to be false, and his explanations on this point give a fatal blow to his *Narrative* as a trustworthy historical source. They show that the old man who wrote, after 1850, the record of events of his youth, fifty years before, unconsciously observed the sig-

[40] Petition of the Hudson's Bay Company to Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1714, *Docs. respecting Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 131. For description of accompanying map, *ibid.*, p. 136 i.

[41] James White, "Boundary Disputes and Treaties", in *Canada and Her Provinces* (Toronto, 1913), VIII. 838–843; *Docs. respecting Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 136 f.

[42] The Lake of the Woods he located at 49° 46′.

[43] *Voyages from Montreal on the River St. Lawrence, through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans* (London, 1801). See 1902 ed., I. xcv–xcvi.

nificance of those events through an imagination stimulated by reflection on the great changes which had taken place in the half-century intervening. He occasionally departed from the skeleton of his old field-notes to embellish his narrative with comments of his own. Thompson declares that the North West Company's desire to learn the precise location of the parallel of 49° north was prompted by the treaty of 1792, which had made that parallel the boundary between the United States and Canada from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. He states that such a line was then adopted to remedy the gap left in 1783. The veteran geographer further declares, in his indignation at Britain's ever conceding such a boundary (49° north by that time had been projected by the Oregon treaty through to the Pacific), that the adoption of the line by the treaty of 1792 was due to the machinations of one Peter Pond,[44] an ubiquitous and quick-tempered American partner of the North West Company who had explored the upper Mississippi as a trader. Pond, who returned to Connecticut, his home, some time after 1790, is asserted by Thompson to have been "at the elbow" of the American commissioners who signed the treaty of 1792. The British diplomatists, on the other hand, were wholly ignorant of the country to the west of Lake Ontario and had no adequate maps. Hence they were duped by the Americans, who got expert advice from Peter Pond.[45] A comparatively recent Canadian writer, among the several who have relied implicitly on Thompson's *Narrative,* lamenting the terms of this treaty, writes that the real reason for the British concessions embodied in the treaty was a "supreme indifference to the territorial interests of British North America which had been so painfully apparent in all the boundary disputes with the United States; for the British commissioners must have had at the time of the negotiations, and for some time before, access to a map of the western country, with remarks upon its character, prepared by Pond himself".[46]

[44] For Pond, see "Journal of Peter Pond", Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections,* XVIII. 314–354, with editorial introduction; Davidson, *North West Company,* p. 37; *Report on Canadian Archives,* 1890, p. 52.

[45] David Thompson, *Narrative,* p. 176.

[46] Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea,* p. 337. In his old age Thompson got pitifully little reward for his great services to his country. His last years were spent in abject poverty, with little attention to his petitions for relief by the government on account of his sixty years of distinguished services. The harassments of fortune which beset him during these years and his patriotic indignation at the impending danger of loss to Great Britain of the Columbia Basin (and finally its actual loss), into a large portion of which he had been the first white man to penetrate, and which he had claimed for England, can easily account for the confusion of his statements. From 1842 to 1845 Thomp-

As to the capacity of British negotiators in general in boundary controversies with the United States the present writer feels no call to make comment, but to accuse the Foreign Office of negligence in this instance is to be too severe; there was, of course, never any treaty of 1792. The line of 49° was not established as the international boundary west of the Lake of the Woods until the year 1818.

Dismissing this strange historical figment,[47] why should the North West Company have desired such geographical information, to the extent that they were willing to employ a professional geographer to make the survey for them? The records of the company are not available to testify, because the papers of its successor (after the merger of 1821), the Hudson's Bay Company, are not open to historical research; but a book published in 1801 by one of the principal partners of the North West Company affords the clue. This partner was Alexander Mackenzie and the book is none other than his famous *Voyages*. Mackenzie in 1797 had been located at the Grand Portage, and it was he, and William McGillivray, who engaged Thompson for the company. Mackenzie's *Voyages* appeared in London in 1801, but there are indications that the author was at work on this book very soon after Thompson had completed his survey of the upper Mississippi country. In this work, apropos of the northwest boundary gap, Mackenzie declared that if the navigation of the Mississippi were considered of any consequence to Great Britain, "the nearest way to get at it"[48] was from the head of Lake Superior by way of

son's advice on the geography of the Oregon dispute was sought by officials of the government, and he wrote several reports on his observations of the country. Two of these are important evidence of the absolute untrustworthiness of this ill-treated and indignant old patriot's *ex post facto* accounts of the northwest boundary dispute, for not only do they conflict as to dates and persons and circumstances, but they conflict also with the statements of Thompson noted in the above text, and with each other. Note particularly:

1. "Statement of David Thompson on the Seventh Article of the Treaty of Ghent" (undated, but apparently included with papers written in 1842–1845), and

2. "Remarks on the Oregon Boundary" made by David Thompson, June 10, 1845, at Montreal, for Sir James Alexander.

My attention was called to these documents by Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla. They are printed in *Report of the Provincial Archivist of British Columbia* for 1913, pp. 114–124.

[47] The manuscript of David Thompson's *Narrative* fell into the possession of Mr. Charles Lindsey, who followed it trustfully in *An Investigation of the Unsettled Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1873). It has been repeated from Lindsey by various Canadian writers, for example, Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea* (London, 1908). It was respected even as late as 1916 in J. B. Tyrrell's excellent edition of Thompson's *Narrative* (Toronto, 1916).

[48] Mackenzie, *Voyages* (1902 ed.), I. xcvi. Mackenzie published a map with his work, the most accurate description of western Canada which had appeared.

the St. Louis River and the portage to the Mississippi. But the navigation of the Mississippi was only incidental to the real scope of this great pathfinder's plans, which are to be read in some general reflections with which he closes his remarkable book:

> . . . the line of American boundary runs, and it is said to continue through Lake Superior (and through a lake called Long Lake which has no existence), to the Lake of the Woods, in latitude 49.37 North, from whence it is also said to run West to the Mississippi, which it may do, by giving it a good deal of Southing, but not otherwise; as the source of that river does not extend further north than latitude 47.38 North, where it is no more than a small brook; *consequently, if Great Britain retains the right of entering it along the line of division, it must be in a lower latitude, and wherever that may be, the line must be continued West, till it terminates in the Pacific Ocean, to the South of the Columbia.*[49] [Italics are the present writer's.]

Mackenzie's great ambition at this time, as is well known,[50] was a merger of the North West and Hudson's Bay companies to control the fur trade of British North America as far west as the Pacific Ocean (to which he had been the first to penetrate overland), including the basin of the Columbia.[51] The legendary boundary line of 49° north latitude, if accepted as the southern boundary of Canada in the west, would leave on foreign soil several of the posts of the North West Company west of the Mississippi and, if eventually projected to the ocean, would shut out the most valuable parts of the Columbia River basin, as well as much of the fur regions of the Rocky Mountains. Mackenzie's anxiety about the northwest boundary gap was due to his desire to obtain an advantageous point of departure, for the projection through to the Pacific, of the line which some day would have to be drawn between British North America and Louisiana. He wanted that line drawn in a latitude far enough south to secure the future of the fur trade of the Far West.

The boundary rectification contemplated by Hammond and taken up by Lord Grenville in the Jay negotiations for the sake of the British fur interests and other commercial interests would have secured the territorial basis for such far-sighted plans of empire as those imagined by Mackenzie. If the proposal to extend a wedge of British territory down to the "navigable" waters of the Mississippi, say to the latitude of the mouth of the St. Croix, had been accepted by Jay, the future line between the United States and Canada would in all likelihood have followed the parallel of 45° north instead of 49°; had Grenville's alternative line been accepted (the latitude of

[49] *Id.*, II. 343–344.

[50] See particularly Joseph Schafer's illuminating article, "British Attitude toward Oregon, 1815–1846", in this *Review*, XVI. 276–278.

[51] Mackenzie, *Voyages*, II. 353–355.

the present city of Duluth) it would have been a strong argument for making the future northern boundary run west along the parallel of about 47° 30′. Either line was likely to entail the loss, to the future American West, of great areas of land.

Concerning Jay's refusal to recognize what would have been a cession of American territory in the northwest corner of the country, the most distinguished student of western history has observed:

> The modifications which England proposed in 1794 to John Jay in the northwestern boundary of the United States from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi, seemed, doubtless, to him significant chiefly as a matter of principle and as a question of the retention or loss of beaver grounds. The historians hardly notice the proposals. But they involved, in fact, the ownership of the richest and most extensive deposits of iron ore in America, the all-important source of a fundamental industry of the United States, the occasion for the rise of some of the most influential forces of our time.[52]

Unwittingly Jay was defending more than the territorial basis of the American steel industry. Without realizing it he held in his hand the destiny of a part of Minnesota, of North Dakota, Montana, and the commonwealths of the Pacific Northwest. He was holding for the United States the starting point of the 1818 boundary, which extended the line of 49° to the Rocky Mountains, thus at last eliminating the boundary gap and establishing a basis for the final extension of the international boundary to the Pacific Coast. These future states, which now elect as many United States senators as old New England did and which have incalculably rich natural resources (water-power so abundant, for example, as to make it possible to transfer industrial development in the twentieth century from the old northeastern to the new northwestern states), were the invisible stakes for which Jay and Grenville unconsciously played, amidst the immediate problems of a great world war, in those fateful days of 1794. From the twentieth-century point of view the historical student may well see, in the defeat of the Hammond-Grenville rectification project by the patriotic principles of Jefferson and Jay, one of those strokes of good fortune which have so strikingly and abundantly illustrated the boundary diplomacy of the United States. Had the suggestions of the equally patriotic Hamilton been adopted it is not very likely that much of the Pacific Northwest, Montana, and a part of Minnesota and South Dakota as well as all of North Dakota would be in the American Union today.[53]

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

[52] In Professor F. J. Turner's presidential address to the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1910, "Social Forces in American History", in this *Review*, XVI. 226.

[53] For a history of the northwest boundary, 1803–1815, see Dr. Schafer's paper, above cited, note 51; A. J. Hill, in Minnesota Hist. Soc., *Collections*, VII. 317–352; A. N. Winchell, *id.*, VIII. 185–212.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

On the Term "British Empire"

During the past few years the question has been raised whether we are strictly justified in applying the term "British Empire" to that complex of Great Britain, her overseas dominions and plantations, slave stations and trading posts, as it existed prior to 1763. By all means let us be accurate, but if we are to be condemned to substitute "Old Colonial System" for the simple "empire" used hitherto by all the authorities, let us be sure that it is indeed necessary to make three words always grow where one grew before, and to search for complicated phrases to express such matters as imperial finance or imperial defense.

The objections alleged to the use of the term to express what is commonly meant by it, prior to the Treaty of Paris, are two: first, that there was no empire before that date and that the condition of affairs was so different before and after as to require two terms to express the two states; and secondly, that the term was not used contemporaneously until after 1763 to include the overseas possessions. The first point taken may well be questioned, I think, on several grounds, but the present paper is concerned only with the second.

So far as I know, the question of contemporaneous usage was first raised by Professor C. H. Firth, in an interesting article in the *Scottish Historical Review* of April, 1918. In that he takes the stand that from the union of England and Scotland until an indefinite date, "British Empire" connoted Great Britain only and did not include the colonies. In the latter sense he notes only two examples before 1762, and says that "the phrase was not used officially, nor was it part of the common political vocabulary of the day", and that it did not come into general use until the reign of George III. The fact that he cites only two instances—one in 1689 and the other in 1708—prior to 1762 is a little misleading, I think, for although it is true that the term was much more commonly used after 1763 than before, nevertheless it is so frequently met with earlier that it must have been entirely familiar as applied to the colonies, to anyone who was interested in colonial matters.

In any question of a territorial sort it is well to begin with the maps, and if we do so we find a succession of them from 1690 onward every few years showing the West Indies and American conti-

nental colonies under such titles as "the English Empire in the Continent of America", "English Empire in America", "English Empire in the Ocean of America, or West Indies", "British Empire in America", "British Empire in North America", and "English Empire in North America".[1]

Turning now to the texts, our first reference is one of the two noted by Professor Firth. In 1689, Edward Littleton wrote from Barbadoes that "we by our Labour, Hazards, and Industry, have enlarged the English Trade and Empire—the English Empire in America",[2] and it is noteworthy that the first use of the term that I have noted in the colonial sense coincides approximately in time with the first map on which it is used and with Barbon's enthusiastic picture of an overseas empire in 1690. After discussing the difficulties of extending empire on land, he writes that:

> those Things that Obstruct the Growth of Empire at Land, do rather Promote its Growth at Sea. . . . There needs no Change of the Gothick [English] Government; for that best Agrees with such an Empire.
>
> The Ways of preserving Conquests gain'd by Sea, are different from those at Land. By the one, the Cities, towns and villages are burnt, to thin the People, that they may be the easier Governed and kept into Subjection; by the other, the Cities must be inlarged, and New ones built. . . . The Seat of such an Empire, must be in an Island, that their Defence may be solely in Shipping; the same way to defend their Dominion, as to enlarge it.
>
> To Conclude, there needs no other Argument, That Empire may be raised sooner at Sea, than at Land, than by observing the Growth of the United Provinces. . . . But England seems the Properer Seat for such an Empire; . . . The Monarchy is both fitted for Trade and Empire . . . and if the Subjects increase, The ships, Excise, and Customs, which are the Strength and Revenue of the Kingdom, will in Proportion increase, which may be so Great in a short time, not only to preserve its Antient Soveraignty over the Narrow Seas, but to extend its Dominions over all

[1] *A Map of the English Empire in the Continent of America, viz. Virginia Maryland, Carolina, New York, New Iarsey, New England, Pensilvania* [1690 ?]; *A New Map of the English Empire in America, viz. Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, New York, New Iarsey, New England, Pennsylvania, Newfoundland, New France,* etc. [1695 ?]; *A New Map of the English Empire in America,* etc. (1701)—this map reappears with the same title in Wit's *Atlas Maior* [1706 ?]; *A New Map of the English Empire in America,* etc., *revis'd by Io. Senex* (1719); *A New Map of the English Empire in the Ocean of America, or the West Indies* (1721); *Map of the British Empire in America,* etc., [Popple], completed in manuscript in 1727; the same map published under the semi-official patronage of the Lords of Trade (1732); two more editions of the above (1733), and an edition in Amsterdam [1734 ?], all with the same title; *A New Chart of the British Empire in North America* [Southack's] (1746); *A New and Accurate Map of the English Empire in North America,* etc. (1755). I have cited only those which may be found in the Library of Congress.

[2] *The Groans of the Plantations* (London, 1689), p. 26.

the Great Ocean: An Empire, not less glorious, and of a much larger Extent than either Alexander's or Caesar's.[3]

No words could paint more clearly the imperial destiny of the island kingdom, and whether or not it was due to this pamphlet, it is from this time that we may date the use of the terms "British Empire" or "English Empire", both in books and maps, as including the overseas possessions.

In 1708, Oldmixon published his history of *The British Empire in America*, in which he distinctly speaks of the colonies as forming part of the empire.[4] This book may well have been read by Samuel Vetch, then much interested in his expedition to Canada; in the year after its appearance he wrote to the English authorities at home that the colonists had hoped that the conquest might prove of advantage to themselves "and all the Brittish Empyre".[5] Two years later the Massachusetts government sent an address to the queen in which they prayed that the Canadian expedition of that year might prove "of unspeakable benefit and advantage to the Whole British Empire".[6] In 1728, we find Defoe sealing the use of the term for "all the colonies and plantations which", he says, "form what they call the English Empire in America".[7] The next year a writer advocated bounties as a means of enlarging "our Empire in America";[8] in 1731 another wrote that the legislation then pending in Parliament tended to the weakening of "the English Empire" in America;[9] in the same year the General Assembly of Barbadoes represented to the Lords of Trade that the same act might "put an end to the British Empire in America";[10] and two years later another writer pleaded for laws favorable to the "British Empire in America".[11] In 1734, Governor

[3] Nicholas Barbon, *A Discourse of Trade*, 1690 (*A Reprint of Economic Tracts*, Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 30f.).

[4] John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, etc. (London, 1708), I. xxx, xxxvii.

[5] Letter from Boston, Aug. 12, 1709, C. O. 5: 9.

[6] July 5, 1711, C. O. 5: 10. *Cf.* similar address, Oct. 17, 1711, *ibid.*

[7] Daniel Defoe, *A Plan of the English Commerce*, etc. (London, 1728), p. xiii.

[8] *Directions to judge whether a Nation to be in a Thriving Condition*, etc. (London, 1729), p. 29.

[9] *A Short Answer to an Elaborate Pamphlet . . . shewing that the Bill . . . tends to the Impoverishing and Ruin of those Colonies, the Weakening of the Power of the English Empire in those Parts*, etc. (London, 1731), title.

[10] C. O. 5: 4, Aug. 27, 1731. There is a passage in Joshua Gee's *Trade and Navigation Considered* (London, 1730), p. 79, in which he speaks of England as "the head and seat of the English Empire", but it is a little ambiguous just what he means.

[11] *Proposals offered for the Sugar Planters Redress*, etc. (London, 1733), p. 4.

Belcher wrote to Oglethorpe congratulating him on having made, in the colony of Georgia, "a fine addition to the British Empire in America", and used the same term in writing to the Lords of Trade in 1740.[12] In 1743, John Ashley uses the term frequently and with even wider inclusiveness. "No Nation in the World", he writes, "is more commodiously situated for Trade or War, than the British Empire, taking all together as one Body, viz. Great Britain, Ireland, and the Plantations and Fishery in America, besides its Possessions in the East Indies and Africa." He speaks many times of the colonies as "branches" of the empire, or "the junior branches of this great empire".[13] Meanwhile, there had been a second edition, in 1741, of Oldmixon's history of *The British Empire in America* showing the continued popularity of that book.

In the next decade, the use of the term as including the colonies is very frequent. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1755, a writer, after describing the colonies, says "such is the British Empire in North America, which from Nova Scotia to Georgia is a tract of 1600 miles".[14] Huske speaks of "his Majesty's Northern Colonies in particular and the British Empire in general", and of the continental-West Indian situation as calling for the "most vigorous efforts of the combined nerves of the whole Empire".[15] Another writer, in the same year, speaks of the "British Empire in America" being divided into many considerable settlements; another hopes that Georgia will "prove a useful barrier of the British Empire in North America"; a third carries the bounds of "the British Empire in America" out to the "great western ocean".[16] Yet another complains that the colonies under their charters act as though they were independent states "rather than as provinces of the same empire",[17] and in the same year there began to appear in numbers a *New and Complete History of the British Empire in America*.[18] It is not necessary to multiply instances from this time onward. Several more

[12] *Belcher Papers*, II. 69, 349.

[13] John Ashley, *The Second Part of Memoirs and Considerations . . . to shew that . . . the Traffick, Wealth and Strength of the whole British Empire may thereby be greatly increased* (London, 1743), pp. vii, xii, 2, 72, 77 n., 78, 94, 95, 96, 100, 101.

[14] XXV. 18. This article was reprinted the following month in the *Scots Magazine*, XVII. 77.

[15] John Huske, *The Present State of North America*, pt. I., second ed. (London, 1755), pp. 72, 77.

[16] *Miscellaneous Correspondence* (London, 1759), vol. I. (1755), pp. 56, 95; *Scots Magazine*, XVII. 224.

[17] *State of the British and French Colonies*, etc. (London, 1755), p. 57.

[18] London, 1755. It was never completed, perhaps owing to the war.

could be given before we find Franklin describing the North American colonies "as the frontier of the British Empire on that side".[19] From the end of the Seven Years' War, the term becomes the usual one employed, and—with increasing frequency—without the adjective. The reason for this is probably to be found quite as much in the Treaty of Hubertsburg as in that of Paris. Until the end of that war, "the empire" in the common parlance of Europe was, of course, that Holy Roman Empire that had survived through the ages, but which ceased thereafter to be of importance, although it lasted nominally until 1806. The coincidence of its downfall with the enormous expansion of the British Empire allowed the latter to discard its qualifying adjective and, in turn, to become merely "*the* empire" to its citizens. That throughout the whole eighteenth century, however, the term "British Empire" was held by many to have included far more than merely Great Britain seems to me to be shown by the citations given, citations gleaned in the pursuit of quite other objects and which could probably be multiplied many times by those more familiar with the whole economic literature of the period.

James Truslow Adams.

A Rough Secret Journal of the Continental Congress

Among the papers of the Continental Congress transferred from the Department of State to the Library of Congress by the Executive Order of December 19, 1921, is a folio blank-book—of 46 leaves, 39 of which are written upon—in the original paper covers, hideous with floral decoration. All but five of the written pages (two and a half leaves) are in the writing of Charles Thomson, the five are in that of George Bond, deputy secretary.

This volume is a hitherto unknown and unrecorded Rough Secret Journal of the Continental Congress and contains the proceedings of Congress on various dates from September 17, 1776, to January 1, 1779, inclusive, relating to foreign affairs. It is the original from which the first part of the Secret Journal (no. 6, of the *Bulletin of the State Department* list of the Continental Congress Papers, Sept. 17, 1776, to Sept. 16, 1788 [imperfect]) was transcribed. From September 17, 1776, to May 12, 1777, inclusive, of no. 6, is included in this Rough Secret Journal. Other material in the volume, such as the letter to King Louis XVI. of October 26, 1778, instructions to Benjamin Franklin, of the same date, a plan of attack on Quebec, and Observations on the Finances of America, are all to be found in the

[19] *The Interest of Great Britain considered* (London, 1761).

various other manuscript journals of the Congress and have been duly printed, though not always in accordance with the dates given in this Rough Secret Journal, in the Library of Congress edition of the *Journals* of the Continental Congress. In this printed edition of the *Journals* the dates invariably used are those of the adopted measure.

The variations found may be of interest and are as follows:

Sept. 17, 1776, Plan of a treaty with France—a few, very slight, verbal differences, of no consequence.

Sept. 17, 1776, Instructions to Franklin—printed in L. C. edition of the *Journals* under the date when agreed to, Sept. 24.

Sept. 17, 1776, Commission to Franklin—printed in L. C. edition as "Letter of Credence" under date when agreed to, Sept. 28.

Jan. 2, 1777, Form of commission to Franklin to the court of Spain—printed in L. C. edition from a former *printed* edition of the *Journals*, under the proceedings of July 1, 1777.

June 5, 1777, Commission to Arthur Lee—follows, in this Rough Secret Journal, the proceedings of May 12, 1777.

July 1, 1777, Commission to William Lee, is followed by the instructions to him and these instructions are followed by the instructions to Ralph Izard, dated in blank. These June 5 and July 1 entries are printed in the L. C. edition from a former *printed* edition of the *Secret Journals* under the proceedings of July 1, 1777.

Oct. 26, 1778, Letter of Credence for Franklin, to the King of France—printed in L. C. edition from a copy by Gouverneur Morris, in the Papers of the Continental Congress, no. 25, 1, folio 35 (undated), under the proceedings of Oct. 21, 1778. The instructions to Franklin, with this letter of credence, follow the letter in this Rough Secret Journal, and are dated Oct. 26. They are printed in the L. C. edition under the proceedings of Oct. 22. The Plan of Attack on Quebec follows Franklin's instructions in this Rough Secret Journal. It is printed in the L. C. edition under the proceedings of Oct. 22. The Observations on the Finances of America follow the Plan of Attack and are also printed in the L. C. edition under the proceedings of Oct. 22.

The principal value of all this lies, of course, in now having these copies in the handwriting of Thomson for the papers which we have hitherto been obliged to print from former printed copies. This Rough Secret Journal now furnishes the original, official manuscript for the first time.

It is, however, in the entry in the back of this volume that the highest interest and value centres, for here Charles Thomson has copied out the important Agreement of Secrecy of November 9, 1775, with a transcript of the signatures of all the members who signed that agreement between November 9, 1775 and June 28, 1777. But to this Thomson copy in this volume *thirteen* additional members have affixed their *original signatures* instead of putting them to the separate paper signed by eighty-six of their colleagues. These thirteen are:

Richard Law, of Connecticut; Nathaniel Folsom, of New Hampshire, who signed July 21, 1777; Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina, who signed July 23, 1777; Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, who signed July 29, 1777; Daniel Roberdeau, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Jones, of Virginia, who signed August 16, 1777; John Harvie, of Virginia, who signed October 23, 1777; Francis Dana, of Massachusetts; William Clingan, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Wood, of Georgia; Edward Langworthy, of Georgia; John Henry, jr., of Maryland, and James Forbes, of Maryland.

The presence of these original signatures with this Thomson copy makes it fully as important an original as the separately signed document, the body of which is also in Thomson's handwriting.

This hitherto unrecorded volume of the Journals seems to have experienced the same forgetfulness or neglect as that accorded to the Agreement signed by eighty-six of the delegates. It is, of course, possible that this volume is the one that, in Thomson's original arrangement of the papers in his office, was considered as preceding no. 4 of the Department of State's list of the Continental Congress Papers, to wit, Secret Journal, Foreign and Domestic, 1780, October 18 to 1786, March 29; but, in view of the fact that such a large part of it is transcribed, as noted above, in the beginning of no. 6 of that list, it has been deemed best to record it as no. 6A of the Papers of the Continental Congress. In the proper chronology of its creation it antedates no. 6. JOHN C. FITZPATRICK.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

A NATIONAL Council for the Social Studies completed its organization in Chicago on February 25. Its purpose is to lay the foundations for training democratic citizens; and its sponsors believe that such training can result only from a carefully developed and adequately supported system of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools. Its plan looks to promoting co-operation among those who are responsible for such training, including at least the university departments which contribute knowledge of facts and principles to civic education; and the leading groups of educational leaders, such as principals, superintendents, and professors of education, who develop the methods of handling these facts.

An advisory board was set up, composed of representatives of (1) the five associations of scholars most nearly related to the purpose of the National Council—historians, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and geographers; (2) the national organizations of educational investigators and administrators—elementary and high school

principals, teachers of education, normal school principals, and superintendents; and (3) regional associations of teachers of history and civics. The function of this advisory board is to bring into the National Council the points of view of the organizations represented by its members and to insure a development of the social studies which will be in harmony with the best educational thought as well as based on the best present practice.

The following officers were elected for the year 1922–1923: L. C. Marshall, professor of economics in the University of Chicago, president; Henry Johnson, professor of history in Teachers College, vice-president; Edgar Dawson, professor of government in Hunter College, secretary-treasurer; E. U. Rugg, Lincoln School, New York, assistant secretary. An executive committee, charged with the general direction of the policies of the association, will consist of the officers and the following elected members: C. A. Coulomb, district superintendent, Philadelphia; W. H. Hathaway, Riverside High School, Milwaukee; Bessie L. Pierce, Iowa University High School.

The first task the National Council is undertaking is the preparation of a Finding-List of those experiments or undertakings in the teaching of the social studies which now give promise of being useful. This list will contain such exposition of the character and aims of these experiments as to make it possible for those working along parallel lines to discover each other and to co-operate more fully than would otherwise be probable. This expository material will have another purpose—that of indicating outstanding differences of opinion and programme in order that these differences may be systematically stated for purposes of analysis and discussion.

To aid in the discovery and assessment of these experiments, the National Council has in preparation a list of "Key Men and Women" who will be appointed in the various states to represent the National Council in its efforts to collect useful information and then to give currency to it. While this organization seems to represent all the elements out of which the best development of the social studies must proceed, the most useful work will be done only with the co-operation of teachers and investigators in all parts of the country to the end that lost motion and useless repetition may be eliminated and that mutually strengthening experiments may be pressed forward.

Persons who are interested in the wholesome development of the social studies, whether teachers or others, and if teachers, whether teachers of the social subjects or of some other subject, are urged to communicate at the earliest convenient moment with the secretary of the National Council, Edgar Dawson, 671 Park Avenue, New York City.

E. D.

DOCUMENTS

Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631, I.

Lionel Cranfield, first earl of Middlesex, was lord treasurer from September 30, 1622, to May 13, 1624, and thus during nearly all the *Sturm und Drang* period of the history of the Virginia Company, and before that he had been for several years surveyor general of the customs. Many papers respecting the company and respecting Virginia came therefore into his hands, and when he retired from office he took many with him, according to the custom of the time. The second and third earls dying, these papers came to the hands of his daughter Frances, who married Richard, fifth earl of Dorset, whose father Edward, fourth earl, had, as Sir Edward Sackville, played an important part in the Virginia Company. Therefore Charles, the sixth earl, the poet, son of Richard Sackville and Frances Cranfield, may have inherited Virginian papers from the Sackville house as well as from that of his mother. From him Cranfield's papers descended to his son, grandson, and great grandson, the first, second, and third dukes of Dorset. While they were in the hands of the third duke, who was ambassador to France from 1783 to 1789, and died in 1799, they were examined by Dr. Peter Peckard, master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, when he was preparing his *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1790).[1]

John Ferrar, in the biographical sketch which is the foundation of Peckard's book, in speaking of the two volumes of records of the Virginia Company, which Nicholas Ferrar had prepared for the Earl of Southampton (the same volumes which are now in the possession of the Library of Congress, and which it has printed under the editorship of Miss Kingsbury), says that Southampton entrusted them to Sir Richard Killigrew, and he to the fourth Earl of Dorset, "and it is hoped that this noble family still hath them in safe keeping".[2] Upon this, Peckard says in a foot-note, "On application to the [third] Duke of Dorset, his Grace with the utmost liberality of mind and most polite condescension, directed his library to be searched for this manuscript. The search was fruitless; but some

[1] Peckard, p. 156.

[2] John Ferrar, writing after 1646, in Peckard, *ibid.*

detached papers were found which his Grace most obligingly sent to me". He describes them as consisting of separate documents, numbered (perhaps he means by himself) from 1 to 21. He gives the text of three or four, and summarizes some of the others.

From the third duke, or from his son, the fourth, Cranfield's papers passed into the possession of his daughter, who married the fifth Earl De La Warr, representative of another family notably concerned in the early colonization of Virginia, though it does not appear that additional papers came from this source.

While the papers were in the possession of the sixth Earl De La Warr, who died in 1873, his papers were examined by an agent of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and the main portion of them is described at length in the *Fourth Report* of that commission, appendix, part I. (1874).[3] The remainder were described in the *Seventh Report*, appendix, part I. (1879),[4] as papers of Lord Sackville, for in the meantime they had passed into the possession of the fourth son of the fifth Earl De La Warr, who had inherited the estate of Knole Park and had been created Baron Sackville. From him the papers passed to his younger brother and heir, the second Lord Sackville, better known in the United States as Hon. Lionel Sackville-West, British minister to the United States 1881–1888, and to the present possessor, his nephew, the third Lord Sackville.

When Miss Kingsbury was preparing her edition of the *Records of the Virginia Company*, she was informed by a member of the family that the then possessor knew of "no other papers at Knole relating to the colony of Virginia than those mentioned in the report of the commissioners", four in number. Professor A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, has however been so fortunate as to obtain from the present Lord Sackville the opportunity to conduct a more careful search, which has resulted in the discovery of some threescore documents, and to have copies of them made. These Professor Newton has been so good as to place at the disposal of the *American Historical Review*, and they are presented in this number and the succeeding number, with the exception of the very few that are already in print.[5] Grateful acknowledgments are made to him, and to Lord Sackville.

[3] Pp. 276–317. [4] Pp. 249–260.

[5] No. 6215, "A note of the shipping, men, and provisions sent to Virginia by the Treasurer and Companie in the year 1619", nearly identical with that printed in Force's *Historical Tracts*, III., no. 5; nos. 6174 and 6175, letter of Governor Yeardley and council to the Virginia Company, Jan. 23, 1621, and "the humble peticion of the distressed colony in Virginia", printed together in Peckard, pp. 157–159 (his no. 21); no. 6187, order in council respecting tobacco,

The group embraces all but four (nos. 1, 2, 5 and 14) of the 21 mentioned by Peckard, and of these he gives the text of no. 1[6] and a brief description of no. 5. His nos. 7 and 18 are number XXIX. below; his no. 15 is our VI.; his no. 16 our XXVIII.; his nos. 3, 4, 6, 8–13, 17, 19, 20, and 21 will appear in our second installment. His numbers are written in red ink.

The documents, as will be seen, are of various quality. The most important illustrate the struggles which the Company went through with respect to the tobacco contract; others relate to importations of tobacco in general, to cattle claimed by Samuel Argall and others and by the Company, or to the provision of arms after the massacre, or are letters or petitions of colonists or of Sir Edwin Sandys or of other members of the Company. It has seemed best to print all, as exhausting this source of knowledge respecting early Virginia, to which indeed several papers make signal additions, while all illustrate economic conditions or procedure. The best method of arrangement has seemed to be to form three groups, and to relegate to the third, as bearing on the latter part of the Company's history, those which concern its relations to the contract for the importation of tobacco, while assigning to the first those which are miscellaneous illustrations of early Virginia history, and to the second those which relate to tobacco in general. The first two groups are printed in the present number; the third will appear in that of July.

Most of the transcripts, as they come to us, bear numbers indicating their place in Lord Sackville's collection, and these numbers have been mentioned in the foot-notes. A few documents are not thus designated. It will be understood that the dates are all of old style, unless the contrary is indicated.

A. Miscellaneous.

I. Customs entries from Virginia and Bermuda, 1613–1614.[7]

Customs

Inwardes

Goodes and marchandiezes entred from the Sumer Ilands and Virginia.

July 30, 1621, printed in *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial,* I. 43–44; and parts of drafts of the Propositions regarding tobacco which duplicate those printed in *Records of the Virginia Company,* II. 58–59, 86–88, under date of June 29 and July 3, 1622. Professor Newton writes, "There are also to be found among the Knole papers printed copies of various proclamations relating to Virginia, the Bermudas, and Tobacco. These have not been copied as they are accessible elsewhere".

[6] P. 162.

[7] Doc. no. 6203 in Lord Sackville's collection.

	Valor	Subsidy
Vicesimo quarto die Septembris Anno Domini 1613		
In le *Martha* of London, Tho. Bab, master, a Somers Ilands.		
Sir Thomas Smith etc. 1 chest containing viii^{c} lxvi ounces amber greece[8]	xxv^{c} iiii^{xx} xviii *li.*	i^{c} xxix *li.* xviii *s.*
xxxi^{o} Maii 1614		
In le *Elizabeth* of London, Robert Adams, master,[9] a Barmudos.		
Idem Sir Thomas etc., 1 caske containing i^{c} xxxiii *l.* of white corrall, box containing ii^{c} vii ounces of amber greece, certain caske containing xxi^{c} xxviii *l.* sasaffrax rootes, viii Firkings sturgeon, iii^{c} *wt.* caviare	viii^{c} xxxvi *l.* xiii *s.*	xli *l.* xvi *s.* viii *d. ob.*
In le *Elizabeth*		
Idem, Sir Thomas etc. iiii barells containing i^{c} lxx pound pudding tobacco	iiii^{xx} v *l.*	iiii *l.* v *s.*
xxi^{o} July 1614		
In le *Margret* of London, Tho. Bab, master, a Bermudos		
Idem Sir Thomas etc. lxi pound pudding tobacco, i^{c} xx ounces amber greece	iii^{c} iiii^{xx} viii *l.*	xix *l.* viii *s.*

[8] Gondomar, in a despatch of Oct. 5 (N.S.), 1613, to Philip III., mentions the arrival of this ship from Bermuda, about six days before, say September 19 (O.S.), with sixty-four pounds of ambergris. John Chamberlain mentions it more fully; Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II. 661, 666. In a petition of Capt. Matthew Somers, 1622, it is said that the whole cake found was of 160 lbs. weight, worth £12,000. *Records of the Virginia Company*, II. 46. See, for the story of its finding, Smith, *Generall Historie*, pp. 176–178. The account here is for 54¼ lbs. (866 oz.), at £3 an ounce (£2598), and the subsidy or duty, at 5 per cent., was £129 18s. Capt. Thomas Babb of Wapping was afterward, 1635, associated with Edward Trelawny in Maine, *Doc. Hist. Maine*, III. 80; a petition from his wife is in *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 261.

[9] The *Elizabeth* sailed for Virginia in October, 1613, and sailed thence for England in March, 1614, bringing Sir Thomas Gates. Brown, *Genesis*, II. 659. 675, 689, 724. Capt. Robert Adams had made voyages to Virginia every year from 1609 to 1614. Later, from 1617 to 1633, he was in the service of the East India Co. *Cal. S. P. Col., E. I.*, and *Diary of Richard Cocks* (Hakluyt Soc.), *passim*; *Court Minutes, 1635–1639*, p. 155.

xxxi° Augustii 1614

In le *Treasure*[10] of London, Griffen Purnell master, a Virginia		
Idem Sir Thomas etc. i^c lxxv beaver skinns, xviii otter skinns, ii Elke or Losh[11] hides, v wild catt skinns, i deare skins, xiii tonn cedar tree tymber	lix *l.* xiiii *s.* x *d.*	lix *s.* ix *d.*
Summa totalis		i^c iiii^xx xviii *l.* vii *s.* v *d. ob.*

II. ALLOWANCE FOR CUSTOMS DUTIES NOT LEVIED, DECEMBER 24, 1611–1618.[12]

Defalcacion[13] made to the Farmers of the Customes for the Subsidy of goodes and comodytyes brought from Virginia and the Somer Ilands and caryed thither in the severall yeares underwrytten viz:

In the yeare ended xxiiii° die Dec 1618 anno xvi° Regis Jacobi for 48572 pound of puddinge Tobacco, 956 pound of leafe Tobacco and diverse other comodytyes Inwardes m cclx *li.* vii *s.* xi *d.* And outewards lxxi *li.* xviii *s.* v [qu. ix?] *d.* In all	mcccxxxii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.*
In the yeare ended xxiiii° die December 1617 for 18839 pound of Tobacco and diverse other comodytyes Inwardes iiii^c iiii^xx vii *li.* iii *s.* iiii *d.* And for comodyties transported thither xliiii *li.* i *d. ob'q.* in all	v^c xxxi *li.* iii *s.* v *d. ob'q.*
In the yeare ended xxiiii° December 1616 for 2300 pound of Tobacco brought from Virginia and diverse other comodytyes as well Inwardes as outwardes	cxxv *li.* iiii *s.* iiii *d. ob'q.*
In the yeare ended xxiiii Dec. 1615 for diverse comodytyes Inwardes but no Tobacco	xxviii *li.* x *s.* x *d.*
In the yeare ended xxiiii° Dec. 1614 for	

[10] *Treasurer,* Argall's ship.

[11] Losh hides were hides untanned, wash-leather.

[12] No. 6176.

[13] A defalcation was an abatement, allowance, or set-off. In this case the allowance was made to the farmers of the customs because under its patent of 1612 the Virginia Company was exempt from the payment of duties on its imports into England and its exports from England until Mar. 12, 1619. But for that exemption the farmers of the customs, under King James's Book of Rates of 1608, would have been entitled to receive, as poundage, sixpence a pound for roll tobacco and fourpence for leaf tobacco. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System,* pp. 109, 111. The allowances therefore due to them are here calculated for Sir Lionel Cranfield, who on July 26, 1613, had become surveyor-general of the customs.

1193 ounces of Ambergreece and other comodytyes but no Tobacco	c iiii^{xx} xviii *li.* vii *s.* v *d. ob.*
In the yeare ended xxiiii Decembris 1613	nihil
In the yeare ended xxiiii Dec. 1612	nihil

[*Endorsed in the hand of Sir Lionel Cranfield:*] Certificate what defalcation the Farmeres have had for Goodes exported and imported to Virginia.

III. SIR EDWIN SANDYS TO SIR LIONEL CRANFIELD, SEPTEMBER 9, 1619.[14]

Sir

It was my good fortune to fynd you at home, when I had occasion to have experience of your good love and favour, but when afterward I was desirous to expresse unto you my affectionate thankfulnes for the same, it was my ill fortune, that when I sent or came you were abroad. I have therefore (conceiving that together with the end of the progresse[15] you are returned to the Cittie) in supplie of my present absence, dispatched these few lines to prezent my thankfull affection and assured service to you which, were there abilitie in me correspondant to my will, should not rest barren, but approove to you that your courtesies are far from beeing sowne on a soile unthankfull. It will not be long now, ere I wayt upon you. From hence[16] there is nothing woorth the advertizing, but (which is my care) that by a ship lately returned, I understand that all stands well in Virginia: the people encrease apace, and they folo their labours. We have nuely sent them a supplie of 100 good men for the Publick:[17] a part of that Commonwealth hetherto too much neglected, and I would that neglect had been all the falt. But falts must be mended, and so an end of their memories. I am enjoyned by my wife, together with my owne, to prezent also hir thanks and best respect unto you and to signifie to you that your little Francis[18] is well, and if he were able would crave your

[14] No. 6206. Holograph. Sir Edwin Sandys (1561–1629), well known as one of the chief leaders in the Virginia Company and in the House of Commons, was assistant to the treasurer of the company, Sir Thomas Smyth, from early in 1617 to Apr. 28, 1619, and treasurer (chief officer) from that date to June 28, 1620.

[15] A progress in the midland counties, on which King James set out on July 19 and from which he returned to Windsor by Sept. 5. Nichols, *Progresses of King James the First*, III. 556–565.

[16] Northbourne in Kent, of which manor King James had in 1614 bestowed the moiety on Sir Edwin Sandys.

[17] *I. e.*, the company's land, as distinguished from the plantations granted to individuals.

[18] Seventh and youngest son of Sir Edwin Sandys. *Visitation of Kent, 1619–1621* (Harleian Soc.), p. 148.

blessing. So Sir, I betake you to the happie tuition of the Highest and rest

Yours very assured to doo
you his best service
EDWIN SANDYS

NORTHBORN
9 September 1619

[*Addressed:*] To my Honorable frend
Sir Lionell Cranfeild, knight,
Master of the Wards.[19]

IV. A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY, MARCH 15, 1620.[20]

Att a meeting of the councell att Mr. Farrer's the 15th of March 1619 where was presente Mr. Threasuror,[21] my Lord of Warwick, Mr. John Wroth, Sir Tho. Roe, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Tho. Gats, Sir Fardinando Gorge, Sir John Danvers, Sir John Worsenholme, Sir Nathaniell Rich, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Recorder,[22] Alder. Johnson, Mr. Morris Abbott, Mr. Offlie, Mr. Farrer deputy.

Sir Edwin Sands produced first a paper of lawes or orders to bee sent into Virginia drawne out of former Orders of late Courts.

Secondly hee red a letter which he had drawne to Sir George Yearley[23] faire ingrossed and signed with his owne hand and Sir John Danvers with one or two more, in which letter were divers sharpe and bitter touches against Captain Argall and in the speciall Sir Edw. Sands without any order of Councell had directed Sir George Yearley to seize divers of Captain Argall's Cattell and to dispose of them to other persons which was generally much misliked and held unjust both to touch a gentleman

[19] Cranfield had become master of the court of wards Jan. 15, 1619.

[20] The "Court Book" (*Records of Va. Co.*, I. 319–322) gives the record of a general meeting of the company on Mar. 15, and makes mention of a meeting of the council on the 17th, but not of one on the 15th. The record of the next meeting of the company, however, Mar. 20 (I. 323), seems to refer to the council meeting here recorded. The place of meeting was the house, in St. Sithes Lane, of Nicholas Ferrar the elder, father of John Ferrar who was deputy treasurer from 1619 to 1622 and of Nicholas who succeeded him in that office. "The Virginia courts after this", says John Ferrar (Peckard, *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 85), meaning after the election of Sandys in April, 1619, "were kept at the house of Mr. Ferrar the father, who from his singular affection for that honourable company, himself being one of the first adventurers of that plantation and the Somers Islands, allowed them the use of his great hall and other best rooms of his house to hold their weekly and daily meetings". Nicholas Ferrar the elder died in the next month, April, 1620.

[21] Sir Edwin Sandys.

[22] Sir Robert Heath.

[23] Yeardley, governor of Virginia 1618–1621, 1626–1627. The matter of the cattle claimed by Argall is further illustrated by docs. nos. V., XVI.–XXI., below.

in his reputation before he had his tryalle of those things whereof he stands accused and alsoe it was held most unjust to proceed to a kinde of execution before sentence given which were both altered. Yet Captain Argall give his consent that for the present those cattell mencioned in the letter should be disposed of to some of the generalitie for the better Sustentation with direction to the Governor to provide for theire well looking to them and restoring them if they fell out to bee his and accordingly Mr. Recorder was requested to drawe that parte of the letter which he did and being redd was allowed. Captain Argall presented a Petition consisting of three branches, 1, that he might have all his accusations ere he put in any more answers. To this itt was answered and resolved that he should putt in his answers forthwith to the accusations which already he had which contayned fully 2 partes of his whole accusations being devided unto 3 private wrongs, first concerning the estate, 2lie deprivation of the Collony.[24] Now for that this last did not depend on the former and by some namely Sir Dudley Diggs not thought fitt at all to be questioned before complaint made, Therefore hee havinge received fully the accusations of the two first kinds wee resolved he should putt in his answer to them and so be noe further charged in that kinde save only he must staye for a hearinge untill the returne of the *Bona Nova* every daye expected[25] because by the shipp wee expect returne of the comissions which were sent into Virginia to examine witnesses of which profes wee are to make use of, and if these profes come not by that shipp then to proceed to a finall hearing and determination of the Cause without any further or after questioninge. And as sone as Captain Argall had putt in his answers it was ordered, that he should have a Comission to examine what witnesses he would and as was limited by the Letters Pattentes by which Letters Pattentes if itt were requisitte that the Threasuror should be one that must take those depositions then the Treasuror and such other as Captain Argall should choase and take the sayd examinations, But if it were soe that others of the Councell without the Treasuror might take the sayd examination that then Captain Argall might chose whom of the Councell he would to be his Comissioners.[26] the 3 poynt of his petition was that his bussines in Virginia and his Plantation cattle etc. might stand on the same foote that he left them without alteration which was formerly thought just not to proceed to the execution before sentence, only by his Consent the dispossing of some of his cattell was ordered as aforesayd.

[*Endorsed:*] A Meeting of the councell att Mr. Farrar's house, 15° Mart. 1619.

[24] His supersession as governor by Yeardley, elected Nov. 18, 1618, arrived in Virginia Apr. 18, 1619. Argall, forewarned, sailed away ten or twelve days earlier. Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 126.

[25] The *Bona Nova* did not arrive till June. *Records of Va. Co.*, I. 369.

[26] Arranged for at the extraordinary court of Mar. 20. *Ibid.*, I. 324.

V. ORDER IN VIRGINIA RESPECTING CATTLE CLAIMED BY ARGALL, SEPTEMBER 26, 1620.

An order set downe by the Governor and Counsell of State in Virginia about the disposing of certaine Kynne in that country claymed by Captain Sam. Argall and of their Increase.

Wheras his Majestie's Councell for Virginia in England towardes the conclusion of a letter of theirs dated att London the 15th of March 1619: and directed to me George Yeardly knight, Governor and Captaine generall of Virginia, by the good shipp the *London Marchant,* weare pleased to writt these wordes following

"Yett in perticuler wee may not omitt, which wee doe conceive may much availe to farther the publique plantacion, that wheras Captain Argall hath disposed of the kyne as his owne, which before belonged to the Company and of which kyne, as conceiving them to bee the Company's, wee gave promise and order for ten to have bine lent to Smith's hundred and as many to Marttin's hundred, and six to Captain Lawne, and yet wee fynd complaint made of the not performance therof, wherby the publique Plantacion hath bine hindred: of which amongst other thinges, Captain Argall standeth accused, and he standeth uppon his justificacion wherin wee may not in justice either condempe or acquit him, before the Maturity of Tyme and due proceedinges shall bring the cause to Judgment, nevertheles in the meanetyme without prejudice to the cause, Captain Argall himself now present in Courte consenting their unto, wee praie and request you with the assistance of the Councell their and other officers requisitt, leaving six of your kynne with your Captain Marchant[27] as the undoubted goodes of Captain Argall, to take the rest with the increase and to dispose of them according to the former graunts or intentions of the Company and the remainder to distribut equally among the Tennantes of the Governor, the Colledge[28] and Company least they also should perish for want of necessary releife. And our spetiall directions are that all those kynne with ther ofspring be well keept and preserved that they may hereafter be disposed off absolutely either to the company or to Captain Argall as to Justice shall appertaine uppon heareing of the cause."

I the said Governor with the Assistance of the Councell of State here resident and of other requisit officers, doe (as I am enjoyned out of the premisses) by way of love dispose of the said kynne with ther increase which are in all

Cowes	19
Hayfers	14
Steires	3
Bulls	2
Young calves of this yeare	21

[27] Cape merchant, superintendent of the corporate trading.

[28] The college or university at Henrico, for which ten thousand acres of land had been set aside by the company in 1618. Neill, *Virginia Company,* p. 137.

As followeth vizt.:

To Smith's hundred	10	
To Marttin's hundred	10	
To the Captain Marchant	6	
To Captain Geo Thorpe for the plantation of Brackley[29]	3	
To Mr. John Pountis[30] for a debt of 75 *l.* due from the Company originally to George Lyle, and now by assignment from him to John Woodall,[31] as appeareth out of three severall orders from the company and a letter of Attorney from the said John Woodall to Mr. Pountis aforesaid		4 cowes 15 calves 1 bull

The remainder being 3 steires, one bull and 6 calves, wee hold fitt to retaine here in the Iland of James Citty, till they shalbe of fitt growth to be disposed off.

To Captain Lawne's plantacion wee have not disposed of any of the said catle because Captain Lawne is dead, his plantacion is disolved, and no man ther left to take charge of the same cattle.[32]

In wittnes and confirmacion wherof wee the Governor and Councell have to these present sett our handes and the signett of the Collony. Given at James Citty September 26th 1620.

George Yeardly	John Rolfe
Natha. Powle	Sam. Macocke
Georg Thorpe	Jo. Pory Secr:

Copy

[*Endorsed:*] Disposing of Captain Argols cattle by the Governor and Councell in Virginia. 26° September, 1620.

VI. SIR PETER VAN LOORE TO LORD TREASURER CRANFIELD, NOVEMBER 12, 1621.[33]

Right honorable and my verie good Lord,

The care wee have upon the buisenes which I (and the rest of those your lordship knoweth) have undertaken doth move me (in all our names)

[29] Berkeley. Capt. George Thorpe was associated with Governor Yeardley, Sir William Throckmorton, Richard Berkeley, and John Smith of Nibley in the partnership for that plantation.

[30] A member of the council, later vice-admiral in Virginia.

[31] Surgeon and writer on surgery (d. 1643), and a member of the Virginia Company. See no. XVI., *post.*

[32] Capt. Christopher Lawne's plantation was on Lawne's Creek in Isle of Wight County. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic,* p. 205. He was a member of the assembly of 1619, but his executors are mentioned in the company's records of June 28, 1620. *Records,* I. 381.

[33] No. 6168. Peter van Loore was a Dutch jeweller and money-lender in

to sollicite your Lordship that wee may have that warrant or order which your Lordship promised us. Upon Satturdaie last I was very willing to have come to your Lordship myselfe. But indeed I have this daie gotten an extreame colde on the Thamis this morninge hopinge to have found your lordship att Westminster this morninge as aforesaid. Your lordship knoweth how this buisenes is recommended by his Majestie and how much it doth concerne your lordship to see it effected, and that the tyme doth requier speed. So not doubtinge of your Lordship to see this despatched with all speed, I humblie rest

Your Lordship's to commaund

PIETER VAN LOORE

LONDON, 12 November, 1621

[*Endorsed by Richard Willis:*][34] 12 November, 1621. Sir Peter Van Lore letter to my Lord.

VII. MEMORANDUM OF ARMS, JULY (?), 1622.[35]

A note of such Armes as are in the Tower and Mynories[36] which the Virginia company are humble suitors to the Lordes for a warrant to receave them, their Shipps being ready to departe.

Briggandines[37]	100	
Plate cotes	40	
Shirts and cotes of male	400	*ar.**
Skulls of iron	2000	
Murdering peeces, *chambers, foulers, etc.*[38]	50	
Halberts and Browne bills	1000	
Bowes and Arrowes	2000	
Bucklers and Targetts	1000	*ar.*

So many of the Calivers, Musketts, Pistolls, Daggs,[39] etc. as out of

London, knighted by King James Nov. 5. The connection of this letter with the affairs of the Virginia Company is not clear, but is inferred from the fact that it is one (no. 15) of the papers numbered in red ink, as mentioned in the introduction, above. Cranfield had become Lord Treasurer Oct. 13. Van Loore's chief business with him at the moment consisted in lending a large sum for the Palatinate. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1619–1623, pp. 308, 320.

[34] Richard Willis was Cranfield's secretary.

[35] No. 6218. The effort of the company to obtain arms from the king, through Sir Edward Sackville, and the royal response, are recounted under date of July 17, 1622, in *Records of Va. Co.*, II. 96. Another copy of this note is in State Papers, Colonial, James I., vol. II., no. 9; *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 32. The words in italics were added by Richard Willis.

[36] The Minories was a street in the east end of London, just outside Aldgate, noted for gunmakers.

[37] Coats of linen or leather on which overlapping scales of steel were sewed; a platecote was a coat of plate armor.

[38] Small pieces of ordnance.

[39] A caliver was a hand-firearm, lighter than a musket; a dag was a large pistol. Sir Richard Morrison was master-general of the ordnance.

the 2000 at Sir Richard Morrisons in the Minories shalbe serviceable and fitt for their use.

Also they are humble suitors for 20 Barrells of Powder to be delivered out of the Tower and lent the Company which Powder they will repay againe soone after christmas next.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Virginia, Armes.

VIII. LORD TREASURER'S WARRANT RESPECTING ARMS, JULY 29, 1622.[40]

After etc. His Majesty is graciously pleased upon the humble suite of the Governor and company for the plantacion in Virginia, to graunt unto them, one hundred Brigandines, fortie plate-cottes, foure hundred shirts and cotes of Maile and 2000 skulls of Iron, of those which remaine in your custody and chardge, and are out of use for the present tymes: which they are to receave as of his majesties princely guift and bountie, without anything to be paid for the same. These are therfore to will and require you, to make present delivery of the said severall parcells of armes, to such as they shall appoint to receave the same accordingly. For which his majestie's pleasure herby signified unto you, must be your warrant and discharge. From Whitehall the 29th of July 1622.

Subscribed by my Lord.

[*Directed:*] To Sir Wm. Cope, Knight, Master of the Armory and to his Deputie and Deputies and others whome the same may concerne.

IX. COMMISSIONERS OF ORDNANCE TO LORD TREASURER CRANFIELD, AUGUST 7, 1622.[41]

It may please your Lordship

Wee have according to your letters of direccion surveyed all the parcells of old armes remaining in the office of Armory mencioned in your Lordship's said letters, except the 500 Bucklers and Targets, wherein it seemeth the Peticioners were misinformed there being not any such at all decayed in that Office.

Of the old Brigandyns wee find in all	115
Of Plate Cotes or Jackes of Plate	050
Of Shirtes and Jerkins of Mayle	400
Of Skulls	2000

All which are not only old and much decayed but with their age growne also altogether unfit and of no use for moderne service. And for any other use save for that for which they are desired wee conceave them to bee of very little worth. But beeing required by your Lordship to deliver

[40] No. 6221. The order of the Privy Council authorizing this warrant, July 29, is printed in *Acts P. C. Colonial,* I. 54. Another copy is in the Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 1354, p. 202.

[41] No. 6217.

our opinions aswell for their goodnes and value as for their use, wee doe esteeme the said Brigandines at [*MS. imperfect*] the peece, the Shirtes of Maile at v *s.* the peece, the Jackes of Plate at iiii *s.* the peece, and the Sculls at iii *d.* the peece, amounting together to the some of one hundred three score eleven pounds and five shillinges.

Soe wee humbly take leave and rest

At your Lordships comaundment

7 August 1622.

Tho. Smythe	John Leay	
Jo. Wolstenholme	Ri. Sutton	W. Burrell
Fra. Morice	Ed. Johnson	

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Commission[ers] for [Ordnance] their Certificate touching the decayed arms for the Virginia Company.

[*Addressed:*] To the right Hono'ble the Lord Cranfield,
Lord High Treasurer of England.

X. MEMORANDUM OF ARMS, AUGUST (?), 1622.[42]

A note of the armes delivered by the Officers to the Courte to be in the Tower for the service of the Virginia Company, vizt.

Briggandines alias Plate Coates	280
Jackes of Plate	40
Jerkins or Shirtes of Maile	400
Sculls	2000

Besides swordes, Calivers and other pieces, pistolls and daggs
Also Hallbertes what nomber they please

[*Endorsed:*] A note of the armes which are to be delivered into the Tower for the service of the Virginia Company.

XI. ROBERT BENNETT TO EDWARD BENNETT, JUNE 9, 1623.[43]

From Bennetes Wellcome this
9th of June, 1623

Loving Brother

Yours Out of the *John and Frances*[44] I received with letters from

[42] No. 6219. The governor and council acknowledge the receipt of these arms, in a letter of Jan. 20, 1623. Neill, *Virginia Company*, p. 363.

[43] No. 6212. Edward Bennet, a London merchant, who dealt largely in tobacco, was listed in April, 1623, as one of 85 "adventurers that dislike the present proceedings of business in the Virginia and Somers Islands Companyes". Brown, *Genesis*, II. 982. The plantation of Edward, Robert, and Richard Bennet, patented Nov. 21, 1621 (*Records*, I. 562), was at the Rock Wharf in what is now Burwell's Bay, on the south side of James River, in Isle of Wight County. Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 204. Robert Bennet was the father or uncle of Richard Bennet, governor of Virginia 1652–1655. See *Virginia Magazine of History*, XXV. 393. He died before Nov. 20, 1623, the date of a manuscript document preserved among the early Virginian records in the Library of Congress, "Records Va. Co. III.", p. 53, relating to debts of the late Robert Bennet.

[44] The *John and Francis*, 100 tons, had made several voyages to Virginia;

Edwarde Haresse and Robert Bennet out of Spain, the 27th of Maye the shippe arrived heare in saftie God be thancked, and out of her I received some 19 Buttes of exclent good wynes,[45] 750 jarse of oylle, 16 Barelles of Resones of the Sonne,[46] and 18 Barelles of Rysse, tooe halfe hoghedes of Allmondes, 3 halfe hoghedes of wheate and one which was staved at seae, 18 hoghedes of Olives and some 5 ferkenes of butter and one Chesse. Allso I received 1 chest and tooe barelles of Candells, with 3 packes of Linen Cloth marked in your marke and tooe dryfattes[47] of Mr. Kinge's. All these goodes came safe and well condisioned to my handes and the beste that I received since I came in to the lande, and I macke noe question but to macke you by God's helpe good profet one[48] them, and your retorne to sende you home in the same shipe. She is gone, God sende her well, for Canadaye but with her ladinge to retorn hether agene. For the yeare beinge soe fare spente I knowe that fysh will yealde more her thene[49] in Spayne and I knowe her frayght hom wilbe a great mater more, soe I hope I shall not incore your displesures doinge as I hope all thinges to the best for your profet. My laste letter I wrotte you was in the *Adame* from Newfowndland the which I hope you have received er this. God sende her backe in saftye and this from Canaday. I hope the fyshe will come to a good reckning for vytelese[50] is verye scarse in the contrye. Your Newfowndland fyshe is worthe 30 *s.* per cente, your Drye Canada 3 *l.* 10 *s.* and the wette 5 *l.* 10 *s.* per cent, and I doe not knowe nor hier of anye that is comyinge hether with fyshe but onlye the *Teger,* which wente in companye with the *Adam* from this plase and I knowe the contrye will carye awaye all this forthe with. Our men stande well to ther helthe God be thanckd and I hope to macke you a good crope, bothe for Tobaco and Corne. The Fortte is abuyldinge apase.[51] I hope yt wilbe a great strenthning unto us, for God sende us well to doe this yeare; the nexte year,

the commission for this present one was granted by the company Nov. 27, 1622 (*Records,* II. 156), and apparently she sailed in April, 1623 (II. 496).

[45] Governor Wyatt and the Virginia council, in a letter of Jan. 30, 1624, declare that Robert Bennet in his lifetime boasted that the mere sale of four butts of wine would clear a voyage. *Va. Mag. of Hist.,* VI. 376.

[46] Raisins, then pronounced the same as *reasons.* "If reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion", says Falstaff.

[47] Packing cases. This Mr. King was perhaps the one who went out to Virginia in 1620 to establish iron-works. *Records of Va. Co.,* I. 322.

[48] On.

[49] Here than.

[50] Victuals. "Per sente" means per hundredweight, presumably of 112 pounds.

[51] Roger Smith, who had spent twelve or thirteen years in the wars in the Low Countries, is commissioned to build a fort at Wariskoyack, upon the river shore, by a document of May 11, 1623, preserved in the manuscript mentioned in note 43, at p. 40, and there are provisions respecting labor for the work. Apr. 29, May 13, *ibid.,* pp. 50, 51.

God willinge, we meane to seatte by them and sette out all this lande, and howsses. Therefore praye lette me intreat you to wrytte me at large whether Capten Basse[52] or Leftenent Barklye or anye other have anye thinge to doe or claym anye lande as ther ryghte, for I macke noe question yf plese God but to blese us this yeare the nexte to have tooe or three hondred men more into our plantasions to be our terretory for yt is the beste state in all the lande, and not the lycke quantitie is grown for goodnes in the lande. Newse I have not anye worthe the wryting but onlye this. The 22 of Maye Captin Tucker[53] was sente with 12 men in to Potomacke Ryver to feche som of our Engleshe which the Indianes detayned, and withall in culler to conclude a pease with the great Kinge Apochanzion;[54] soe the interpreter which was sente by lande with an Indian with hime to bringe the kinge to parle with Captain Tucker broughte them soe. After a manye fayned speches the pease was to be conclued in a helthe or tooe in sacke which was sente of porpose in the butte with Capten Tucker to poysen them. Soe Capten Tucker begane and our interpreter tasted before the kinge woulde tacke yt, but not of the same. Soe thene the kinge with the kinge of Cheskacke,[55] [their] sonnes and all the great men weare drun[*torn*] howe manye we canot wryte of but yt is thought some tooe hundred weare poysned and thaye comyng backe killed som 50 more and brought hom parte of ther heades. At ther departure from Apochinking the worde beinge geven by the interpreter which stode by the kinge one a highe rocke, The interpretour, the worde beinge paste tumbled downe, soe they gave in a volie of shotte and killed the tooe kinges[56] and manye alsoe as ys reporte to the cownsell for serten. Soe this beinge done yt wilbe a great desmayinge to the blodye infidelles. We purpose god willinge after we have wedid our Tobaco and cornne with the helpe of Captn Smythe and otheres to goe upon the Waresquokes and Nansemomes to cute downe ther corne and put them to the sorde. God sende us vyctrie, as we macke noe question god asistinge.[57]

I praye comende me most kyndlye to Mr. Oxwige[58] and tell hime that

[52] Nov. 21, 1621, Capt. Nathaniel Basse and others received a patent for 300 acres on the west side of Pagan River near its mouth, but east of Bennet. *Records*, I. 561; Tyler, *Cradle of the Republic*, p. 204. Berkeley's lay on the other side of James River.

[53] Capt. William Tucker, who had represented Elizabeth City in the assembly of 1619. An official account of these ferocious reprisals, by the governor and council, June 14, describing them in mild and general terms, is in *Records of Va. Co.*, II. 486–487. Another private letter in which they are described is that of Delphebus Canne to John Delbridge, July 2, in *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 48, and *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VI. 373–374.

[54] Opechancanough. The endorsement on this document has it "Apochunkinoe".

[55] Near Yorktown.

[56] Opechancanough was not killed, but lived till 1645.

[57] Their pious purpose was achieved July 23, by a force under Captain Tucker.

[58] Robert Oxwicke, draper. See docs. nos. XXXIII., XXXV.

I hope at the comynge home of the shipes which I hope shalbe the firste that comes for Englande, he shall receive a good parsell of Tobacoe from me with good profet: praye forgete me not to all the reste of our good frindes yourselfe and your wyfe, my brother Richarde[59] and his wyfe with your fatther in lawe and mother and all the reste not forgettinge my chillder whom I praye God to blesse and us all and sende us a joyfull mettinge. This in some haste. I leve you to the mersifull tuision of thallmyghtie in whom I reste

Your loving brother,
ROBT. BENNETT.

Praye comende me to Mr. Bowne and tell him that his boye is with me, for vittilles being scarse in the contrye noe mane will tacke servantes. Soe he shalbe with me untill I cane put thinges forthe. Thancke him for the cheese he sente me, but his boye made use of. Since Tho. Pope and Mr. Danell are gone to George Harison[60] to live with hime untill the crope be in. Mr. Kinge's mane rane awaye in Spayne, the reste I received all well, God be thanckd.

[*Endorsed:*] 1623 From Brother Robert dated in Bennettes Wellcome the 9th June. [*There follows a summary of the document.*]

[*Endorsed by one of the Lord Treasurer's Secretaries:*] 9 Junii, 1623. Robert Bennett.

[*Addressed:*] To my Lo. Brother Mr. Edward Bennett, Merchant in Bartholomew Lane in London.

XII. CAPTAIN JOHN BARGRAVE TO LORD TREASURER MIDDLESEX, JUNE 10, 1623.[61]

Right Honorable

The Kinge, the State, the plantacion, and my poore self, will all have cause to thank you for procureing this Commission.[62] Expedition will

[59] Associated in the patent.

[60] Mar. 6, 1621, Governor Yeardley makes a grant of 200 acres on the other side of the river opposite the governor's mansion house, to George Harrison of Charles City, gentleman. Harrison in letters to his brother John in London, May 12, 1622, and Jan. 24, 1623, speaks of "Cousin Bennett" and of accounts with Mr. Bennett. He died in the spring of 1624, as the result of a duel. *Cal. St P. Col.*, I. 25, 29, 36, 61; Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 581–582.

[61] No. 6204. Capt. John Bargrave of Patricksbourne in Kent, brother-in-law of the dean of Canterbury, brother of a later dean, and father of a canon of that cathedral (Hasted, *History of Kent*, III. 721), was an esteemed but contentious member of the company, who had sued or entered complaints against a varied number of its officers and members, and had offered no less than five treatises on the reform of the government of Virginia. A few days before this, May 16, he had shown Sir Nathaniel Rich such a paper and accused Sir Edwin Sandys of grave political machinations. *Records of Va. Co.*, I. 444; *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 28–32; Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 446–448, 529–530. See no. XV., below. Cranfield had been made Earl of Middlesex Sept. 17, 1622.

[62] The commission of May 9, 1623, appointing seven commissioners to inquire into all matters concerning the Virginia Company.

nowe bee the life of it, That it may be putt into accion, by Bartholmew day,[63] else this yeare will bee lost as the last yeare was; your Lordship hath tendered the importacion of the Spanish Tobacco to the Companie, they (as they doe all thinges els) applie it to the benefitt of a few, for want of a Stock.[64] I make noe doubt but if this Commission be expediated, but there wilbe a Stock procured time enough to farme the Tobacco for the publique, soe as the benefitt gayned shall returne to the good of the Kinge, and the plantacion. Good my Lord in all your grauntes that carrie profitt with them, use the name of the Publique; The word Companie governed by populer voices, is it that covereth all their secrett practises. And it is a shame that the Common weale of Virginia, dependinge on the Monarchie here, should be governed soe, as this little treatise here inclosed[65] will show you. All the examples that I produce to expresse the injuries done, were for the most part in Sir Thomas Smith's goverment, because from it the planters have learned their inhumanitie and injustice which they nowe use, both against the new comers and adventurers, offeringe the same measure which hath bene measured before to them. But if I should call in question the present governors, whoe beinge not ignorant that the populer goverment doth directlie take away the power of the monarchie and shew what mischeife they have done by their profuse throwinge out libertie, amongst the planters, whereby they have made them forsake their former discipline, strength and vertue to defend themselves against the domestick enemie, and yet beinge fore warned of these thinges it should appeare that they did it knoweingely and wittinglie against the soveraignitie in England, extreame libertie beinge worse then extreame Tirranie, as it appeared by *the troubles in Rome after Neroes death,* and the Romans (when their estate was most populer) never punishinge their governors more for anie fault, then[66] the neglect of discipline; this might make our governors nowe as much to bee blamed as the former weare, but I delight not to bee an accuser, unles necessitie enforce it, although all the remainder of my estate sent into Virginia is nowe lost therby. And soe I rest

Your lordships to commaund

John Bargrave

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Received 10 June 1623. Captaine Bargrave

[63] August 24.

[64] But measures toward the underwriting of a joint stock, for undertaking the farming of the Spanish tobacco, had been taken by the company on May 12. *Records,* II. 420.

[65] Probably some one of the five treatises to which Bargrave alludes in a letter to the company, *Cal. S. P. Col.,* I. 30, perhaps no. XV.

[66] Than.

XIII. SIR EDWIN SANDYS TO LORD TREASURER MIDDLESEX, JUNE 19, 1623.[67]

Right Honorable

I have understood from Sir Arthur Ingram[68] of your Lordship's most noble favour towards me unto his Majestie in procuring my libertie to return to the cittie, both to the comfort and help of my distressed wife in hir health and for the ordering of my owne important busines, which so honorable favour, as I acknowledge with all due and possible thankfullnes, so shall I rest ever obliged to be answerable for the same, with the [*torn*] and faithfullest services that the meannes of my abilities may extend unto.

But my good Lord, give me leve (knoweing that in noble and generous natures, one favour or benefit dooth often draw on another) give me leve, I say, my good Lord, to renue unto your lordship my much elder suite, which it pleased your Lordship to entertain with much approbation, and to comfort me in it with your noble promise that your Lordship would be pleased to take tyme and oportunitie to restore me again thoroughly to his Majestie's gracious favour. Which suit I now tender again with all fervent duetie if your Lordship doo knowe, that ever since you were pleased to reintegrate me in your owne favour, I have applyed myself in all things to do his Majestie service according to your Lordships directions: and now promise so to continue to the best of my power.

I understood also from Sir Arthur Ingram, that your Lordship's pleasure was that at my return I should attend you. But understanding that your Lordship wilbe absent for some few dayes, I make bold to crave your Lordships fu[rther] pleasure therein for the tyme, either by Sir Arthur Ingram or otherwise as shall please your lordship. And so humbly take leve and rest

In all duetie at your Lordship's Command

19 June 1623 EDWIN SANDYS.

[*Indorsed by Willis:*] 19 June 1623. Sir Edwyn Sandes.

[*Addressed:*] To the Right Honorable my especiall good L. the Earl of Middlesex, L. High Treasurer of England.

XIV. CAPTAIN ROBERT BACON TO RICHARD WILLIS, NOVEMBER 9, 1623.[69]

Sir

I acquainted you at our last meeting that I had moved my Lord Threasurer on the cittie's behalfe for the stay of a sute commenced against them

[67] No. 6207. Holograph. The next April, Sandys took, with Coke, the leading part in the prosecution of Middlesex by the Commons. Old *Parl. Hist.*, VI. 148.

[68] Comptroller of the customs of the port of London. For his character, see Goodman, *Court of James I.*, I. 252. By order of the Privy Council, May 13, 1623, Sandys was confined to his house. *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 64. The editors of that work say that his release seems to be dated May 21, but this document seems to indicate a later date.

[69] No. 6205. The suit here referred to has not been identified. Captain Robert Bacon was remembrancer of the city of London from 1619 to 1633.

by one Farrar in the Court of Common Pleas, for the recovery of his monye lent his majestie at his going into Scottland. I moved my Lord since that at Whitehall, and his lordship appointed me to repaire unto you for an answer. Good Sir favour me soe much as to mind my Lord of the busines and the rather because yt appeares by a subscription to the copy of the wrytt delivered to my lord that Farrar makes Accompt to find an easy way given to his proceedings. Good Sir favour my late indisposicion so much as to procure my Lord's answer [and] appoint me a tyme when I shall attend you for that, which yf yt bee not speedy, will come too late. So Sir I rest

Yours very assuredly
to be commanded

November 9, 1623 ROB. BACON.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Captayne Bacon, for stay of Farrar's suite against the citty.

[*Addressed:*] To my very worthy friend Mr. Willis, Secretary to the Right Hon'ble the Lo. Thr'er.

XV. CAPTAIN JOHN BARGRAVE'S PROPOSALS, DECEMBER, 1623.[70]

Right hon'ble. I have tendered to my Lord President[71] and some other the Lords of the Councell a forme of Pollicy thus condicioned.

1. Firste I undertake to shew the meanes to drawe a sufficient number of men that have good estates here to plant in Virginia with their persons and goods and to cause the planters in Virginia to plant estates in England.

2. Secondlie soe to sever and devide the faculties of Soveraigntie and the Commaund of the forces amongste those men soe estated, that they shall never meet united in power, but to advance our polliticke end, of houldinge the plantacion to England.

3. Thirdlie by makinge use of the naturall strength and lardgenes of the place soe to Marshall those men as they shall not onely make the plantacion spread and growe to finde out the best Commodities and inlarge the king's domynions, but they shall secure it both from Forraigne Enemies, and enable it to give lawes to the domesticke Indians.

4. Fourthlie the ymployinge those men there to make the beste and suddenest returnes hether.

5. Fiftlie the mannaginge and orderinge those returnes soe as they shall not onely supplie and maynteyne the plantacion with apparrell and necessaries but it shall make a publique stocke and treasury that shall increase as the plantacion increaseth.

6. Sixtlie the Patent standing as it doth and the practice and faction

[70] No. 6157. See no. XII.

[71] Henry Montagu, viscount Mandeville, afterward earl of Manchester, lord president of the council 1621–1628. The "forme of Pollicy" here described is to be found among the papers of his descendant the Duke of Manchester. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, II. 47, no. 402.

beinge taken away, it shall have such further liberties and jurisdiccions added to the governement, as shalbe necessarie and for the good of the plantacion.

7. Seaventhlie and lastlie, the doeinge of all those thinges by waie of righte and intereste to the maynteynance of Justice and peace, and to the honor of God our king and state.

All theis qualities beinge treated of in five severall treaties are lastlie composed into one forme w'ch may aptlie be termed a Military intendencie by tribe it beinge a way not onely to plant Garrisons without paie, but each Garrison bruinging with it a certeyne revenewe to the Crowne it shall tie Virginia as fast to England as if it were one *terra firma* with it.

The bruite of it I had from Charles the 5, and if he himselfe or kinge Phillip his sonne had used the like pollicie in the West Indies, Low Countries, Millanie, Naples and the rest of his provinces to mainteyne his soveraignty there, he had not spent soe many Millions to keepe Garrisons as he hath done, neither wold his provinces be soe ready to fall from him as now they will be, if this plate fleet should faile him.[72]

I ever held (and soe I expressed myselfe in my Articles 2 yeeres sithence at the Councell Board)[73] that this busines must be tenderly handled till the public stocke was gayned and the forme was consented to by the company. And that this taking away the patent from the company is merely by a devise of the delinquents whoe havinge fowerscore articles put in against them and but 4 of them examyned doe by troblinge the busines and makinge the company to give over their Compl'nts conceal from the kinge the Iniquitie of the former governem't, it will appeare by theis reasons followinge:

1. First it will weaken the confidence that Patentees should have in Patents.

2. Secondlie it will appeare that the company and the governem't by voices must by necessitie contynue, aswell for their grantinge of Patents, because the kinge hath alreadie granted them the soile of the Contry as also for the giving of their consent to lawes that shall bynde their estates, it being the right of all free subjects.

3. Thirdlie the forme proposed (consideringe the former reason) must be consented to both by the kinge and company. By the kinge because there will be in it divers priviledges and Jurisdiccions that transcend to Common law, and all authority formerly granted, By the Company because the forme will bynde their estates.

4. Fourthlie the patent was granted beinge to the adventurer and planter and the governement beinge in the company here, if the company wil by consenting to this forme transfer the governement to the Planter

[72] Captain Bargrave apparently thought that the fleet of the Dutch West India Company under Jacob Willekens and Piet Hein, which sailed out this month against Bahia, might capture the King of Spain's annual silver fleet—as Hein did in 1628.

[73] Probably those summarized in *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 29.

(to whom of right it belongs) there is noe necessitie that the Patent must be delivered.

5. Fiftlie because this consent of all parties interested in the plantacion will make the forme more firme and perpetuall.

6. Sixtlie all changes in governement should be insensible gentle easie and not extorted.

7. Seaventhlie because this very governement doth make many adventure w'ch otherwise would not.

8. Eightlie because everythinge should be fostered by that that bred it, And the Companie havinge bred this plantacion it should likewise have a hand in the fosteringe of it.

9. Nynthly because it is a question whether it be fit that the kinge should take the name of the plantacion as a worke of his owne, till such time as the state did so that it should be able to Subsist of it selfe and to defend it selfe against forraigne and domesticke power.

10. Tenthly because the kinge will have righte in the benefitt that shalbe made by the publique servants sent by reason of his soveraigntie, though he be noe more seene in the busines than formerly he hath byn.

11. Lastlie because the plantacion beinge divided into severall Collonies each one of them Consisting of three hundred planters, if the said Collonys shall nomynate out of the Company heere three adventurers for each one of them, two of w'ch shall doe their busines, as the Comittees doe now, and the third to be Agent for them to preconsult in matters that shall concerne the plantacion and to make contracts with the king or Company, and the whole Classis of their pre-consulters having a Negative voice this will both prevent all prejudice that shall come to the plantacion by practice and faction of the popular governement here and will alsoe (as the state desires) drawe the governement into fewer hands and then there will nothinge remayne in the company but the passing of patents, together with their consent to lawes that shall bynde their estates without the w'ch noe man will adventure.

And whereas the state takes it ill that there are soe many counsellors made, the reason of the doeinge of it was to draw men of quallity to come to the Courte, and if all shalbe put from the Counsell, that forbeare cominge together with those that are not sworne, the counsell will quicklie be found not to be many.

And whereas the lords doe desire that both the governem't in Virginia and the Governement here should have relacion to the Lords of the Counsell there is such a Clause in the patent alreadie, that no weightie busines shalbe done but fower of the great lords and standinge officers of the Counsell shall be made acquainted and give their consente to it.

Consideringe theis reasons my humble suite is that yo'r pet. may be suffered and the Companie may be comaunded to make good their Compl'ts before the Comissioners that the kinge takinge notice who have abused the governement and who not, rewards and punishm'ts may be duly

administred, and that in the meane tyme there may be a Comittee or refference to some best experienced in such publique busines either of the Company or otherwise that may examine correct amend or allow of the governement proposed that soe both the lords and the Companies agreeinge in one end to wit the good of the plantacion the busines may goe cheerily forward.

yo^{r} Lordshipp's
JOHN BARGRAVE.

[*Endorsed in the hand of Richard Willis:*] John Bargrave his Proposicions concerning Virginia, Received 7° Decemb. 1623.

XVI. PETITION OF JOHN WOODALL, MARCH (?), 1630.[74]

To the right honorable the Lords and the rest of his Majesties most honorable privie Councell

The humble petition of John Woodall
an adventurer and planter of the
Collony in Virginia

Humblye sheweth that your petitioner having ben longe an Adventurer thither did heretofore buy an estate of Lands, goods and chattells which did belong unto Sir Samuell Argall Knight deceased sometimes Governor there,[75] whereby your petitioner was occasioned to send Factors and Agents theither to gett the sayd estate into his possession.

But soe it is, may it please your good honours, that since the departure of the sayd Sir Samuell Argall from that collonie (being about twelve years sithens)[76] the sayd estate by divers mutations there is disperced into many men's hands whoe now frame unto themselves a colorre to delaye and detayne the same from your petitioner, by reason of some controversies and difference which happened concerning the government wherein divers accusations were objected against the sayd Sir Samuell for supposed wrongs by him don unto the publique there, which though they were not proved neyther did they ever proceed to any tryall of lawe, and that only some of his goods were sequestred, yett neverthelesse your petitioners factors have been still delayed upon pretence of those Controversies.

[74] See no. V., above, and note 31, *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXIII. 13, and nos. XVII.–XXI., below. It appears that this petition was the occasion of the letter addressed on Apr. 30, 1630, by the Privy Council to the governor and council of Virginia, and mentioned in the order of June 30, *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 163; hence the date here suggested.

[75] Argall died in 1626. A petition of Samuel Percevall and Ann his wife, Argall's daughter and heiress, presented to the House of Lords, June 25, 1641 (House of Lords MSS.), declares that Woodall had wrongly acquired from them Argall's estate and cattle in Virginia, and by influence in the Privy Council had eluded payment; the petition will be printed in vol. I. of Dr. L. F. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America* (Carnegie Institution of Washington).

[76] April, 1619.

May itt therefore please your good honours and because that since the dissolution of the late Virginia Companie your suppliant hath noe other Court to petition unto for redress, And that for this honorable Board hath ever ben gratiously pleased to order and direct the affayrs of that Collony, That your honours would now be pleased to tender consideration of your petitioner's great losses and damages in the premises of your accustomed favours to grant unto your petitioner your honorable letters to be directed unto the Governor and Councell there resident, willing them that uppon resonable demand made unto them by your petitioner or his assignes that they cause diligent enquirie and searche to be made of all the particuler dispossinge of the Cattell and theire encrease and also of the Lands and goods which did lately belonge unto the sayd deceased, And by the dewe examination of wittnesses and other circumstances fitting to explayne the true finding out of the estate and to deliver the same unto your petitioner his factors or Agent, and to administer all favorable Justice therein according as the right of his cause shall require, that your suppliant be not further enforced to be troublesome to your honours.

And your petitioner shall dailey pray.

[*Endorsed:*] Mr. Woodall his petition to the Lords in England.

XVII. PETITION OF ROBERT BARRINGTON, (AFTER JUNE,) 1630.[77]

To the right worshipfull the Governor and Councell of State in Virginia

The humble petition of
Robertt Barrington

Sheweth that your petitioner the last Quarter Courte prefered a petition on the behalfe of Mr. John Woodall for the recoverie of divers cattell which of late belonged to Sir Samuell Argall Knight deceased wherein he was an humble suiter to the board for a finall ende in that cause, whereuppon your worships were pleased to make an order that some parte of them should be delivered and the rest should hange in suspence till further order from the Lords of his Majesties most honorable Privie Councell in England, and hee further sheweth the Lords of his Majesties Councell did direct their letters to the Governor and Councell heere requesting that a finall ende of the same might be had with such lawfull favour and expedition as might be expected uppon their letters of recommendations. Your petitioner humbly prayeth that forasmuch as the sayd order is noe finall ende, but leaveth the cause in the greatest parte undetermined, that the same may bee revoked and that a full conclusion therein may be made according to theire Lordships letters and expecta-

[77] Robert Barrington was member for James City in the general assembly of 1630. The date is shown by the text to be subsequent to that of the order of the Privy Council, June 30, printed in *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 163, in which the governor and council are enjoined to do justice to Woodall.

tions of your [*sic*] That Mr. Woodall may have noe cause to be further troublesome unto them nor complayne of injustice or delay in this Courte.

And hee will alwayes praye, etc.

[*Endorsed:*] Robert Barrington his petition to the Governor and councell in the behalfe of Mr. Woodall.

XVIII. ORDER OF COURT IN VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 12, 1630.

A Courte att James Citty the 12th daye of December 1630.

Present.

Sir John Harvey Knight Governor etc.[78]

Captain West	Captain Basse
Captain Mathewe	Captain Utey
Captain Tucker	Captain Purifie
Mr. Farrar	Captain Bullocke
Captain Stevens	

Itt is ordered by this Courte, that all the Cattle that shall appeere to belonge to Sir Samuell Argoll Knight without dispute, shalbe delivered to Mr. Robertt Barrington att the springe time when without danger they may well be transported, vizt. the cattle in the hands of Captain Mathew, Martins Hundred, Roger Tompson, Captain Perrie, Mr. John Arundell, and others

Examinat. per W. CLAIBORNE, Secretary [79]

[*Endorsed:*] An order of court at James Cittie the 12th day of December 1630.

XIX. DEPOSITION OF ROGER TOMPSON, MARCH 25, 1631.[80]

The relation of Roger Tompson concerning the cattell called by the name of Sir Samuell Argall's cattell delivered uppon oath the 25th day of March 1631 before Sir John Harvey Knight etc.

Mr. Will: Farrar
Mr. Henry Finch
Captain Tho. Purifie.

The sayd Tompson sayth that those cattle were found in James Iland and were fieftie eyght in number but the originall of theire stocke he

[78] Governor 1628–1639.

[79] Secretary 1625–1635, 1652–1660.

[80] See no. V. The name of Roger Thompson appears, as of Flowerdieu Hundred, in the "Listes of the Livinge and Dead", 1623, in *Colonial Records of Va.* (Senate Doc., 1874), p. 40.

[81] The disposition here stated, as of date June 10, 1619, agrees in general with that given in no. V. for Sept. 26, 1620, it being understood that Smith's Hundred had meantime been renamed Southampton Hundred, and that Abraham Peirsey was the cape merchant mentioned in no. V.

knoweth not and were dispossed of by Sir George Yearley the 10th of June 1619[81] as followeth.

1. First, Six Cowes to the Lady Yearley,[82] three of which died in the Iland and the other three Cowes remaininge were sold to Captain Stone of London.

2. Secondly, foure Cowes, foure oxen, and one old Bull to Southampton hundred, which remayne among that Stocke.

3. Thirdly, ten Cowes to Martin hundred, of which ten, Mr. Emerson[83] had two, one of which two had her backe broken going to Hogg Iland the other was carried to Mrs. Emerson att Kickcoutan,[84] of the increase of which cowe, one shee killed at her son's wedding, one cowe she sould with one oxe Calfe and att her death shee gave one Cowe to her daughter; for the old cowe that was first brought downe, she was killed, and the sayd Roger Tompson put a younge heyfer in her rome and the rest of her increase doe make eight in number: five of which wilbe Milch this yeare. Of the other three, two are Cowe Calves, and one an oxe Calfe, all in the hands of the sayd Tompson, for the other eyght that wee delivered to Martin hundred the sayd Tompson never knew butt of fouer of them that were in James Iland in the possession of one Mr. Harwood of Barnestable[85] but what is now become of those foure or the rest the sayd Tompson knoweth not.

4. Fourthly, six old cowes, one old bull were delivered to Mr. Abraham Percey which remaine in the hands of his executors.

5. Fieftly, foure old Cowes, one old Cowe, twelve Cowe Calves and three oxe calves, were delivered to Mr. Pountis, for Mr. Woodall.

6. Sixtly, one oxe Sir Francis Wiatt[86] kildd for Pamunkey March.

7. Seaventhly, one steere the Lady Yearley killdd.

8. Eightly, two Cowes and two Steirs to Captain Thorpe for Berkley hundred, But what became of them the sayd Tompson knoweth nott.

[*Endorsed:*] The relation of Roger Tompson, Cowekeeper, uppon oath taken 25° March 1631.

XX. ORDER OF COURT IN VIRGINIA, JUNE 27, 1631.

A Courte att James Citty the 27th of June 1631.

Present.

Sir John Harvey Kt. Governor etc.

Captain John West	Captain John Utye
Mr. Henry Finch	Captain Tho. Purifie
Captain Rich. Stevens	Captain Will. Peirce
Captain Natha. Basse	Captain Will. Perrie

[82] Temperance, wife of Sir George Yeardley.

[83] Presumably Ellis Emerson, member of the convention of 1625.

[84] Elizabeth City.

[85] William Harwood of Martin's Hundred.

[86] Governor 1624–1626, 1639–1641.

Whereas itt hath ben formerly ordered by this Courte, that Robertt Barrington the assign and Atturney of John Woodall, gentleman, should have certayne Cowes and other Cattell out of the stocke of Berkley hundred, being att this present twenty eight young and ould, for satisfaction of three cowes, with theire increase, long since sent to the sayd Hundred, But did not order what certayne number he should receive, out of the sayd stocke, but referred the same to a further hearinge,

This present day uppon the motion of the sayd Robertt Barrington, the Courte takinge the same into there considerations, have thought itt fitt and accordingly ordered that the sayd Robertt Barrington shall receave for the use of Mr. Woodall halfe the stocke of cattell, At this time belonging to the sayd Hundred, with this provisoe neverthelesse that if any of Barkley hundred adventurors or any for them shall beetwene this and the feast of Christmas shew good and sufficient cause why soe many Cattell should not be allowed to Mr. Woodall for the Cowes soe lent to the sayd Hundred, then this order shalbe of none effect.

And if in case the sayd Mr. Woodall or any for him within the time aforesayd shall make appeere to this courte, that there ought more of the sayd stocke to bee allowed for satisfaction of the three Cowes, with theire increase, Then this Courte will make a further allowance to the sayd Mr. Woodall out of the remainer of the sayd stocke.

Vera copia teste me
W. Claiborne Secr.

[*Endorsed:*] An order of court the 27th of June at James Cittie 1631 about Mr. Woodall.

XXI. ORDER OF COURT IN VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 15, 1631.

A Corte helde att James Citty the 15th of December 1631

Present

Sir John Harvey Knt. Governor etc.

Capt. Fra. West	Mr. William Farrar
Capt. Jo. West	Capt. Natha. Basse
Capt. Sam. Mathew	Capt. John Utye
Capt. William Claybourne	Capt. Tho. Puryfie
Capt. William Tucker	

[Today was held] . . . and serious deliberation concerning the estate of Cat. . . . belonging to Sir Samuell Argall knight deceased, transported over to Mr. Woodall whose assignes have often peticioned the [Corte] . . . to be delivered unto them, first weare reade the sayd Woodalls complainte and petition to the Lords of his Majestie's most Honorable privie Council . . . theire Lordship's letter, recommending the cause and requiring that speedy execution of justice should be done, there was also . . . and order of sequesteration made in England by the Councell for Virginia anno 1619 and the disposall of the cattell there . . . Governor and Coun-

cell heere the 20th of September, anno 1620.[87] Likewise there were read letters of recommendation from Sir Robert Heath Att[orney Genera]ll[88] in this behalfe, and his absolute and cleere oppinion that the sayd sequesteration is ended and that wee ought by law to proceed to the . . . ing the right, as if the sequesteration had not ben, The Court having formerly by an order of Court the first of March, [16]30 entred into the determination of this cause and ordered that one third part of the said Southampton hund[red ca]ttell should be held and accompted as the cattell of Sir Samuell Argall, Doth now likewise approve thereof and give order that the Cattell of Sir Samuell Argell's stocke left in Mr. Abraham Persies hand which are not yett delivered, t[hough ?] they have allways ben cumbred[?] with a desire to be ridd of them, should forthwith be delivered unto the assigns of the sayd Mr. Woodall, and for the rest which can any way appertayne to Sir Sammuell Argall out of Barkley hundred and Martin's hundred, itt is thought fitt they be likewise delivered, And therefore itt is resolved, because it [se]mes the greatest part of them are intermingled with the stocke belonging to Southampton hundred, to have the exactions and oathes taken of the cowkeepers and such who can best give information therein, those of the councell having [ha]d noe knowledge neyther are there any records left to direct them in these proceedings, And . . . the rather because they may give that satisfaction unto those honorable and noble adventurers of the severall hundreds, the cattell being almost the only remayns of those large expences, Butt because they shall heerein walke in the darke stepps of forepassed and forgotten times, they deliver theire advise, That all the sayd cattell delivered in the right of Sir Samuell Argall be noe further alienated then those hands into which they are now to be putt, untill a finall resolution and determination of this Cause be sent from the right honorable and others his Majestie's Commissioners for these affayeres,[89] unto whom itt is thought fitt that together with our letters copies of all the aforesayd severall papers be transmitted, because many of them, as they conceive, have further knowledge of the grounds of the premises then any of the Councell heere.

Vera copia teste me

W. Claiborne Secr.

[*Endorsed:*] An order of Courte concerning Southampton Martin's and Barkley hundred cattell for Mr. Woodall. 11° December 1631.

[87] No. V., above.

[88] Attorney general 1626–1631; but on Oct. 26, 1631, he had been elevated to the bench as chief justice of the court of common pleas.

[89] Commissioners for Virginia appointed June 17, 1631. *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 130; *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, VIII. 33.

B. Concerning Tobacco.

XXII. Certificate concerning tobacco entered in Portsmouth, February 10, 1616(?).[90]

In Portesmouth

The trueth of the quantitie of Tobacco accordinge to two entryes past by William Budd vizt.

The xxxth of September 1615

In the *Flyeinge Horse* of Flushinge of xxx tonnes, William Johnson, master, from Virginia. For William Budd, one greate Roall containing one hundred and fyve pounds of puddinge tobaccoe.

The xth of February 1615

In the *Flyeinge Horse* of Flushinge aforesaid, the said William Johnson, master, from Virginia. For William Budd, five hundred and foure pounds of puddinge tobaccoe.

Tho. Wulfris Collector W. Dingley, Comptroller
Ed. Dawson Collector pro farmers.

Both these entries in the Kinges bookes delivered by the customer[91] and comptroller are mencioned to be from the West India.

[*Addition in Cranfield's hand:*]

100 *li.* the Spanish Embassador	2.	12.	6
	5.	5.	0
	25.	4.	
	12.	12.	
	43.	13.	6
	45.	13.	6[92]

[90] No. 6182. The William Budd here mentioned as importing tobacco from Virginia may have been the William Budd of the Fishmongers Company who is listed by Brown, *Genesis*, I. 282, as refusing to invest in the Virginia Company, but Mr. Brown is quite wrong in his comment, II. 772, on Budd's tobacco. He says, "'30th Sept. 1615, From W. Budd, one great roll containing 105 lbs. of Midding Tobacco'. There is also another certificate of February 10, 1616, which gives the number of pounds as 104, showing the loss of weight with time, which those who deal in tobacco have long been familiar with". But the second number, as will be seen from our text, is properly 504. Also, "from" should be "for", and "midding" should be "pudding". The errors are in the brief entry respecting the document in the *Fourth Report* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 314, whence Mr. Brown doubtless derived his item. He says, *First Republic*, p. 231, that this item is the first definite account he has seen of tobacco from Virginia reaching England.

[91] Customer meant the collector of the port, as distinguished from the comptroller, who kept an account serving as a check upon his, and from the collector for the farmers of the customs. Hubert Hall, *History of the Custom-Revenue*, II. 44, 50.

[92] The true addition is £45. 13s. 6d.

45 *li.* 13 *s.* 6 *d.* In the entries at Portsmouth from Virginia but in the customes boockes from the West Indies which is the reason the auditor will not allow.[93]

[*Fragment:*] mistacking.

	Portsmouth due	45.	13.	6
His Majestie's officers	Cardife, due Jourdaine and Comptroller	18.	3.	–
are the debitors	due in Cornwall, dead	19.	14.	6
	for	83.	17.	–

[*Endorsed:*] A certificate from Portesmouth for Budd's Tobacco.

XXIII. REPORT TO SIR LIONEL CRANFIELD, DECEMBER 25(?), 1616.[94]

The Tobacco entred in the port of London betweene midsomer 1615 and midsomer 1616 at xviii *d.* imposition and custome[95] the same amounteth to 3935 *li.* 8. 3

The benefite of the custome and imposition of this yere did passe by the contracte of his Majestie with the fermers with the rest of ther estate in the ferme for the some of 4000 *li.* the which was paid by the collectors of the said imposition and custome to the said fermers for ther interest by warrant from his Majestie under the great seale.

There is come in to this port of London since midsomer soe muche Tobacco as the custome and imposition thereof at the rate aforesaid (the Entries thereof being perfected) will amounte to about the some of 2000. 0. 0

XXIV. NOTES OF CRANFIELD, DECEMBER 25, 1616(?).[96]

The Farmers of the Imposte upon Tobackoe at mydsomer anno 1615 had an estate in it for 3 yeares which was then worth to them cleere (his Majestie's Rente and all charges defrayed) above 4000 *l.* per annum as by his Majestie's custome boockes appear.

For this 3 yeares Sir Lyonell Cranfield contracted with the parties interessed (on the behalffe of his Majestie) for the some of fower thousand poundes and with this condicion that the King should disburse no

[93] If it came in from Virginia it was exempt from customs dues, under the patent of 1612; if from the West Indies, it should pay duty.

[94] No. 6180. Report to Cranfield as surveyor general of the customs, without signature.

[95] The impost was a shilling (raised in 1615 to eighteenpence), the subsidy sixpence for roll and fourpence for leaf tobacco. In this year 2300 lbs. were imported into London from Virginia, 52673 lbs. from foreign parts. Beer, *Origins of the British Colonial System*, p. 109.

[96] No. 6179. In the hand, throughout, of Cranfield, surveyor general of the customs.

monye, but that the Farmers should receive the said 4000 *l.* owt of the said Farme.

The 4th of Maye 1616 the said Farmers past all their Interest to his Majestie with all proffitts and receiptes from mydsomer 1615.

From mydsomer 1615 untill mydsomer 1616 ther was received upon the said Farme of Tobackoe for the Porte of London onlye 3935 *l.* 8 [*s.*] 3 *d.*, soe that ther was monye to paye the Farmers with a surplusadge (the Portes reckoned)[97] within seven weeckes after it was past to his Majestie.

From mydsomer 1616 untill Christmas 1616 being halff a yere ther is received and to bee received upon the perfectinge of the entryes for Tobackoe come into the Porte of London only above Two thousand poundes.

[*Endorsed:*] Tobacko.

XXV. RECEIPTS FROM DUTIES ON TOBACCO, JANUARY 23, 1619.

The Receipte of the Tobacco from our Lady day 1618 to Michaellmas following is the some of	2751	:	02	:	00
From Michaelmas 1618 to the xxiiith day of January followinge is	1605	:	16	:	06
Sume Totall	4356	:	18	:	06

More remayninge in the Custome howse about 1200 wayght uppon billes at sight which comethe[98] unto 0090 *l* . 00 . 00

ABRAHAM JACOBB
Collector pro Imp.[99]

[*Endorsed:*] Receipt of tobacco by Mr. Abraham Jacob. 1618.

XXVI. ACCOUNT OF THE FARM OF TOBACCO, NOVEMBER 5, 1619.[100]

Redditus fermi Tobacco pro anno 5000 *li.* et solut. per Tallias levat. pro anno finit. ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno Regis Jacobi xvii mo.

[97] *I. e.*, with the addition of what came from the other ports.

[98] At 1 s. 6 d. a pound, the impost alone.

[99] In 1618 the office of collector of the tobacco impost was granted for life to Abraham and John Jacob. Beer, p. 111.

[100] This document may be translated thus: "Receipts of the farm of tobacco for the year, £5000, and payments by tallies raised [see Hall, *Custom-Revenue*, II. 186–195] for the year ended Michaelmas 17 Jac. I. Easter term, 1619: by tally raised Apr. 17, 1619, £1500; do. Apr. 30, £925; do. May 7, £2000. Michaelmas term, 1619: do. Nov. 5, £425. Total payments, £4850; collector's fee, £150; total, £5000."

			Totall. solut.
Termino Pasche 1619	per Talliam levat. xvii'mo Aprilis 1619	mv^{c} *li.*	iiii^{m} viii^{c} l. *li.*
	per aliam Talliam levat. xxx Aprilis 1619	ix^{c} xxv *li.*	
	per aliam Talliam levat. vii Maii 1619	mm *li.*	
Termino Michaelis 1619	Et per aliam Talliam levat. quinto Novembris 1619	iiii^{c} xxv *li.*	
	And for the fee of the Collector		cl *li.*
			Totall. v^{m} *li.*

Examined by me ROBERTUS PYE [101]

[*Endorsed by Cranfield:*] Sir Robert Pye, abowte tobacko.

XXVII. OFFER OF ABRAHAM JACOB FOR THE FARM OF THE TOBACCO DUTIES, DECEMBER (?), 1619.[102]

Articles agreed one with Mr. Abraham Jacob for the Farming of the Tobacco for seaven yeeres from Michaelmas nexte 1620 for the yeerely Rente of *eight thousand* poundes per annum vizt.

Firste that all Tobaccoes whatsoever that shall come into theise his Majestie's dominions of England Wales and Barwicke from beyond the Seas the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco onely excepted shall pay the Imposition or increase of Subsidie of xviii *d.* per pound or under att the Farmer's pleasure and the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco att the rate of vi *d.* per pound And yf it shall not bee lawfull for the Farmer to receive the same rates then defaulcation to bee made unto him yeerely out of his Majestie's rent for the same.

The Rente to bee paid halfe yeerely or within Fortie dayes after each Rent day.[103]

[101] Robert Pye was remembrancer of the exchequer. He was not knighted till July 13, 1621, hence Cranfield's endorsement is later.

[102] No. 6184. The words italicized are inserted in a different hand. Internal evidence places the document between Michaelmas and Christmas, 1619 (Sept. 29–Dec. 25), and probably after Dec. 2. Abraham Jacob, one of the collectors of the impost on tobacco, now desired to farm it for seven years. From July to December he had contended that tobacco from Virginia, the seven years of exemption (note 13, above) having expired in March, should pay impost. *Records,* I. 245, 248, 276, 277. On Dec. 2 the attorney general, Yelverton, rendered an opinion to the Privy Council (*id.,* I. 281–284) that the company was now clearly exempt from all but the five per cent. subsidy, which, under the existing book of rates, would amount to sixpence a pound. Jacob in his present proposals takes account of this opinion, but not of the fact that the Somers Islands Company's exemption had still nearly three years to run.

[103] To wit, Michaelmas and Lady-day, Sept. 29 and Mar. 25.

That his Majestie shall prohibite and forbid before Christmas 1619 the plantation of all English Tobacco within this Realme of England dominions of Wales and towne of Barwicke and the dominions thereunto belonging[104] and the same plantation to bee utterly surpressed or ells to bee lawfull for the Farmer to keepe his Rente in his owne handes untill hee have receaved full satisfaction for his damadge by reason of the said plantation according unto the rate and quantety of the Imposition paiable uppon Tobacco Imported out of Spaine beeing for every pound xviii *d.* per pound and likewise to bee free of all Covenauntes and payments and to bee Accomptant onely for the same.

Allsoe that his Majestie dureing the terme of the said Farmer's Patent shall not raise or sett any newe Imposition Custome or Taxe uppon any Tobacco imported nor graunt any lycence or restraint in forbidinge the subject to sell the same freely by retaile or otherwise more then was in force and practise at Michaelmas last that then and from thenceforth all covenauntes and other reservations mentioned in the letters patentes to bee voyde and to bee an Accomptant onely from that tyme forwardes.

And whereas there is allowed unto the now Collector one hundred and fifty poundes per annum for the Collection of the said Tobacco by Patente under the greate Seale[105] the said fee of one hundred and fifty poundes per annum to bee yeerely paid from tyme to tyme dureing the Collector's Patent out of his Majestie's rent of *eight thousand* poundes per annum.

That yf att any tyme dureing the terme their shall happen any warrs betwixt England and Spaine or any Imbargement of trade then it shalbee lawfull for that tyme to relinquish the said Patente and to bee an Accomptant onely for the same.

Allsoe that yf the Patentee shall dislike after twoe yeeres to bee accompted from Michaelmas next and make knowen such his dislike as aforesaid, at Michaelmas or within xl dayes after in any yeere dureing the terme that hee determineth to hold the same no longer, then in such case uppon one yeeres warning as aforesaid the Patente to bee voyde and the Patentee to bee freed from all paymentes and covenauntes and to bee an Accomptant onely for the same.

To have all such further covenauntes as the Farmers of the Tobacco now hath for the safe enjoying therof as by the Kings Majestie's Councell and the Farmers shalbe thought fitt and necessary.

[*Endorsed by Cranfield:*] Tobacko: Mr. Jacobs new offer of 8000 *l.* per annum.

[104] The proclamation was dated Dec. 30, 1619, and issued somewhat later. Beer, *Origins*, p. 113. The text is in the American Antiquarian Society's volume of *British Royal Proclamations relating to America* (*Transactions and Collections*, XII.), pp. 18–21.

[105] See the preceding document.

XXVIII. OFFER OF THE IMPORTERS OF SPANISH TOBACCO, 1620.[106]

An offer of the Spanish Marchantes for the Farming of the Imposte, Increase of Subsidy, and the Sole Importation of Tobacco for seaven yeers from Michaelmas next 1620 without any defaulcacion for the Increase of Subsidy dureing the privelidge of the Bermudos Company beeing for twoe yeeres to come or ther abouts and after to pay as the Virginia Company doth.

Wheras there hath bin an offer made unto his Majestie by divers which have never delte in the Trade of Tobacco but onely as Adventurers in the Virginia and Bermudos Company for the taking to Farme from his Majestie the Imposts etc. and Sole Importation of Tobacco, And for that wee not onely our selves for many yeeres traded in Tobacco, but alsoe have brought up many servantes in that faculty And wee doe conceive that the trade of Tobacco is not soe proper unto any as unto ourselves wee beeing more able to give Satisfaction unto the State for the venting of our native comodetyes at the best and highest rates as alsoe for the selling of Tobacco at reasonable prices unto his Majesties Subjectes and to answer all other objections concerning that trade wee haveing of long tyme exercised the same,

In regard wherof wee in all humblenes implore his Majestie's gracious Favour with your honour's favourable Furtherance that our trade may bee continued unto us, And wee will give unto his Majestie for the Farme of the Impost, Increase of Subsidy and Sole Importation of Tobacco for seaven yeeres to begin at Michaelmas next 1620 (Provided alwayes that noe greater charge bee laid on the Tobacco then is at this present) these Rentes following vizt. For the first yeer's Rent to bee paid halfe yeerly att our Lady Day and at Michaelmas or within forty dayes after 16000 *l.* per annum[107] and for the sixe laste ensuing yeeres 20000 *l.* per annum, And the Rentes to bee divided by twoe severall Patentes vizt. 6000 *l.* per annum for the Impost and Increase of Subsedy dureing the said seaven yeeres And 10000 *l.* per annum for the first yeere for the sole Importation, And yf wee shall thinck fitt to continue the same then 14000 *l.* per annum for the sixe ensuing yeeres. Allsoe wee wilbee contented to take from the Virginia and Bermudos company 50,000 *lb.* of Tobacco soe it bee made marchantable, at reasonable prices, or in case the same bee not marchantable, then wee will give them liberty to make saile of the said 50000 *lb.* to their best advantage. And for any greater quantetyes the said companyes shall bring in the same to bee trans-

[106] No. 6183. The offer referred to in the beginning of the document is that of Sir Thomas Roe and others, presented Apr. 5, 1620, *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 32, 33, and the date of this document must lie between that and July 30, when the grant was authorized to be made to them. *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1619–1623, p. 170.

[107] A memorandum of Cranfield's summarized in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fourth Report*, I. 281, estimates receipts from tobacco in the next year (*i. e.*, from Roe *et als.*) at £16,000.

ported beyond the Seas, and not to bee vented in his Majestie's Kingdome of England or Dominion of Wales. And yf this our offer may bee accepted of wee will tender such Articles for the Patentes to bee drawne up by as is fitt for his Majesties service and reasonable for us to have.

Alsoe wee humbly desire that the Patent for the Garbling of Tobacco[108] may upon reasonable composition bee passed over unto us, for haveing that Patent wee will soe marke all our owne Tobacco as wee will not easely bee deceived, and soe those officers may serve for both uses, And all which wee humbly leave unto your honours further considerations.

[*Endorsed by Cranfield:*] Offer for Impost Tobacko.

XXIX. IMPORTATIONS OF TOBACCO, SEPTEMBER 29, 1614, TO SEPTEMBER 29, 1621.[109]

An abstracte of what Spanish Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco hath bin imported into the Porte of London and the Out-Portes from Michaelmas 1614 to Michaelmas 1621, vizt.

		Spanish	Virginia and Bermudos		Spanish	Virginia and Bermudos
		100926	00000		01351	0000
1615		56925	02300		01406	0200
1616		45279	18839		01797	0000
1617		57058	49518		08371	0150
1618	London	119634	45764	Out-Portes	08493	0000
1619		97149	117981		12248	1040
1620		159873	73777		14520	0000
1621						
		636844	308179		48186	1390

The Medium per annum of Spanish Tobacco in London and the Outportes is	97861 3/7
The Medium per annum of the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco etc. is	44223 1/7
Some Totall	142084 4/7

97861 3/7 *lb.* of Spanish Tobacco at ii *s.* per pound[110]

[108] Garbling was governmental inspection, for the protection of the consumer. A patent for the office of garbling tobacco for thirty years was granted May 25, 1619, to Francis Nicholls and others. *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1619–1623, p. 47.

[109] No. 6161.

[110] This line and the next are calculations of the impost on the above average annual quantities, the Spanish at 2 s., the ordinary rate (Beer, p. 109), that of Virginia and Bermuda at the rate of 1 s. to which the company had agreed on Jan. 8, 1620 (*Records*, I. 291). The third line calculates the five per cent. subsidy on the whole, at the rate of 6 d. a pound.

is	9786 . 03 . 00
44223 1/7 *lb.* of Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco at i *s.* per lb. is	2211 . 03 . 02
	11997 . 06 . 02
142085 at vi *d.* per Pound is	3552 . 02 . 06

[*Endorsed:*] The medium of Tobacco imported into the port of London and Out-portes for vii yeares endinge at Michaelmas 1621.

[*A duplicate, doc. no. 6171,*[111] *has the following addition, in the handwriting of Richard Willis, but signed by his patron:*] 30 June 1622. Lett distinction be made, how much of this tobacco is Leafe Tobacco, and how much is Rowle and Pudding Tobacco; because the rates are severall. L. CRANFEILDE.

XXX. NOTES OF RICHARD WILLIS CONCERNING TOBACCO, 1621(?).[112]

A proclamation to prohibit the plantinge of Tobacco in Ireland with reference to the proclamation[113] and a transcript of the like to be sent with the King's warrant.

A proclamation accordinge to the old forme, for restrayning the Importation of Tobacco into Ireland or to do it by letters as effectuall; and therin to advise with Mr. Attorney.

A letter to the Kinge to take notice of the wronge of exporting the Virginia Tobacco into the Low Contryes; and to procure his Majesties express letters to both the Companies that the plantations to prohibit theyr uttering of any other comodities then in England and Ireland.

To speak with Geles[114] for compounding aboute the seisures of Tobacco, at the rate of the former composition.

To take some course that the patent of Importation of Tobacco in Ireland may not prejudice the contract with the plantacions.

To send the warrant to Mr. Attorney for dispatch of the patent.

The Patent for Garbling the Tobacco to be provided for, in some fytt and convenyent manner.

[*Endorsed:*] Tobacco.

111 No. 6161 is marked in red ink as no. 7, no. 6171 as no. 18, and these are the numbers by which Peckard described them when he borrowed them from the Duke of Dorset. *Life of Nicholas Ferrar,* p. 161.

112 No. 6189. The date must lie between July 18, 1620, when the company resolved to send surplus tobacco to the Netherlands (*Records,* I. 406, 422) and the complaints of the Privy Council thereon, Oct. 12, 1621 (I. 526).

113 *I. e.,* to the English proclamation of Dec. 30, 1619; see note 104, above.

114 Probably Richard Gyles of doc. no. XXXIV.

XXX. DRAFT AGREEMENT FOR THE FARM OF TOBACCO, NOVEMBER 19, 1621.[115]

Agreementes made with William Burton and Peter Sanderson concerning the Tobacco farme.

19 November, 1621.

They are to have in farme the Impost and sole Importacion of all tobacco (except that which comes from Virginia and Bermudos) for one wholl yeare from Michaelmas last 1621 at Eight Thousand pounds rent payable half yeerlie at the Anunciacion and Michaelmas or within 40 daies after either feast.

They are to be lymitted not to exceede the proportion of Three skore thousand waight in the wholl upon this bargaine. And if they or any for them their partners or factors bring in more, they are to paie ii *s.* vi *d.* impost upon everie pounde that shall exceede that proportion over and above the Rent aforesaid.

To the ende there maie be the better reckoninge kept for the Kinge, of what shalbe brought in upon this Contract, the same shalbe unladen in the port of London onelie; except by extremyty of wether at Sea, they be dryven into anie other Port; and in that case to give notice to the Kinge's officers, before they unlade.

They are to have such covenantes for assistance with libertie to assigne bondes to the Kinge as is usuall in Grauntes of like nature: as also to serch seize and carrie to the Kinge's storehouse at the Custome house any Tobacco imported contrary to this priviledge.

[*Reference to attorney general for preparation of patent:*] Mr. Attorney—I pray you drawe up a Bill for his majesties signature to warrant the passing of this Graunt to the parties abovenamed.

The fee of 150 *l.* per annum graunted to Mr. Abraham Jacob out of the Tobacco by former letters patentes,[116] is to be contynued unto him, accordinge to his Majesties said graunt therof.

[*Endorsed:*] 29 November 1621, Agreement for the farme of tobacco.

XXXII. PROPOSALS AS TO LICENSING RETAILERS, 1622.[117]

The conditions and articles of agreement betwixt the King's Majestie and the undertakers for the granting of lisenses to all those that shall sell or retaile Tobacco within his Majestie's dominions of England and Wales.

[115] No. 6193. Roe and his associates gave up their contract at Michaelmas 1621, and Abraham Jacob took it at a reduced rate. *Records of Va. Co.*, II. 68. Dec. 4, 1621, Cranfield wrote to Buckingham, "I have agreed with the farmers of tobacco for this year, for £8000, and have told them to bring in but threescore thousand weight, and have left the Virginia and Bowrmoothes free to bring in without restraint, and his Majesty to have the benefit of the impost. This is £2000 more than could be gotten by the Lords at Hampton Court". Goodman, *Court of King James the First*, II. 211.

[116] As collector. See doc. no. XXVI., and note 100.

[117] No. 6202. The licensing of retailers of tobacco was not actually carried into effect till 1633; its history is given in Beer, *Origins*, pp. 160–165.

1. First that a Proclamation bee granted from his Majestie that no Alehouse Tipling or victualing house nor any parson[118] of what trade or condition soever shall vente sell utter or retayle in there houses shops or warehouses any Tobacco of any kinde from [*date blank*] next without his Majestie's spetiall graunte or lisence upon paine of his Majestie's high displeasure and of such further punishment as shalbe inflicted upon him or them so offending in his Majestie's highe courte of Starre Chamber.

2. That also those persons so lisensed to have pouer and authoritie to sease upon all suche Tobacco as theye shall finde unsealed by such a seale appoynted by his Majestie or soulde without lisenses the one moyetie thereof to his Majestie the other parte for the seasor or informer.

3. That his Majestie assume unto himselfe by the said proclamation that this Tobacco to bee his owne commoditie by the lawe and costome of this his kingdome in regarde it is neither victum nor vestitutum.[119]

4. That this buysines be caryed by a commission graunted by certaine commissioners under the greate seale whome his Majestie shall athorise or appoynte giving them or any of them full pouer and athoritie together with such undertakers as his Majestie shall so assine there unto to give and grante lisences to suche parsons as they shall thinke fitt and the said undertakers hereof only to levie take and receive such fines somes or somes of money as thie in there wisdomes shall thinke fitt and expedient in that behalfe.

5. That there bee pouer and authoritie graunted to the undertakers under the greate seale to appoynte commissioners whome theye shall please to send abroade into any Cittie Toune or Villadge in his Majestie's Dominions of England and Wayles and there to grante lisences and to levy and reseive such fines and somes of mony as theye shall thinke fitt and reasnable.

6. That the said lisence maye bee granted to continue for lives or 21 yeeres as the undertakers shall thinke expeidient in theire discretions for the better improvement of this buysines for his Majesties future benefitt and proffitt.

7. That a seale bee graunted by his Majestie to the undertakers for the sealing of the aforesaid lisence.

8. That if it shall so happen by a Parlament or otherwise the undertakers shalbe hindred in theire proceedings according to the true tenure and meaning hereof or bee withstood by any opposition or injunction and not have redresse against the opposers thereof that then and at such times the undertakers' Rente to his Majestie shall sease and determine without ther further troble or molestacion.

9. That his Majestie's Rente to begine the 25th of Marche next and so to continue for three yeeres.

10. That the undertakers shalbee bounde to paye unto his Majestie the some of five thousand pounds per annum to be paid at 2 equall payments

[118] Person.

[119] Meaning, neither *victus* nor *vestitus*.

vizt. 2500 pound at Michaelmas and 2500 pounde at our Lady dayes or within 40 dayes after.

11. That the Proclamation bee forthwith putt in execution and proclaymed and the undertakers to have the benefitt of the interim to settle the buysines.

[*Endorsed by Cranfield:*] Concerning the lycensing to sell tobacko.

XXXIII. NOTES RESPECTING THE FARMERS OF TOBACCO, JANUARY 4, 1622.[120]

Le 4th of January 1621

Securitie to be tendered for the rent of Tobacco beinge 8000 *l.* vidz. whereof 500 *l.* to be reserved for defalcacions for certayne Tobacco brought in by the Irishe men from the Amazones[121] and the fee of 150 *l.* to Abraham Jacob, esquier.

It is humbly desired to have letters of assistants for serche and seazure of Tobacco which is refused. Also it is desired that Warrants from my Lord Treasurer to all the Portes of England for assistants of those deputies as shalbe imployed in this service may be granted.

The names of the securitie as followeth

Abraham Jacob esquier
Clement Harby merchant *skynner*
John Wiseman merchant *merchant tayler*
George Langham merchant *merchant tayler*
Robert Oxwicke merchant *draper*[122]
Henry Lee merchant *grocer*
Thomas Hampson merchant *haberdasher*

These thinges beinge performed the undertakers for the importacion of tobacco are ready to seale this securitie either to his Majestie or to whom your Lordship shall appoynt accordinge to such dayes and tymes as are lymited in the letters pattents.

More it is humbly desired that whereas there is a shipp lately arrived that hath brought great store of Tobacco from the Bermudos, whereof it is supposed by reason of a Racke of a Spanishe Shipp[123] uppon the sayd Iland that there is brought over in this Bermudo shipp some good quantitie of Weste India tobacco: In regard whereof the undertakers doe humbly desire that letters may be written downe to the Custome house, not to suffer this Tobacco to be delivered before such tyme as the sayd Tobacco be viewed by some appoynted by the undertakers to distingwishe the same,

120 No. 6188. See doc. no. XXXI. The words in italics are in the handwriting of Richard Willis.

121 By Capt. Roger North, some at least of whose investors were Irish. See *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 31–48, *passim.*

122 See no. XI., *ad fin.*

123 The *San Antonio.* Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 240, 241, 257; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 51–53.

and if any be fownd, to make stay therof, as likewise for all shippes that shall come from Virginia and Bermudos duringe the tearme of theire contracte.

[*Endorsed:*] Somer Islands.

[*There are also the following notes in the hand of Richard Willis:*]

Tobacco Farmers to be bound to Mr. Heryott.[124]

The want of powder in the Tower

King's Sedgmore

Mr. Auditor Gofton's[125] patent stayd

Lord Privy Seale's docquet

Mr. Harby for Mr. Wright

Mr. Duquester's letter

Mr. Townley a shoemaker over against the Black Spred Eagle in Little Drury Lane.

XXXIV. ROGER HALL TO RICHARD GYLES, APRIL 16, 1622.[126]

YARMOUTH the 16th of Aperell 1622

Ser

My comendations unto you beinge remembered Theise ar to sartifie you that I sent you the last weeke a letter concerninge som sarfese[127] which Hill and I did at Norwich for tobaco which wee seased beinge unsealled contrary to the prokllymacion. Wee toke away from on[128] William Pleassantes 36 *lb.* of tobacow which was unesealled and from Enucke Verpost 22 *lb.* and from on Richard Mallom 13¼ *lb.* besids wee seased in on Jeames Fathering's alias Farthering howse (as wee take it his nam is so) som 60 *lb.* of tobaco and upwards which was unsealled But beinge resisted by hym wee went unto the maior of Norwich for to crav his aide and asistancs and he maeid a quicion[129] of our unabelnes whether wee wer abell for to anser the tobacow so seased by us or no; wee shewed hym first the procklimacion and the lord thresorer's writ of assistanc and the pattenties' deputation wher unpon he would do this for to undertake that the tobaco should be forthcomynge in the morning it beinge som what in the evening wee wer constarned[130] so to do. The next morninge when wee cam to the maior he had the tobacow in his howse and bed us go with hym for to see it wayed for wee should not have it But he would

[124] George Herriot held the farm of sugars. Old *Parl. Hist.*, VI. 152, 156, 171–172, 256; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1619–1623, p. 193.

[125] Sir Francis Gofton, auditor of the imprest in the exchequer.

[126] No. 6191. Probably the Richard Giles who in 1616 had a patent for ferreting out and burning false dye-woods. *Remembrancia*, pp. 120–122; *Cal. St. P. Dom.*, 1611–1618, p. 407.

[127] Service.

[128] One.

[129] Question.

[130] Constrained.

keepe it for the Kinge and the partie said ther was not Brot but 45 *lb.* which remanes in Mr. maior's hand. I pray if the seasur be good as I thinke it take a course that wee may comand the tobaco from Mr. Maior. the parties which oweth the tobaco dose threten us much for to arest us with prosses the next tearm for takinge away of ther tobaco. I pray advise me what course I shall take and what shalbe don with this tobaco which wee touke from them as also that which is in the maiore's hands, and so in haste I rest

Yours to comand
ROGER HALL.

[P. S.] I pray remember Mr. Tesmound's pack for to send order for the dellivery of it as soon as may be.

[*Endorsed:*] 23 Aprill 1622, From Roger Hall aboute tobaccoe.

[*Addressed:*] To his Loving Friende Mr. Richard Gyles
at the Sign of the Anworth in Thames Street
near Somers Key deliver this in London.

[*The following unsigned draft warrant is attached to the foregoing:*] After my harty comendacions, Whereas I am informed that diverse percells of Tobaccoe have bene found by the officers and Farmers' deputies of Yarmouth unsealed in the city of Norwich which they seized as goodes uncustomed and part therof was detained from them being the goodes of James Fatheringes alias Farthinge who as it seemeth much dependeth upon your favour and assistance to save his tobacco for the officers haveinge seized lx *l.* waight or thereaboutes as I am informed were not permitted to take the same into the custodie as is usuall for matters concerning his majesties customs but that the same was taken into your possession as a favour to the said Fatherings alias Farthing and the officers rather discoraged then assisted by you as also more then halfe the tobaccoe detained by you and (as they suppose) changed for Virgenia or Bermuda tobaccoe instead of Spanish Tobaccoe, in regard wherof these are to will and require you to take such order as the whole quantety of tobaccoe be delivered to the officers that seized the same and that you give your best assistance for his Majesties service in all things touching the importacion of tobaccoe And soe I bidd you hartely farewell

Whitehall this [*blank*]
Your loveing freind
[*Unsigned.*]

To my loveing freind the
Maior of the city of Norwich

XXXV. NOTE OF RESISTANCE TO GARBLING, MAY 28, 1622.[131]

The 28th May 1622

The 27th present there did attend two appoynted for the garbling and sealinge that Tabbacco brought in by Mr. Hampson and the rest of the

[131] No. 6223. See no. XXVIII., note 108. The names of Wiseman, Hampson, and Oxwicke appear in no. XXXIII., that of Oxwicke also in no. XI.

contractors, sethence the 29th of September last according to ther owen desyre and appoyntment the 24th of this instant. Notwithstanding thes heireunder named and as they say with consent of the rest doe both refuse to have the sayd tabbacco garbled and also to pay the 4 *d.* per pound dewe for the garbling thereof.

Mr. Anys
Mr. Wyseman
Mr. Hampson
Mr. Borne
Mr. Charlton
Mr. Oxewicke
Mr. Sanborne

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] From Bridgwater.

Edward Crathen of Merton 500 quarters of wheate beanes and barly to be transported into Cornewall or Wales where he shall have best commoditye.

XXXVI. COMPLAINT OF RICHARD YOUNG, AND REPLY, JUNE, 1622.[132]

The losses of Richard Younge, Grocer, by the Patentees of Tobacco and their Deputies.

1. They took awaie in June 1621 42½ *li.* of Tobacco which cost xi *s.* per *li.* which by reason of their longe and ill keeping it 6 monethes beecame spoiled soe that I was compelled to sell it for ii *s.* vi *d.* per *li.* in which I loste	xviii *li.*	i *s.*	iii *d.*
2. Delivered them in money to have the same againe		viii *s.*	
3. More taken awaie at the same time xi ownces of an other sorte which I never had againe worth		iiii *s.*	
4. More taken from mee two rolles of 18 *li.* weight for the which I can prove the custome to bee paid and yet am forced to sue them for the same in thexchequer then worth x *s.* per *li.* as the informer himself offred for it	ix *li.*		
5. The charges of that suite allreadie	iii *li.*		
6. Spent in the marshallseas[133]	v *li.*		
7. To the messenger for his fees	v *li.*		
	xxxx *li.*	xiii *s.*	iii *d.*

[132] No. 6199.

[133] A prison in Southwark, for debtors, etc., attached to the Marshalsea court (court of the lord steward and marshal).

Moreover they tooke away xix *li.* of rich leafe which cost xxx *s.* per *li.* by the wante of which I lost the custome of 2 loades and others of worth which was the best of my livinge.

[*Reference by the Lord Treasurer:*] June 30, 1622. Let the farmers for the importation of tobacco see theis, and give there present answere herein. L. CRANFEILDE.

Right Honorable

The sole importacion of Tobacco was grownded uppon his Majesties proclamacion bearinge date the xx'th day of June[134] anno domini 1620 wherby all Spanishe Tobacco beinge fownd unsealed after the x'th day of July followinge is forfeited.

1. First for the 42½ powndes of tobacco or thereaboutes heare mentioned, the same was fownd unsealed ten monethes or thereaboutes after the tyme lymited in the proclamacion and for the lyinge of it sixe monethes it was his owne fawlte; in that uppon the first stay therof he was offered uppon makinge affadavitt that the custome was payd he should have his Tobacco delivered him; and as soone as he had made oathe, the same was soe delivered.

2. Secondly if he gave to the officers that went up and downe to helpe to cleare his Tobacco viii *s.* it is more then wee knowe, yet they might well deserve it.

3. Thirdly if he wanted 11 *ozs.* of his waight it may very well be true, for wee understand he gave of his owne free will 11 *ozs.* of Virginia Tobacco unto the officers when he tooke the rest away.

4. And for the 18 poundes of Tobacco the same was brought into Southwork to one Hockley his howse by a fellowe in the habitt of a saylor alleadginge he brought the same out of Spayne, and there offered it to be sould which beinge unsealed the same was theare sealed, and is by informacion put into the Excheker wheare he may have a legall tryall as in all other cases of that nature for the safety of his Majesties Customes.

5, 6, 7. The seaverall charges he hath bin at, it is his owne faulte, and by his owne meanes beinge refractory to his Majesties proclamacion, graunt, and your Honour's warrant, in abusinge the officers when they came to doe theare service, and by force tooke, and yet deteyneth the Tobacco they fownd in his custodye beinge 53 poundes sealed in a bagge, which wee humbly desire may be delivered to his Majestie's use and those as seazed the same; for by his meanes and such as he is, the whole bussines hath soe far suffered, as the companies are likely to be great loasers and his Majestie much wronged in the tyme to come.

And if doubte be made of the truth of this certificate wee are ready by wittnes to prove it by oathe. All which wee humbly leave to your Lordship's grave consideracion.

[134] June 29, not 20. Am. Antiq. Soc., *Royal Proclamations*, pp. 27–31.

XXXVII. REPLICATION OF RICHARD YOUNG, JUNE 17, 1622.[135]

The replication of Richard Young to the answere made by the Farmers for the Importacion of Tobacco and their deputies to his former objeccions.

1. By way of affirmacion of his former objeccions, he doth averre and wilbe ready to prove them to be all true, as appeareth in that they deny not in their answere, any one of the objeccions, but excuse them by evasions and colour their owne fraudes and deceiptes with circumstance. And whereas they answere that he might have had his 42½ *lb.* of Tobacco againe upon affidavit that the Custome was paid, This Repliant affirmeth that in the presence of 8 or 10 of the Farmers by himselfe and the parties of whome he bought the same, he offred to prove the Custome thereof was paid, and that the same was of a sort of Tobacco, which they themselves knewe was lawfully bought.

2. Whereas they alledge, that if he gave to their officers that went up and downe to help to cleere his Tobacco viii *s.* it was more then they knewe, yet they might well deserve it, He replyeth that the labour was on his part, for that they made him (to his greate hindrance, losse of time and expences of money) attend them many daies which they clayme as a duety from every man that's in their power to deale with, neither was it a free guift from this Repliant, for that they would have scrued from him 5 *l.* before they would yeild, (as he can manifest under the handes and seales of foure of them besides other witnesses).

3. That he wanted 11 ounces of his waight which they pretend he gave way of his owne free will to the officers when he tooke away the rest, He affirmeth that he never had it to give, after they first tooke it away, neither would any of them acknowledge the haveinge thireof but shifted it of[136] one to another.

4. Whereas they alledge, he may have a legall triall in the Exchequer for the 18 *lb.* weight of Tobacco: He confesseth it to be true, but not without the losse of halfe as much as the Tobacco is worth, besides the Tobacco itselfe wilbe cleane spoyled, before he shall obteyne the same tryall, whereas otherwise he might have had money for the same in his purse long since.

5, 6, 7ly. Whereas they say his severall charges hath beene by his owne fault and by his owne meanes, being refractory to his Majestie's proclamacion, graunt, and your Honour's warrant in abusinge the officers when they came to doe their service, he replyeth first that all this expence and trouble is risen upon him by their negligence in refusing to seale that Tobacco, which himselfe bought of them and indeed it is their pollicie, for they refuse to seale three kindes of lawfull Tobacco which they by his Majestie's proclamacion are comaunded to seale, vizt. all Virginia and Burmothoes Tobacco which they receive benefit by, likewise all such

[135] No. 6195.
[136] Off.

Spanish tobacco as they seize or take composicion for, and oft times as in this particuler, the very Tobacco that is bought of themselves, whereby ensueth such a confusion, that the lawfull is not to be knowne from the unlawfull whereby they after finding the same Tobaccoes unsealed in other mend's [*sic*] handes (though bought of themselves or otherwise allowed by them) they take that advantage thereof that they seize the same againe to bring a double benifitt to themselves which hath produced all this trouble and charge to this Repliant through their wilfull refusall to seale the same and so consequently he was noe way refractory to his Majestie's proclamacion or graunt, but the guilt thereof remaines entyrely in themselves and for his obedience to your Honour's warrant and the officers the Constable and all his servantes wilbe ready to depose, that he offered them no violence: But was so farr from resisting or opposing authority that he willingly submitted himselfe to them, weighed the Tobacco for them, lent them a bagg, suffred them to seale it up with their owne signetts, and offred them the security of any of his neighbours for the producinge of the same, whensoever they or any of them should call for it. And for that one of them hath made oath, that he had bloud drawne of him, the same was onely a scratch against the chest by his owne suddeyne catching of the Tobacco from the same.

And so humbly submitting himselfe to your Honour not doubting but (he beeing ready to make proofe of the truthe of all this) you will vouchsafe him that releife for theis his wronges that the equity of his cause shall meritt, And (as in duety bound) he will ever pray for your Honours happines.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Received 17 June 1622. Richard Yonge's Replication to the Tobacco Farmers.

XXXVIII. PETITION OF THOMAS VINCENT, 1622.[137]

To the right honourable Lyonell Earle of Middlesex
Lord High Treasurer of England

The humble petition of Tho. Vincent, the assigne of John Deargomedo de Lixbo.[138] merchant.

Humblie Sheweth: That uppon your honours licence for a quantitie of tobacco to be brought into this port paying only the customes and impost for the same as in tymes past, uppon notice whereof the said John Deargomedo hath consigned heither 2 pipes conteyning about 900 weight, the petitioner hath tendred the wonted customes and imposte but it will not be accepted without 4 *d.* per *lb.* for garbling the said Tobacco: which for that it hath not bene usuallie paid and was not knowne unto the said John Deargomedo, your petitioner regarding his creditt and the profitt of the

[137] No. 6169. The date must be subsequent to Sept. 17, 1622, when Cranfield was created earl of Middlesex.

[138] Lisbon.

said Spanish merchant forbeareth to paie the same untill your Lordships pleasure be further knowne therein.

Maie it therfore please your honour to give order that the said Tobacco maie bee landed upon payment of the old duties: without anie other duties.

And your petitioner shall ever pray etc.

[*Endorsed by Richard Willis:*] A Spanish Marchant concerning the garbling of Tobacco.

XXXIX. CERTIFICATES RESPECTING TOBACCO, JANUARY 14, FEBRUARY 22, 1623.[139]

May yt please your good lordship it doth plainely appeare unto us upon examynacion of the merchant's Factor and the oath heerunto annexed that the Tobacco in this peticion mencioned, was never intended to be landed within this Realme of England, but directly to be transported into Ireland as is aleaged Soe as in our opynions yt may please your Lordship to gyve order for the redelyvery of the said tobacco upon caution taken that the same shalbe shipped out of this Kingdome of England and not sold within this Realme all which wee humbly refer to your Lordship's further consideration.

Customehouse the xiiii'th January 1622

JON. HOLLOWAY, Comptroller.[140]
RIC. CARWARDEN, Su.[141] ABRAHAM JACOBB, Farmer.

Wee the farmers of his Majesties Customes are contented that th'affore saide Tobacco shall passe without payinge custome or Impost provided good Caution be given for th'exportinge of yt out of this Kingdome, dated this xxii° February, 1622.

HENRIE GARWAIE, Farmer.[142] ABRAHAM JACOBB, Farmer.

[*Endorsed:*] January xiiii'th 1622. Certificat of the farmers and officers of his majesties customes concerning Mr. Wood's Tobacco brought into Hull.

XL. CERTIFICATE RESPECTING TOBACCO, FEBRUARY 19, 1623.[143]

Right honorable

Upon examinacion of this peticion wee can find no likelihood that ther was any intent to land the Tobacco in England as appeareth by the affa-

[139] No. 6196.

[140] Apparently the Mr. Holloway who gave the company its balloting-box, and was thereupon made a member. *Records,* I. 315.

[141] Richard Carwarden, surveyor of the customs, as his father had been at an earlier time.

[142] Afterward Sir Henry Garraway, lord mayor of London in 1640, son of a chief farmer of the customs.

[143] No. 6197.

davit annexed yet it should seme the Searcher's servant hath landed the tobacco upon imaginacion that the same was put out of one shipp into another within some of his Majestie's Ports which appeares plainely to the contrary yet the same being landed cannot againe be transported without your honor's order which must be directed to the Searcher for wee can find no cause of seizure. And for the duties outwards wee the farmers are satisfied and soe leave the peticioners to your honor's further directions and humblie take leave. Custome house, London this 19th February, 1622.

Jo. Wolstenholme, Collector.[144]
Jon. Holloway, Comptroller.
Richard Heney, Comptroller.
Abraham Jacobb, farmer.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Certificat of the officers and Farmers concerning some Tobacco to bee exported.

[144] Sir John Wolstenholme, one of the farmers of the customs, and son of a customs official, was one of the chief members of the Virginia Company and an ardent promoter of voyages of exploration, especially for the northwest passage. Robinson and Brewster applied to him to intercede with the Council; letter of 1618 in Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation* (ed. Ford), I, 77, 82, 85.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

L'Humanité Préhistorique: Esquisse de Préhistoire Générale, avec 1300 Figures et Cartes dans le Texte. Par JACQUES DE MORGAN, Ancien Directeur Général des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Ancien Délégué Général en Perse du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1921. Pp. xix, 330. 15 fr.)

THIS book is the second number of a library of one hundred volumes, the *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique*. The first series of twenty-five volumes is devoted to pre-history and proto-history. M. de Morgan has already contributed generously to our knowledge of the earliest cultures of Egypt and the nearer East. He is qualified to take a cosmopolitan view of his vast subject. The book is divided into three parts: 1, "The Evolution of Industries"; 2, "The Life of Prehistoric Man"; 3, "The Intellectual Development and Mutual Relations of Peoples". It covers the whole of prehistoric time and life in all their aspects; not only in Europe, but with glances toward the almost unexplored regions of Asia and Africa, and even of America. The whole panorama is condensed in a volume of 330 pages, where space is also found for nearly two hundred plates. It is certainly an ambitious and hazardous undertaking. The author has made good use of his space. Both as explorer and student M. de Morgan speaks with authority. His conclusions have crystallized out of immediate acquaintance. He writes on a vast variety of subjects with a freedom, a vigor, and a certain bold caution which is always refreshing. We may shake our heads over his condensed arguments, where space does not allow even an attempt at completeness. But he always interests or fascinates us. We differ from him regretfully. The general tone of the book is cautious, that of a man who has made a world of facts the basis of his thought, who feels the narrowness and weakness of the foundations of many of our present theories, and warns us against premature and hasty generalizations. In his description of Lower Palaeolithic art and implements he shows us the world-wide distribution and general similarity of form of the earliest axes in Europe, Asia, and America. He doubts the probability or possibility of any single centre of their origin, and therefore of their chronological sequence. Hence Chellean, Acheulian, and Mousterian cultures represent not epochs but "sub-industries", forms of work, contemporaneous, dictated by local needs and aptitudes. He seems also to apply this to limited areas and provinces, like northern

Europe, where his argument is less convincing. Perhaps we have no right to expect that the surveyor of so wide a field can always find space to explain why and where the general rule fails to apply to details. The warning is certainly wise and timely.

The few pages devoted to Egyptian proto-history bristle with interesting suggestions. He objects to the current modern chronology as not allowing sufficient time for the successive stages of progress. His suggestion concerning Chaldaean or Asiatic influences on the earliest Egyptian development should attract the attention of Egyptologists, and will arouse opposition of believers in the autochthonous character of its civilization.

The author's survey of prehistoric pottery is less satisfactory. He seems to have despaired of finding any thread on which he can arrange and string his facts. Perhaps it could not be otherwise with so vast a subject. His account of the probable place of origin of the earliest use of metals might have been clearer even with our present meagre information. His treatment of the origin of the dolmen is excellent. His fifteen pages of "conclusions" summarize well the chief results of his study. The author has undertaken a most difficult task and is to be congratulated on his success. He has given us an excellent introduction to a field of surpassing interest and of steadily increasing importance to every student who would see and understand the trend and meaning of history.

Les Indo-Européens: Préhistoire des Langues, des Mœurs, et des Croyances de l'Europe. Par ALBERT CARNOY, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. [Collection Lovanium III.] (Brussels and Paris: Vromant et Cie. 1921. Pp. 256. 7 fr.)

THIS is the first modern book on its subject, by a competent scholar, in the French language; and there is even yet none in English. It should therefore be welcomed, especially by those who do not read German easily. It is much more compact than the similar German works of Schrader, Hirt, or Feist—a great advantage to those who wish merely a layman's general orientation. To such, one can recommend heartily the chapters in which, in a few clear strokes, are sketched the outlines of prehistoric Indo-European culture, as they appear to present-day philologists. Beyond these, we find the usual discussions of the original home (Carnoy, following Schrader, puts it in southern Russia; he is particularly sure that it lay eastward, and was not in Germany), and of the race of the primal Indo-Europeans, which he connects with the brachycephalic "Alpine" stock, not the dolichocephalic "Nordic", as generally assumed.[1] No proposed solution of either of these questions can command our confidence at present. Of course Carnoy does not confuse race with language; he means only the speakers of the *Ursprache*. But the fact is that, for aught we know or probably ever shall know, they may have been

[1] Similar views have been expressed, though more hesitantly, by others, *e.g.*, De Michelis, *L'Origine degli Indo-Europei* (Turin, 1903).

nearly as mixed in race as the peoples of Central Europe to-day. Further speculation seems hardly fruitful. And the chapter on "Le Caractère des Indo-Européens: leur Rôle dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation" might better have been omitted, in the reviewer's opinion.

One-third of the book deals with Indo-European religion—the author's predominant interest. Here he necessarily relies largely on comparisons of ideas, not of words. The results are less conclusive, as the author usually, though not always,[2] recognizes. Yet perhaps the most stimulating and original features of the book are found in this part.

Misprints are not rare, nor are minor slips for which the printer cannot be blamed. Greater care in small matters might have been expected from so good a scholar.[3] For the "general reader" these are unimportant, as they seldom vitiate the conclusions drawn.

Carnoy's style combines condensation with perfect lucidity, and makes the book one which anyone can not only understand, but enjoy.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

Invention, the Master-Key to Progress. By Rear-Admiral BRADLEY A. FISKE, LL.D., United States Navy. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1921. Pp. ix, 356. $4.00.)

THIS is a remarkable book, noteworthy alike for the range of its subject-matter, for the breadth of its views, for the wealth of its illustrative materials, and for the clearness with which the author develops his arguments. The fact should be emphasized, however, for the benefit of the prospective reader, that the term "invention" is used in no narrow sense, and least of all in the popular sense of something which leads to riches by way of letters-patent or other forms of monopoly. To the author the term applies to the entire group of activities that have led to discoveries and advances in man's slow ascent from barbarism to civilization. To him the creative works of artists, poets, philosophers, statesmen,

[2] On p. 172 we are told that "mythologists now agree" that Mitra was originally not a sun-god. Contrast Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda,* p. 182: "The *one solid point* in the genesis of these myths is the solar character of the Aryan Mitra." Yet both Carnoy and Bloomfield are sober and responsible scholars, and specialists in Indo-Iranian mythology!

[3] P. 12, "russ. *ogni*", read "anc. slav. *ognĭ*"; p. 13, Sanskrit "*tishtâmi, tishtâsi, tishtâti*", read *tiṣṭhâmi, tiṣṭhăsi, tiṣṭhăti*; p. 19, "anc. slav. *seto*", read *sŭto*; p. 83, "anc. slave *vasna*", read *vesna*; p. 88, "*ficus religiosa*", read *f. infectoria*; p. 112, *tashta* is Iranian, not Sanskrit; p. 119, "*carbhuta*", read *cirbhata* or *carbhata*; p. 151, "sansc. *sabhâ*" means not "réunion de villages" but "meeting" (of people, not villages), and certainly does not help to prove that the IEs. had the concept of a "nation" (the old identification with German *Sippe* is, moreover, more than doubtful); Lithuanians are confounded with Letts (pp. 170, 187); p. 199, "Père Volga" should be "Mère Volga" (as correctly on p. 75); etc. Diacritical marks are employed or dispensed with seemingly at random. A peculiarly unfortunate misprint occurs p. 13, line 2, "*sti*" for *nti*.

military commanders, captains of industry, and the designers and builders of canals, roads, and engines of construction and destruction are all, in appropriate measures, to be classed among the inventions of men. In this widely inclusive sense, inventions are held by the author to have been, and to be, the main factors in the evolution of mankind, and hence worthy of special attention by us and by our successors.

The aims of the book are set forth briefly by the author in the first paragraph of his preface:

To show that inventors have accomplished more than most persons realize, not only in bringing forth new mechanisms, but in doing creative work in many walks of life, is, in part, the object of this book. To suggest what they may do, if properly encouraged, is its main intention. For, since it is to inventors mainly that we owe all that civilization is, it is to inventors mainly that we must look for all that civilization can be made to be.

Again, on p. 8, in his account of invention in primitive times, the author makes plain that his vision is not limited by any special field of endeavor:

It may be pointed out, however, that the inventors of mechanical appliances are not the only men to whom original conceptions come; for original conceptions evidently come to the poets, the novelists, the musical composers, the artists, the strategists, the explorers, the statesmen, the philosophers, the founders of religions and to the initiators of all enterprises great and small.

The book consists of sixteen chapters, each with a clearly suggestive title. Some of these, without being sensational or sententious, are so striking as to justify quotation here: IV. Invention in Rome: its Rise and Fall; V. Invention of the Gun and of Printing; VIII. The Age of Steam, Napoleon and Nelson; XI. Invention and Growth of Liberal Government, and American Civil War; XIII. The Conquest of the Ether—Rise of Japan and the United States; XV. The Machine of Civilization, and the Dangerous Ignorance concerning it shown by Statesmen.

What the author has to say in the last two chapters of his book is of profound significance to the future of our race. He has shown that what he calls "the Machine of Civilization" is a highly complex aggregate, requiring many specialists of many kinds to keep it in running order. But while this aggregate is growing daily in complexity and in the delicacy of adjustment of its parts, the author asserts there has been no corresponding growth in the capacities of the men who are actually in charge of the "Machine". Thus he writes, p. 335:

Now it is to the hands of statesmen of each country that the actual management of the Machine of Civilization is committed. Yet it is a well-known fact that, although there are but few men in the world so wise and learned that they know much about the Machine or any of its parts, it is not from the wise and the learned class that the great officials of government are selected!

This fact [he continues, p. 336] demands attention. Of what avail is it to train men to handle the separate parts of the Machine, if the Machine as a whole is to be handled by untrained men? Of what avail is it to train engineers, warriors, priests, physicians, lawyers, and merchants to handle their several parts, if the Machine as a whole is to be handled by statesmen who have not been trained to handle it?

These are pertinent questions at the present epoch, especially in view of recent governmental experiences, demonstrating, many are coming to think, the inadequacy of the administrative parts of governmental machinery. We have "mulled through" the recent crisis, but civilization must ultimately break down, according to our author, unless we are able to secure a higher degree of competence on the part of the men we choose to direct our affairs.

The book deserves to be widely read. Although of necessity fragmentary, since it alludes to a great variety of topics and to a large number of individuals, it is full of fruitful ideas set forth in vigorous terms. We may not approve altogether the author's style or his conclusions, but it must be admitted that his style is always clear and that his conclusions are generally sound.

The volume is supplied with a good index.

R. S. Woodward.

Terrestrial and Celestial Globes: their History and Construction. By Edward Luther Stevenson, Ph.D., LL.D. In two volumes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 218; xi, 291. $12.00.)

This work is by America's foremost historical geographer and cartographer. It is the first detailed work of its kind in English and it is the only extensive historical treatise on terrestrial and celestial globes in any language. The narrative reads easily. With the illustrations in juxtaposition, one may read as if listening to a series of lectures by an enthusiastic lecturer. There are 168 illustrations and twelve tail-pieces. They are good, on the whole, considering the reductions and the difficulty of photographing for half-tone plates the curved surfaces of spheres, and are introduced to show their general appearance, rather than with the expectation of providing minutiae. However, they emphasize the opportunities for future independent monographs, with large reproductions, and critical data—desiderata which are needed "to the end of clearly setting forth their great documentary value". The important legends on the globes are cited verbatim in the text, and translations generally follow, so one may skip the Latin, German, etc., and read on in English. Stevenson has endeavored to list and briefly describe all globes "from the earliest times to the close of the eighteenth century". When he began, it was thought that about 100 extant globes might be located, and some others now lost might be mentioned; but the result of years has been the listing of more than 850 of them.

The work is divided into fourteen chapters. The "foreword" and chap. XIV., taken together, are essentially a résumé of the whole work. The logical division is: Terrestrial Globes in Antiquity (I.); Celestial Globes in Antiquity (II.); Globes constructed by the Arabs (III.); Terrestrial and Celestial Globes in the Christian Middle Ages (IV.); Globes constructed in the Early Years of the Great Geographical Discovery (V.); Globes of the Sixteenth Century (VI.–IX.); Globes of the Seventeenth Century (X.–XI.); Globes of the Eighteenth Century (XII.–XIII.); The Technic of Globe Construction—Materials and Methods (XIV.). There are references and elucidations at the end of each chapter; also a bibliographical appendix (II. 220–248) of works cited, and some others, "as a working list" for "further investigations". This is followed by an ingenious index of globes and globe makers (II. 249–273), from which can be quickly discerned the name of the maker, the kind of globe, the given or approximate date, diameter in centimetres, references to text where described, and location of extant exemplars. A general index (II. 276–291) completes this work, printed in an edition of a thousand sets by the Yale University Press on "Old Stratford" paper.

Globes were made primarily "for the useful purpose of promoting geographical and astronomical studies", and secondarily they were "considered almost essential as adornments for the libraries of princes, of prosperous patricians, and of plodding students". Time was when historians neglected the early newspapers and magazines as fundamental sources. Too much, even now, the old maps, portolan charts, and globes are neglected in the interpretation of old narratives and documents, for only by understanding the geographical ideas regnant in a period can the language of that period, as used by navigator or explorer, be assessed. From ancient times only one exemplar has survived, the Farnese celestial globe of marble, accredited to the time of Eudoxus (fourth century B. C.). The Mohammedans constructed celestial but not terrestrial globes. In the so-called Dark Ages geography and astronomy were studied and taught, "and globes celestial as well as armillary spheres, if not terrestrial globes, were constructed". Behaim's globe of 1492 is the oldest extant terrestrial globe. The post-Columbian period was at once rich in great advances in geographical depiction, first on great plane maps, and then on metal globes or globes covered with paper gores. Thereafter the terrestrial globe in Europe had diverse forms. In Italy the manuscript or metal globe had favor, whilst in northern countries copper-engraved gore maps were favored and found their climax in the wonderful works of Jodocus Hondius, the Blaeu family, and others in the Netherlands. The mountings often presented a remarkable art in themselves.

It is regrettable that a work, otherwise so fine, should be marred by numerous evidences of careless proofreading, and perhaps also of faulty copy. Some definite examples are: vol. I., p. 12, for "Philipps" read

Phillips; p. 45, in "Opus Magnus" read Maius; p. 141 (and elsewhere), for "Thatcher" read Thacher; p. 143 (and II. 230), for "E. H. Hall" read Elial F. Hall; p. 143, for "Lafrere" read Lafreri; p. 144, read Zondervan; p. 167 (Naples library), read Nazionale; p. 203, not "Leenwarden" but Leeuwarden, and not "Miller" but Muller; p. 210, for "Heriot" read Hariot; p. 211 (and II. 272), for "Plantin-Moritus" read Plantin-Moretus; vol. II., p. 94, l. 5, for "Society" read Association; p. 179 (Urbino library), read Universitaria; p. 220, George Adams, elder and younger, in confusion, and "geographical essays" should be graphical essays; p. 220 (Albertus Magnus), for "Leyden" read Lyons; p. 221, Badia and Del Badia duplications; p. 222 (Beste), read under, and 1867 accessible edition should have been added; 223 (British Museum), for "1841" read 1881; 228 (Frisius), repeated under Gemma; 228 (Garcia), for "navigation" read navegacion; 231 (Harris), for three times "et" read and, and other errors; 231 (Harrisse), his Cabot issued in 1882, not 1862; 234 (Kramm), several errors; also error in 236 (Marchese, and Medina); 238 (Navarrete); 241 (Restout); 242 (Schmidt); 246 (Vivien, and Waldseemüller).

Victor Hugo Paltsits.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Middle Ages, 395–1272. By Dana Carleton Munro, Dodge Professor of Medieval History, Princeton University. (New York: Century Company. 1921. Pp. iv, 446. $3.50.)

Professor Munro's *The Middle Ages* forms the fourth volume in the *Century* series of which Professor George L. Burr is the general editor and of which so far only this and the volume by Professor Bourne on the Revolutionary period have appeared. Its general character and purpose are thus obviously dictated by the scheme of the series as a whole. It is a text-book, but it is not a book of texts. It aims to tell something about almost everything, to give a current narrative of events in all important countries, including England, and also to deal specially with institutions, social, religious, economic, and intellectual. Of the thirty-three chapters, six are thus set apart for such subjects as the nobles, the peasants, towns and trade, monasticism, heresy and the friars, the universities, and feudalism. The remaining chapters follow the general course of European history from the beginning of the Germanic migrations to the death of St. Louis, in other words, to the full splendor of the distinctively medieval civilization.

The problem of such a book is a very perplexing one. The vast mass of material, all of it subject to the uncertainties of a time distinctly unhistorical in its attitude toward the world, makes drastic sifting imperative. The relations of society become more complicated as one moves on from the simpler forms of early Germanic life to the closely interlocking

stratifications of the feudal state. Above all, the intrusion of a wholly new element, the all-embracing church system, creates a situation new to history, demanding, not merely a familiarity with documentary and narrative material, but a profound insight into the motive forces lying beneath the record.

Professor Munro attacks this exacting problem with the patience and steadiness of a veteran scholar and teacher. He does not parade his material but at frequent intervals selects from it such characteristic bits as serve to illustrate his narrative. The story itself moves steadily along on an even level. There is little contrast of light and shade and, happily, no attempt at "fine writing". The excellence of these traits is seen especially in the earlier chapters where the great mass movements of the peoples can be dealt with in broad strokes and with a certain sureness of touch.

Later, when personalities become more important, these steady-going qualities are less effective. Even such an epoch-making figure as Karl the Great rather sinks into the general level. In the account of the mid-medieval conflict of Church and State, on the other hand, the great issues are often obscured by undue emphasis upon personal motive. To say that "Gregory felt that a married priest could not give his whole service to the Church" is to assign a very inadequate motive for the passionate propaganda of a Peter Damiani. That the reproofs of Gregory made Henry IV. "intensely angry" is not greatly to the point. The summing up, however (p. 174), shows that the author fully grasps the meaning of the great struggle.

Criticism of a book of this type is always embarrassing. To pick out defects of detail is mere pettifogging. The real question is whether the book will serve the only purpose that can justify its existence, that is, to provide a background for further study and to stimulate interest in the subject. The answer to that question depends here as always upon the quality of the teacher who uses it. In the right hands this volume may open the way to an intelligent understanding of a difficult period. In the wrong hands it could hardly make a very definite impression. It is an honest, solid, useful piece of work with no claim to "originality" either in research or in point of view.

Of the eight maps three suffer from the usual defect of including under "Europe" vast stretches of Russia, Asia, and Africa and thus reducing the scale so that there is little room for detail, an unfortunate circumstance in an elementary book. The other maps illustrating special conditions are rather better, but these too are painfully bare of details. The bibliographies are sufficiently full to provide "collateral reading", though here we miss all reference to specific selections of original material, always the most stimulating pabulum for the thoughtful student.

E. E.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome XII., *Histoire des Lettres,* volume I., *Des Origines à Ronsard.* Par JOSEPH BÉDIER, ALFRED JEANROY, et F. PICAVET. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1921. Pp. 590.)

M. FRANÇOIS PICAVET's survey of Latin literature, which opens this new volume of Hanotaux, begins with the writings of the Gallo-Romans of northern Italy, and continues with authors of French birth down to the eighteenth century. Claiming that the "French soul" first expressed itself in Latin, and emphasizing the influence of Latin on literature in French, M. Picavet finds in the works of the Carolingian period a steady growth of French national feeling, and attributes the ideas and many words of the larger part of French literature of the twelfth century to a Latin renaissance, which also carried with it the especial qualities of clarity, precision, and order. It was through translations from Latin that French authors of the thirteenth century gained in flexibility and elegance, while the Renaissance of the fifteenth led them to a correct understanding of the spirit of antiquity.

This outline is followed by a chapter on the *chansons de geste,* by M. Bédier. Affirming quite positively that the earliest known epics, *Roland,* the *Chanson de Guillaume,* and *Gormond et Isembard* started with pious legends that centred around Blaye and the road to the Pyrenees from Blaye, the monastery at Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, and Saint Riquier respectively, M. Bédier sees these legends stimulated by the rising vogue of the pilgrimage to Santiago, often made under armed escort, and broadened by the belief that Charlemagne, whose fame was fostered by his many religious foundations, had once gone that way. Given substance by borrowings from chronicles and epitaphs, they were rhymed toward the middle of the eleventh century, when the monks shared them with the minstrels who entertained the crowds at the various shrines. Thus clerk and singer joined to announce warfare with the infidels as the peculiar mission and glory of France. Before this time the French epic did not exist in any shape. But it had prototypes in medieval Latin, not yet determined.

All manuscripts of the epic except the Oxford *Roland* date from the thirteenth century or later. In numerous instances these manuscripts contain only revisions of earlier originals. They occasionally offer also competing versions of the same poem, a feature probably due to the efforts of associations, formed to exploit the epic, not to infringe on one another's literary rights. Retaining a popular plot they would vary the language. The mass of epic poetry was divided, primitively perhaps, into three sections, or *gestes.* The *geste* of the king presented the theocratic idea, crusades under the leadership of Charlemagne. The second *geste,* of Garin de Monglane, saw this sacred calling pass from Charlemagne's degenerate descendants to a younger family, whose utter devotion to the holy cause strongly contrasted with the indifference of an indolent court.

The third, the *geste* of Doon de Mayence, told of strife among Christians, of the perils of individualism, of the results of pride and "desmesure". Conflicts between feudal fealty and blood ties in this *geste* frequently gave rise to highly dramatic situations.

The remaining kinds of medieval French literature, down to 1547, are discussed by M. Jeanroy in the second half of the volume. Measuring his subject approximately by centuries, and including a chapter on Provençal authors, to whom he assigns the invention of the *nouvelle* while denying any direct contact between them and the French lyrists during the Second Crusade, M. Jeanroy shows a preference for the naturalness of the *roman d'aventure* and its variety of plot, notes the infiltration of Greek novelistic material into Western fiction, and looks to a more correct interpretation of the music of lyric poetry for a better understanding of it.

The thirteenth century, of a realistic trend, began to replace poetry with prose, for greater freedom, and to avoid word-padding in order to fill out lines. Arthurian poetry had been restricted in ideas and was conventional, but the prose *Lancelot* discloses a study of character and a conversational style. The *jeux-partis* of the day still interest by their personal tone; and allegory produced in Jean de Meung, not a subversive spirit, like Voltaire, but the first humanist. Under Philip the Fair social conditions were freely criticized, and the early fourteenth century saw many religious and political treatises. But imagination was lacking and lyric poetry docilely accepted its recently fixed forms. Later, translations and prose fiction were favored, while poetry, personal as well as learned, found a Chartier, who was also the first writer of classical French prose.

In Chartier's day there were patrons of literature, and libraries of richly illuminated manuscripts were being formed. Charles d'Orléans's language was almost modern, and after him came Villon. A surprising development of the liturgical drama characterized the last half of the fifteenth century, and in addition there was comedy that professionals often acted, while outright materialism animated *Pathelin* and the works of La Salle. The reign of Francis I. witnessed the overturnings of the Reformation, a movement that M. Jeanroy tellingly analyzes, and after 1540 idealism returned, with romances like *Amadis,* and poetry after Italian and ancient models. The volume is abundantly illustrated throughout by G. Ripart, and also by René Piot. F. M. Warren.

Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History. Edited by Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Volume VI. *Studies in the Hundred Rolls: some Aspects of Thirteenth-Century Administration,* by Helen M. Cam, M.A.; *Proceedings against the Crown, 1216–1377,* by Ludwik Ehrlich, B.Litt., D.Jur. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. x, 198, 274.)

The two monographs included in the present volume treat from opposite sides the same general constitutional question, namely, the position

of the king in regard to the law, and the responsibility of his officers. In seeking some guiding theory of monarchy, the medieval mind halted between two opinions: the one moral and religious, regarding the king as subject only to God and His punishments; the other adhering to the possibility of legal limitations. Both of these ideas are reflected in apparently contradictory passages of Bracton.

The surest test of monarchial rights Dr. Ehrlich finds in the practice of the courts, wherein the king was perpetually a litigant. Records of cases are abundant, although for a view of every side of the question the investigator must go far afield into the unprinted rolls of exchequer and chancery. A thorough analysis of all the royal claims that came into dispute in the thirteenth century confirms the sentient view of Maitland, that monarchial rights were "intensified private rights". This was not at all incongruous with recognizing that the king held a privileged position, which made him inaccessible to the ordinary forms of law. The first positive assertion that the crown is for certain purposes—*pro utilitate communi*—above the law is found in the celebrated case of 20 Edward I. Other cases give variants of the same principle. That special remedies should be devised for proceedings against the crown, far from being a matter of grace, as a later age might regard it, was at first considered to be an obligation, not the less real because it was moral. Much new light is thrown on the history of petitions, which the author, inclining to a Romanist view, believes were brought to a system by Edward I. as a result of his visit to Italy. It has not been proved, however, that in this or any other feature of English procedure the influence of the Church was more than a bare suggestion.

As to responsibility of officers, there was none except as the king himself permitted or required it. The development of a mode of accountability is traced by Miss Cam in the special inquests which Henry II. introduced and his successors elaborated. A careful tabulation of the articles and returns of these inquests shows a transition, from a stage in which the king's proprietary rights were the chief concern, toward a conception of public administration. In many instances the articles of inquisition, having thus been tested and applied, were incorporated by Edward I. into his statutes. Incidentally it is discovered how, from these "ragged rolls", the Statute of Rageman got its name. A scrutiny of the Hundred Rolls also reveals that the edition of the Record Commission is misleading in many points. The workmanship of both studies maintains the high standard of the series. It is a surprise, however, after what has lately been written, to find Parliament mentioned as a body of three estates. The literal abbreviation of references (*e.g., C. D. D., D. D. C., A. P. E.*, etc.), without standardization, may also be objected to as causing a needless difficulty for the reader.

James F. Baldwin.

The King's Council in the North. By R. R. Reid, M.A., D.Litt. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. x, 532. 28s.)

"The problem of the north", as it was defined twenty years ago in the pages of this *Review* (V. 440–466), has at length received treatment adequate to its importance and complexity. This problem was the outgrowth of a long provincial history of the country beyond the Trent, which for reasons of military defense had been made the seat of the greatest baronies, marcher lordships, and franchises of every sort. Strongly entrenched by local law and custom, these units remained into modern times a dangerous reactionary element in the kingdom, requiring exceptional forms of authority.

In the face of a strong tradition that the Council in the North was a creation of the Tudors, the author traces its origin to an enlargement of the general commissions of oyer and terminer such as were first granted by the Lancastrian kings to bring the country to order. By a fortunate discovery among the documents, it is shown beyond a doubt that the first establishment of a council was by Richard III., who from his own experience as a marcher lord enacted a statesmanlike plan for the government of Yorkshire and the Marches. Because it was a Yorkist measure the plan was not continued by Henry VII., nor was it resumed by Henry VIII. until events culminating in the Pilgrimage of Grace demonstrated its necessity. Resembling in some respects the Council of the Welsh Marches, the Council in the North is distinguished in points of contrast to this and every other conciliar organization of the period. For a rounded view of the system, therefore, nothing is now more needed than a similar study of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Contrary to the usual opinion, it appears that the Council in the North never received the whole-hearted support even of the Tudors. Without statutory foundation, it rested solely upon royal commissions and instructions, which were altered from time to time according to the party or policy that happened to be dominant. Gradually deprived of its powers of administration, the Council continued for a century to function as a law-court, this phase of its history comprising the main part of the present work. Although records of cases are lacking, so strong was the impression made by the court upon the life of the community that sources of every other kind are remarkably abundant. The scope of its jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, in common law and equity, was perhaps larger than that of any other tribunal; in certain respects it went further than the Star Chamber, while in the matter of enclosures and tenant-right it took a course far more drastic than did the Chancery at Westminster. On the other hand, from the nature of the aforesaid commissions, its limitations were equally positive, so that the extent of its authority was always open to dispute, and ultimately even the right of the crown to grant such commissions was questioned. Like the Court of Requests the

Council was in a fair way of being "bled" to death, when Thomas Wentworth by a vigorous reassertion of its power brought the whole matter into the arena of political controversy. This is a most revealing chapter, which by weight of evidence carries the conviction that the court composed of the king's councillors in the North was on the whole assiduous and successful in the performance of its task; that compared with other courts it was neither severe, oppressive, nor corrupt; and that its fall, in depriving the country of a needed local court, was nothing less than a catastrophe.

The merits of the work as a product of research, bringing into view a new field of local and national history, need no further demonstration. In spite of its correctness as a whole, however, there are many minor errors that have, from lack of sufficient criticism, been allowed to stand. Misprints in names and numerals, as many as six on p. 482, are excessively frequent. Statute 6 Rich. II. (p. 51 n.) should be 16 Rich. II. There are disconcerting allusions to the "Council of State" and to "prerogative courts", which are terms of no constitutional validity, while statements concerning the Court of Chancery (pp. 66, 450) are incorrect as they stand. As a matter of historical synthesis the reviewer feels that descriptive material is regarded too much as accessory to a legal treatise, instead of being made a vital part of the theme. The search for new material has not been abundantly rewarded, but several documents of value have been printed in the appendixes.

James F. Baldwin.

The Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by Sir George F. Warner, D.Litt., F.B.A. Volume IV., 1657–1660. [Camden, third series, vol. XXXI.] (London: the Society. 1920. Pp. xxix, 283.)

This volume completes the publication of the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas. Some of the letters fall within each of the years 1657–1660, but they are very unevenly distributed. More than half are within the period March, 1659–March, 1660. This period is not only the most thoroughly covered; its letters are also of the greatest interest and importance. Nicholas was at the time living in Bruges and receiving frequent reports from royalist agents in England. City, army, Parliament, all were being watched by them for any opening favorable to the king. As would be expected, the writers tell of the anarchy and confusion in England after the death of Oliver, and of the inability of Richard to maintain his position. They tell something of royalist plots and plans encouraged by those conditions. But greater chaos was not the chief hope of the royalists; rather the establishment of an orderly government, the return to power of the more moderate men. And so we find these correspondents of Nicholas keeping a close watch on the parliaments that sat during this

critical year, "Dick's Parliament" (p. 173), the Rump, the restored Long Parliament. There is even something on the elections to the Convention Parliament. The letters are brief, there is more of comment than of information; they are nevertheless a real contribution to the history of Parliament.

To the student of Parliament perhaps the most interesting of the letters is that of "Mr. Miles", dated May 9, 1659, which tells of the efforts of the leading Presbyterians of the Long Parliament to regain their seats in the Rump. Part of the letter bears quoting because of the information it adds to Prynne's narrative (Old *Parliamentary History,* XXI. 384–386). To the list of names given there, it adds those of Sir William Waller and Richard Browne, indicating clearly that they were distinct from Prynne's group. They "challenged theire right for themselves". But there came also "a number more considerable of that packe [Prynne, etc., who had presented themselves on the 7th] that would usurpe the howse to themselves, and indeede they were the chiefe assertors of the old cause and first interrupted by Oliver's army. Of this party was Mr. William Perpoint, whoe never offered to sitt in the howse (since Prides forcible exemsion) till this tyme" (p. 134). This not only adds three important names to the list but helps to fill in a serious gap in our knowledge of Pierrepont. Even more valuable is this in the light of the following from a letter of March 9, 1660: "Mr. Perpoint met Monke on his journey and had a whole days discourse in their coach together . . . Monke relyes much on him" (p. 194). We are no longer surprised to find Pierrepont heading the list of the new Council of State (*C. J.*, VII. 849).

Though the publication of the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas has extended over so long a period of time (1886–1920), the four volumes are similar in plan and treatment. That this is true of the text is a matter for regret. One is sorry to find the same adherence to the old form of letters. The interchanged use of *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*, might be pardoned, but not y^e as an abbreviation of *the*. Yet even y^e might be forgiven, as a concession to antiquarianism, if the editor did not at the same time follow modern usage by introducing quotation-marks, the interrogation-point, and the apostrophe to mark the possessive case. But it is a satisfaction to find this last volume following the plan of the others as regards their very helpful notes and index.

FRANCES HELEN RELF.

Matthew Prior: a Study of his Public Career and Correspondence. By L. G. WICKHAM LEGG, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 348. 22s. 6d.)

PRIOR started life as a waiting boy in a London tavern. He rose rapidly in the world and soon became the companion of poets, politicians,

diplomats, and nobles of the first rank. Nevertheless, he is one of the most pitiful figures of the early eighteenth century, for he was never quite of the group with whom he associated. He was for some time sole English representative in Paris, yet he was never able to secure the rank to which his talents entitled him, largely because Queen Anne "thought it very wrong to send people abroad of mean extraction". Though he performed the essential duties of an ambassador, his official position was always ambiguous. His salary and expense money, moreover, were ever grossly inadequate to maintain an establishment worthy of the nation he represented. Times without number he humbly begged official superiors and men of influence at court to secure him an income for his legitimate needs, but all to so little avail, that at the moment of his recall he was in imminent danger of being held in Paris for failure to pay the debts he had incurred as a diplomat.

He seems, indeed, a puppet in the hands of fate. At least twice he was on the point of receiving suitable official recognition. Once he was thwarted by Louis XIV.'s acceptance of the will of Charles II. of Spain, the perennial invalid who passed away at last only after three partition treaties had been made in anticipation of his death; a second time Prior was disappointed by the death of Anne and the overthrow of his Tory friends—two events which spelled for him temporary imprisonment and permanent political oblivion. Yet he had proved of inestimable service to William III. in the trying years which witnessed the formation of the coalition against France, and assisted Bolingbroke in the tiresome, intricate negotiations preliminary to the Treaty of Utrecht.

Important as he was in diplomacy, Prior is better known as a poet, for he represents in poetry better than any one else, perhaps, the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. He is clearly a distant descendant of the Elizabethans, although this element is distinct only in his earlier poems, and then sometimes as little more than a faint flicker.

In spite of his public and literary career no serious biography of Prior appeared until that of Bickley in 1914. This writer emphasized the poetry of Prior, but the work under review stresses his political activity. Mr. Legg does, however, insist that far too little attention has been paid to Prior's prose, largely perhaps because such past masters of prose style as Swift and Addison flourished in his day. New light is thrown upon the preliminary negotiations from 1711 to 1713, indicating clearly that the Congress of Utrecht did little more than ratify the things already agreed upon by the French and English diplomats. Although Prior was suspected of Jacobitism, Mr. Legg suggests that Prior, far from being friendly to the exiled Stuarts, spied upon them for the benefit of the English ministries. The book also indicates that Prior held his place on the Board of Trade and Plantations for some time in spite of the Duchess of Marlborough, because the duke did not share her antipathy for Prior. Additional evidence from unpublished manuscripts shows the strong-

mindedness or stubbornness of the queen. One of Prior's letters sets forth in a clear way the political faith of the Tory that the monarch should be above and between parties.

On the period before 1711 this book is too largely a repetition of the work done by Bickley. Some of the same documents are printed *in extenso,* and several quotations are almost identical in scope and purpose. The preface of Mr. Legg's book intimates that it was perhaps practically completed before Bickley's work appeared. At least it was not sufficiently revised thereafter to rid it of repetitions. The second half of the book, however, is a distinct contribution to the subject, both in its literary and diplomatic aspects. The author insists too strongly, perhaps, upon the sincerity of Louis XIV.'s desire for peace in 1709, although this raises, of course, the much-controverted question of Marlborough's attitude in the same negotiations. Prior's last letter deserves more careful annotation (pp. 271–272). Shrewsbury became lord chamberlain in April, not in August, 1710 (p. 133). Fortunately Mr. Legg has given us of his extensive knowledge of diplomacy in the "Biographical Notes" (pp. 331–336), which identify most of the characters mentioned in Prior's letters.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Revolution from 1789 to 1906. Documents selected and edited with Notes and Introductions by R. W. POSTGATE. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xvi, 400. $4.50.)

THE innumerable revolutions and attempts at revolution which have characterized the history of the past decade have begun to have their effect on history and its related activities. As after 1789 and 1848 and 1871 men turned their attention to revolutionary activities, endeavoring to explain and analyze the new phenomena, so now, looking back over the past century and a half in the light of the past ten years, there has begun comparative study of revolutionary movements, of which the present volume is an example. And as the first step in an intelligent appreciation of the subject is the collection of material, Mr. Postgate has done well to bring together the documents in the case.

He follows the temper of the times and the group to which he belongs, for to him revolution connotes chiefly social change or attempted change. His documents are for the most part of that character, and his comment and introductions are primarily of that nature. There is, for instance, a disproportionate amount of material in the documents of the French Revolution relating to communism, and that note prevails throughout the book. It does, no doubt, illuminate the career of communistic thought, but it is not fair to call a collection based on such an idea representative of revolution as a whole. For there have been political revolutions, too; and a series of documents relating to Italy which omits the Risorgimento and the name of Cavour, and which gives to it less than four pages of docu-

ments and to France in 1871 some sixty-two, seems somehow disproportionate. Moreover it is difficult to see why the documents relating to the Mutiny of the Nore were included, when, for instance, the constitution of the Confederate States is omitted, though the inclusion of a considerable amount of material from various champions of the cause of Ireland during the past century or more will be, to some minds, quite understandable.

All "source-books" are, of necessity, unsatisfactory to all except their makers, and it is not fair, perhaps, to inject one's personal opinion regarding the material they should include or exclude; and yet such judgment is equally inevitable. There is much in these pages for which we are grateful. But there are two criticisms which it seems are sound. The first is that of over-emphasis of the social element in the revolutionary movements of the nineteenth century. The second is against the bibliographies. These are often absurdly inadequate, as witness, in particular, that on the French Revolution. It seems to argue a certain unfamiliarity of the author with the literature of the subject of his book, beyond the field of his own special interest, and even there it is not always adequate. The histories of Chartism which have appeared so abundantly in recent years would certainly have afforded much material; and the now almost forgotten histories of the secret societies which once illuminated the darker ways of nineteenth-century politics would not have been out of place, however disillusionizing they may be. The history of revolution remains to be written—in another generation or two—but meanwhile we should not confine our energies wholly to social movements. Political movements were once of importance; perhaps they still are.

W. C. Abbott.

The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine. By George O'Brien, Litt.D., M.R.I.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 624. £1 1s.)

This book is a piece of historical study under the form of a process of reasoning. It proves its point with a conclusiveness that at first invites suspicion: the demonstration fits the dogma with the exact inevitableness of scholastic forethought. Closer acquaintance, however, brings confidence in a bit of scholarship admirably done, though without quite dispelling a sense of strangeness at finding a chapter of nineteenth-century history conceived in the spirit of a schoolman's disquisition.

A treatise on Ireland going behind the issue of race and of church, and devoting attention solely to the ponderable and calculable well-being of the people, bespeaks self-restraint that is itself an achievement. Disaffection toward the Union came, so it is here argued, when increasing national impoverishment belied the betterment expected through political integration. In England the theoretical and official explanation of this

impoverishment was over-population. . On the correctness of that assumption the argumentative justification of the Union—*i.e.*, the English—government's policy stands or falls. With exhaustive completeness the author shows the assumption to have been false. Between 1800 and 1850 Ireland, he finds, in relation to its actual and possible agricultural resources, was not over-populated. The array of official and unofficial evidence brought to bear upon the point is overwhelming, and, in its effect, final. No writer need advert hereafter to Ireland's population during these five decades without taking into account the refutation of the orthodox view that Dr. O'Brien here sets forth (part I., Agricultural Resources).

In part II. and part III., industry and public finance are discussed, but with deductions which are not unfamiliar. The student of the period will welcome, nevertheless, the skill with which Dr. O'Brien explains the interconnection of agricultural resources with industry, and of both with banking credit; of population with land laws, of ejectment acts with the franchise; in short, the interconnection of all economic phenomena. The unity of Ireland's economic history thus obtained makes this a desirable book of reference.

In the course of his arguments on over-population Dr. O'Brien prefers a charge which, in the judgment of the reviewer, casts an untoward reflection where it is not deserved, and which rests upon no substantiation beyond the author's *ipse dixit*. The sacrifice of souls which the orthodox view of over-population involved was ghastly enough; but Dr. O'Brien lays the direct responsibility for the tragedy upon the English government. It is at least debatable whether or not responsibility can be concentrated in such a melodramatic way. Contemporary statesmen who could do little more than follow public opinion, were expected to accept enlightenment from prevailing schools of economic thought. Were they therefore accountable for these schools? Was Liverpool or Melbourne or Peel or Russell personally responsible for the doctrine of laissez-faire, or for the public opinion that expected the classical economy to prove as advantageous to Ireland as to Great Britain? Surely a more catholic view would not carry the ethics of official responsibility to such length!

C. E. Fryer.

The Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914. By J. H. Clapham, Litt.D., Fellow of King's College. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 420. 18s.)

In this book the author presents the substance of lectures which he has for some years given at Cambridge. He has, in the first part of the book, used some of the material in the chapter contributed by him to volume X. of the *Cambridge Modern History,* but has added a second and larger part, covering the period 1848–1914, which is entirely new. In each part he has followed the plan of treating separately the agrarian and the in-

dustrial history of each of the two countries, making eight chapters, and has inserted five more chapters on the commerce, communications, and credit institutions of the two countries, treating them more or less together.

Clapham's book does not cover so great an extent in time or in territory as Ogg's *Economic Development of Modern Europe,* which is most like it, of books that have previously appeared in English. It is considerably more rich in detailed statements of concrete fact than is Ogg's book. On the other hand it is necessarily more brief in its description of economic development than a work covering an equal period of time but limited to one country, like Sartorius von Waltershausen's *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte.* The field is so important, and has as yet been so little surveyed by scholars aiming to give a comprehensive account of economic progress, that a variety of treatment is highly desirable, and every contribution is welcome.

The outstanding advantage of the book is the opportunity which it offers to readers of English to study the economic history of the two states of the Continent which have in the recent period held the positions of greatest importance. For mature students, seeking a condensed but substantial account, it is by far the best book either on France or on Germany. The author shows the scholarly qualities that have distinguished his work in English economic history and organization: a wide acquaintance with the literature, critical and constructive ability, an agreeable style. The points which the reviewer noted for criticism are mere details in a book close packed with facts, and testify in his opinion to the general reliability of the work. P. 35, Slavic historians do not accept Meitzen's explanation of village forms (*cf. Hist. Zeitschrift,* 1913, CXI. 611); p. 120, Thernaux's ready-made clothes shop was not the first in Paris by at least fifty years (*cf.* the advertisement, 1770, by a Parisian tailor employing a number of workmen, of "un magasin d'habits neufs tout faits, de toutes espèces, de toutes tailles", quoted by Sombart, *Luxus und Kapitalismus,* p. 192, from Franklin); p. 125, the Bank of France was founded in 1800, not 1808; p. 130, the number of joint-stock companies credited to the period before 1800 appears to be much below Schmoller's estimate of several hundred (*cf. Jahrbuch f. Gesetzgebung,* 1893, XVII. 984); p. 136, Jackson's war on the U. S. Bank was before, not after, 1837. To say of the German department stores, p. 368, that "their history has not been written" is a sweeping statement, when so much has been written about Wertheim's and other stores. It is easier to forgive slips of this kind than it is to excuse the omission, from a book obviously intended for serious students, of a bibliography more systematic than that provided in the preface. The lack of such a guide will be felt the more as there are almost no references to authorities to aid the reader who desires to check a statement or to amplify the information contained in the text.

The author's plan of treating in one volume the economic history of two neighboring countries offers an opportunity to draw contrasts and parallels, and is well adapted to a philosophical study of the elements in economic progress. The author is not, however, inclined to generalize; he does so admirably sometimes, but prefers for the most part plain matter of fact. Under these conditions it is unfortunate that he has chosen to intersperse his chapters on France and Germany, so that, for example, a chapter on French industrial conditions is preceded by one on German rural conditions and followed by one on German industrial conditions; and the student who seeks to study recent French commercial policy finds it treated in two chapters separated by a chapter on rural Germany. Arguments that can be advanced for this arrangement lose their force if full advantage is not taken of the opportunity to apply the comparative method.

CLIVE DAY.

Le Courrier de M. Thiers. Par DANIEL HALÉVY. (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1921. Pp. 512. 20 fr.)

THE editor of this book, M. Halévy, explains in a brief preface that when he began his work, his purpose was merely to select and edit some interesting texts, that however he soon found that he would be obliged to explain those texts and show their connection with each other by means of notes, and that after he had finished his work he found that he had almost written a biography, but not quite. He wishes his book to be judged, not as a biography but as a collection of Thiers's correspondence, lighted up by notes on the facts mentioned and by the conversation or comment of contemporaries.

As an editor it would be difficult to imagine M. Halévy's superior. He has all the qualities an editor must have and several others which are not obligatory but are pleasing and advantageous. His notes are as interesting as the rest of the contents of the book and this is saying a great deal. Not only are they thoroughly informed but they show a fine reserve, a tact and judgment, a piquant irony never overdone, and a literary deftness and flavor eminently fitted to beguile away the classic ennui of the book reviewer.

The documents here given to the world, letters to and from Thiers and covering a period of more than fifty years, are from the manuscripts department of the National Library. These documents had undergone a process of careful selection before ever they were confided to that public repository. They were designed to make known, as the editor points out, "not Thiers, but Monsieur Thiers" (a very different personage) as Thiers himself, and particularly as Mademoiselle Dosne, his diligent and loyal sister-in-law and heir, wished him to be known. Thus many letters from or to the great man which might militate against the realization of the effect desired were suppressed by these interested censors and history

has, no doubt, lost certain revelations that would be highly appreciated. But despite this wilful impoverishment of our science, enough is left and more than enough to entertain and divert and instruct posterity about this man who did not relish being chaffed in this life and proposed to have as few liberties as possible taken with him after his departure from the earthly scene.

Born in 1797 Thiers lived until 1877. Not only was life thus generous to him but he touched it at many points. Very versatile, he was even more confident of his knowledge and of his rights to criticize than his versatility authorized. Beginning his career in Paris by a criticism of the salon of 1822 he ended it as founder of the Third Republic. There is a little of everything in his life and a great deal of a few things. Belonging by birth to the petty bourgeoisie he made a rich marriage and became a conspicuous leader of the upper bourgeoisie. In office when he could be, most of his time was after all spent in private life leading what the editor calls *la belle et paisible existence d'un grand seigneur de lettres.* Publishing his first volume on the French Revolution at the age of twenty-six, it was not till 1862 that the final volume of his *Consulate and Empire* appeared, a work that took seventeen years of his life, that won him a great position in the literary world and intoxicating encomiums from such men as Sainte Beuve, Prosper Merimée, and Lamartine, and that is no longer read. Many of the interesting letters in this volume bear upon Thiers's activities, merits, and deficiencies as an historian.

Halévy, stopping in the middle of his book to cast a glance backward over the ground already traversed, says:

> We have known Thiers the journalist, enemy of priests and nobles, financier, historian of the Revolution, mathematician, art critic, minister of the interior and chief of police, minister of public works; we have known him as protector and inspirer of artists, minister of foreign affairs, smitten with admiration for Italy, would-be historian of Florence, organizer of armies, military engineer, admirer of Rachel, historian of Napoleon, parliamentary orator, and politician broken to all the tricks of the Palais Bourbon; we have seen him attacking one monarchy, striking it down and erecting another in its place; serving this new one and then disserving it, now loyal and now disloyal; we have known him as a petty bourgeois, then as a great bourgeois; we have just seen him as a savior of society, and we shall see him in the future in many other forms, notably as general of an army, as an astronomer and a chemist. At the present (1849) we see him as a clerical (p. 256).

Indeed this free-thinker, upon whom Talleyrand had laid non-apostolic hands, became under the Second Republic the idol of the clericals, who were enthusiastic over his services to the Church and who, in the ebullience of their gratitude, even aspired to convert him, "since nothing is impossible for God" as one of them said. This particular thing, however, was either impossible for God or did not come within the purview of His desires.

One cannot summarize, even in a list of headings, this Protean personality who, according to Lamartine, had "enough saltpetre in him to blow up ten governments", who, according to Princess Lieven, was "a perpetual fireworks" and who, according to Metternich, was "decidedly not a statesman, but an acrobat"—a view, be it said, which Metternich did not continue to hold. Suffice it to say that Thiers, who made plenty of mistakes and had plenty of faults, grew in general in wisdom with advancing years, a heartening fact as the opposite would be most disheartening, that his last years were his most useful to his country and that he may confidently be said to have achieved his ambition, "a half a line in universal history", as he expressed it, although the Rhadamanthine Wells does not allow him that much in his, which is perhaps more of a compliment than not.

All phases of Thiers's activity, all the numerous personal contacts of the lively Meridional, most of the great scenes in French history for fifty years, are illustrated variously and strikingly in this valuable book, not one page of which is dull.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Histoire de France Contemporaine. [Lavisse.] Tome VIII. *L'Évolution de la Troisième République, 1875–1914.* Par CH. SEIGNOBOS. (Paris: Hachette. 1921. Pp. 512. 30 fr.)

IN the eighth volume of the *Histoire de France Contemporaine* Professor Seignobos, writing upon the Third Republic from the adoption of the Constitution of 1875 to the eve of the World War, has fully sustained the high standard of the earlier volumes of the series, as described in the preceding number of this *Review*.

The volume is divided into four books. The first two, amounting to about three-fifths of the whole, relate the history of the internal political life of the Republic, the third describes its foreign and colonial policy, while the fourth deals with the social transformation through which France was passing. Within each book the arrangement into chapters and sections exhibits in an exceptional degree the admirable organizing skill which almost invariably marks French historical writing.

While recognizing that the method of arrangement employed has many advantages, especially for setting forth in lucid fashion the vast multitude of facts which must be presented to the reader, it seems to the reviewer that it was a mistake to separate the account of foreign and colonial policy and the description of the social transformation from the general narrative of political events. Each part suffers somewhat from its isolation. The most serious objection, however, is that the separation makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the reader to get a realizing sense of the whole series of events and changes which made up the life of France during the period which the volume covers. It would, no doubt, have been extremely difficult to put together all of the varied elements of

French life into a single narrative, but the reviewer feels confident that Professor Seignobos could have done it. Success in such an undertaking would have been a really great achievement.

The books devoted to political history are marked by an unusual degree of good judgment in the selection of things to be told or described, by clear and concise narration, and by penetrating and judicious estimates of men, measures, policies, and events. These estimates are confined to occasional sentences or short paragraphs, for in general Professor Seignobos writes in highly objective fashion, allowing the facts to tell their own story. Particularly noteworthy are the accounts of the elections, each with a careful analysis of the distribution of the vote, the description of party programmes, and the very clear indications as to where, at any given time, real political power was located. Special and perhaps somewhat disproportionate attention is given to the development of the socialist parties. The accounts of the crisis of the sixteenth of May and of the Boulanger and Dreyfus affairs are exceptionally well told and with a nearly complete absence of party bias. Even in the thorny matter of the controversies over the relations of Church and State Professor Seignobos has succeeded in writing most dispassionately.

The book upon foreign and colonial policy relates chiefly to colonial matters. Only one chapter, of thirty-five pages, is given to foreign affairs and most of that scant measure is used in sketching in brief form the general course of European rather than French diplomacy. This surprising brevity Professor Seignobos defends (p. 290) upon the ground that in a history of Europe diplomatic activities would demand a large space, but that in a history of France the treatment may be limited to the things which have produced some action by the French government, disturbed French opinion, or modified the conditions of French policy in Europe. It seems to the reviewer that, even upon the basis of that limitation, the subject has not been adequately treated and that the reader is left with a distinctly false impression as to the extent to which the life of the French people has been affected by the foreign policy of France and of other nations.

The story of the remarkable achievement of the Third Republic in the building up of a new colonial empire, second in extent only to that of England, is well told in four chapters, one each for north Africa, the Far East, and black Africa, and one on colonial policy. The regional chapters at times go into more detail than seems necessary.

The book on the social transformation describes in a remarkably interesting and effective way the changes which have taken place in the population, the conditions of social life, the agricultural, industrial, and directing classes, and the intellectual life of the country. The distinctive feature of these six chapters is their illuminating quality. An occasional excess of statistics is a pardonable fault in view of the general good judgment shown in the handling of difficult materials.

There are twenty insert plates of valuable illustrations, but no maps—though some are much needed for the colonial chapters—and no index.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Naval Operations. By Sir JULIAN S. CORBETT. Volume II. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. Pp. xi, 448. 21s.)

THE first volume of this truly monumental naval history of the late war was reviewed in the *American Historical Review* of October, 1920 (XXVI. 94-96). It contained 470 pages, and ended with the account of the battle of the Falklands. The present volume is approximately of the same length, though of much greater bulk, owing to the very excellent strategical and other maps, of which no fewer than fifteen are folding. The book covers the raid on the Yorkshire coast of December, 1914, the Dogger Bank action, and the destruction of the *Dresden,* but the greater portion is taken up with the Dardanelles campaign. When the British government announced the preparation and appearance of an *Official History of the Great War,* there was much curiosity in regard to the character of such a work, published so soon after the events to be described and, presumably, to be criticized. Without allowing sufficient lapse of time for the necessary "historical perspective", was it not somewhat audacious to attempt more than the United States naval authorities were doing, namely, the collection and collation of the records and the publication of certain limited monographs?

It must be admitted that Sir Julian Corbett has solved this more than difficult problem in an astonishingly successful manner. While indulging in no high-handed apportioning of praise and blame, he presents the facts, be they favorable or damning, clearly and fully, so that the results stand out for themselves. At the same time he is ever jealous of reputations, and strives to present what was no doubt in the mind of a leader who failed of his purpose, as, for example, his apology for Admiral Cradock after Coronel. Very significant also is his invariable defense of men who have been blamed unjustly, like Mr. W. S. Churchill in the Coronel affair and that of the Dardanelles, and Lord Fisher in regard to the Dardanelles. Concerning the latter he says: "The loss at such a crisis (resignation from the Admiralty) of a man who bulked so large in popular opinion could only add to the general depression. To the country at large he was the embodiment of the old fighting energy of the navy—the man to whom we owed the organization and strategical disposition which rendered the German fleet impotent when the long-expected struggle began, and the all-embracing combination against Admiral von Spee which had given us our only decisive success at sea" (p. 410). Fisher's resignation started the débâcle of the cabinet, and "within five days of

Fisher's departure the leaders of the great parties in the State were sitting in council to form a Coalition Government". That Lord Fisher was in no manner responsible for the Dardanelles disaster is clearly brought out: "When Lord Fisher first supported the idea of perfecting the unity of the allied line by opening the Dardanelles and the Bosporus, he contemplated making the attempt with a strong combined force which was to strike suddenly and quickly. . . . It was only with reluctance that he had assented to the Dardanelles enterprise as it was actually undertaken, and so soon as it became clear that the political situation in the Balkans and the available military force gave no prospect of success by a *coup de main* he became frankly opposed to it." When his colleagues refused him the necessary forces to strike a quick blow he resigned.

In spite, however, of the manner in which Sir Julian has overcome the difficulty of writing history so soon after the events, the idea will not down that it would have been wiser to postpone the publication of the official history for a certain period, an idea to which the author himself gives color in his remarks upon certain authorities: "The publication of these works since the history began to be written has proved of great assistance in correcting false impressions and supplying gaps in our own information." It would be a hardy prophet indeed who should declare that no further important documents would come to light, and that no more useful, even vital and indispensable, books would appear. Any claim of finality must, therefore, be denied to any history written before all the actors in the drama have spoken and all the records have been filed. The present really marvellous work of Corbett, Fayle, and Hurd must, however, be admired and welcomed, for it may be doubted whether, at a future time, any authors could command that enthusiasm of style that raises even the description of commonplace occurrences out of the commonplace, and makes them throb with interest, that enthusiasm that flows from men still under the influence of the stupendous events they are narrating.

EDWARD BRECK.

Battlefields of the World War, Western and Southern Fronts: a Study in Military Geography. By DOUGLAS WILSON JOHNSON, Professor of Physiography in Columbia University. [American Geographical Society Research Series, no. 3.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 648, and plates. $7.90.)

ALL military operations culminate on the battlefield; the final test of a manœuvre is the battle which terminates it, its striking features are the skirmishes incidental to it. The soldier must study these engagements, for his is the responsibility of handling troops in battle. The civilian thinks largely in terms of battles, for the actual conflict is the visible evidence of the manœuvre behind it.

But behind it is the manœuvre, the strategy, of which the tactics are

the servant. This also the soldier studies, after he has gained a little knowledge of the technique and tactics of handling men in action. The civilian who goes into this is the one whose training leads him to ask "why?" when he reads the story of the battle. It is strong meat, dangerous to the immature or weak mental digestion.

Behind this again is military geography, determining the strategy from the point of view of execution, as national policy determines its aims. But what is behind military geography? Behind all geography, evidently, is geology, and hence there must be a military geology.

Returning now to our starting point, tactics, we find the same geographic influence there. Behind this still is geology, affecting every detail of a soldier's life, from the siting of his fortifications to the location and depth of his latrines.

This fundamental and little considered science is the subject of this book.

The writer, professor of physiography in Columbia University, has long been interested in the military aspects of his science. Shortly after the United States entered the war, he published his first book on the subject, *Topography and Strategy in the War*, interpreting the previous operations in terms of land-forms, and preparing his readers to grasp the topographic reasons for those to come, and their significance. This book is the logical successor of the earlier one. It is not a history; it is rather a treatise on geology, avoiding technicalities, but tracing the geology down through geography, and deducing the military conclusions; then testing and elaborating these conclusions by a short narrative of the operations of the recent war, with frequent excursions into those of Napoleon and even Attila and the Romans.

For this undertaking the writer is well qualified. He was commissioned major in the National Army in January, 1918, assigned to military intelligence duty, and sent to France in February. On this duty he continued until March, 1919, visiting all parts of the theatre of operations, and after the armistice joining General Bliss in Paris.

For the purposes of the book, it was necessary to make a territorial, rather than a logical or chronological, classification of the operations. At the same time it was necessary to avoid treating them in territorial water-tight compartments, losing their connection and hence their significance. The difficulties are obvious, but the results, while they would be unsatisfactory in a history, are highly satisfactory here. Each "battlefield", or natural theatre of operations, is described, and then the campaigns in that region explained briefly, but with judgment. Enough of the general military situation is given in each case, not to satisfy one looking for a narrative history, but to refresh the memory of one having a little general knowledge of the course of the war.

American operations are described in their proper places, with no greater emphasis than is given to the others. Their character and im-

portance stand out clearly enough without that. This same uniformity of treatment is noticeable throughout. Perhaps not the least of the merits of the book is that it gives a picture on a uniform scale—as it must of necessity do if the illustrations are to be of any use for their technical purpose—bringing the less known operations, as those in Italy and the Balkans, into relation with the more familiar Argonne and the over-emphasized "Flanders fields".

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.

Allied Shipping Control: an Experiment in International Administration. By J. A. SALTER, C.B., Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur. [*Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series,* JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., General Editor. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921. Pp. xxiii, 372. 10s. 6d.)

IT is well to note that Mr. Salter's purpose in his interesting and well-written book on *Allied Shipping Control* was not to give a detailed description of the national methods and organizations for shipping control which prevailed in each of the allied countries during the war, but to describe the system of control prevailing in Great Britain in a preliminary way, and then to present full information concerning inter-allied shipping control. The author expressly states that "the main object of this work is to describe the work of the Allied Maritime Transport Council (the A. M. T. C.) and its permanent organization, the Allied Maritime Transport Executive, as an experiment in international administration".

Part I. contains a brief account of the importance of shipping during the war, of the problems that arose, and of the plans adopted for their solution. Parts II. and IV. contain a rather full account of British shipping control. The methods described include the power of requisition, the prohibition and restriction of imports, the control of vessel chartering, the control of the employment of unrequisitioned vessels by license, the acquisition and distribution of the main articles of food and raw materials of the country, the allocation of shipping, and selection between imports, the blockade, the policy of Great Britain with respect to neutral shipping, and the methods adopted to combat the submarine menace.

Part IV. comprises the principal historical record of the book, for it is here that the allied or international control of shipping during the war is discussed. The author not only draws upon the valuable official documents and statistical information reproduced in the appendix (part VI.), but shows the first-hand knowledge of war events acquired from his positions as Director of Ship Requisition, Secretary to the Allied Maritime Transport Council, and Chairman of the Allied Maritime Transport Executive. After tracing briefly the unorganized efforts of Great Britain to assist her allies in the matter of tonnage during the early years of the

war, the tonnage agreement of December 3, 1916, of France and England, the unsuccessful efforts embodied in the Inter-allied Shipping Committee of January, 1917, the Shipping Agreement of November 3, 1917, between France, Italy, and England, and the general understanding of November, 1917, between these countries and the United States, he proceeds to describe the Paris Conference which was called later in that month. At this conference a series of general principles of co-operation were adopted and a permanent organization was effected. This consisted of the Allied Maritime Transport Council and its Executive. Chapter IV. contains a full account of the first meeting of the council, and chapter V. of its second meeting. Chapters VI. and VII. describe the internal organization of the council and its executive, the various "programme committees" which were organized for the international control of essential commodities, and the work of the Executive from May to July, 1918. The next two chapters trace the activities of the council and executive to the signing of the armistice, and chapters X. and XI. describe their activities from the armistice to the final ending of their shipping control in April, 1919. The final chapter of part IV. contains the author's impression of the results achieved in the effort to bring about inter-allied shipping control.

In part V. Mr. Salter emphasizes the importance of the war-time experience of the allied countries in international shipping control as the basis for permanent international co-operation in the future. He states the conclusions which he has drawn "for the future of international administration". However opinions may vary as to future international control, Mr. Salter's historical account of how shipping was jointly controlled by the Allies during the later years of the war constitutes an interesting and authoritative contribution.

GROVER G. HUEBNER.

A History of the Peace Conference. Edited by H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. [Published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs.] Volumes IV. and V. *Economic Reconstruction and Protection of Minorities.* (London: Henry Frowde, and Hodder and Stoughton. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 528; xv, 483. $9.50.)

THE purpose and the general scheme of this extensive and important work have been treated in a previous review. The new volumes deal with the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian settlements in much the same fashion as the first three covered the German settlement. They attempt far more than the mere story of the Peace Conference itself and the making of the treaties at Paris: of the thousand-odd pages included in these volumes, barely an eighth is devoted to a narrative of proceedings in the Conference; rather more than a quarter of the material deals with the historical background of the questions that were settled and about the same amount with a description and analysis of the decisions taken and

their effects; the remainder is composed of the texts of the treaties and less formal agreements, with ancillary documents.

Volume IV. begins with a narrative of the collapse, military and political, of Bulgaria and the Hapsburg Empire (inaptly described in the chapter-heading as the "Central Powers"), with an analysis of the political structure of the old Dual Monarchy and the factors that led to its disintegration. This, with a short section on the armistices, comprises a fourth of the volume. The dramatic character of events permits a vividness of treatment which is amply appreciated by the author and these pages furnish a brilliant summary of the fall of the Hapsburgs. It is, perhaps, fair to ask whether the narrative might not have been abbreviated in order to secure more detailed treatment of the problems of the liberated nationalities. The latter receive careful attention, after a brief chapter on the disarmament of the enemy and the military terms of the treaties of St. Germain, the Trianon, and Neuilly. The hundred pages devoted to the antecedents and the formation of the new Czechoslovak, Jugoslav, and Rumanian states are deserving of high praise. The problem, as it appeared to those in authority at Paris, has been clearly presented, with a full summary of nationalistic aspirations and movements, and the reader has laid before him the various considerations, ethnic, economic, and political, which determined the frontiers. It is the simplest and most comprehensive survey of these complex issues that has yet appeared in print. The reviewer has but two regrets, namely that in a volume devoted to the attempt to construct new states on the ruins of the old empire more space could not be found for the particular problems of the nationalities, and that it has seemed necessary to reserve the Polish problem for volume VI. The chapter on the Treaty of London and the extent of its application is chiefly concerned with the new frontiers of Italy, with a brief section on Albania. It is written by Mr. Temperley himself and, after covering in restrained fashion the various phases of the Fiume dispute, concludes with the settlement at Rapallo. There follows a chapter on the plebiscites which, with the exception of that at Klagenfurt, were never held, and which resulted in the division of Teschen and Austria's acquisition of German West Hungary. Chapter VII. of the volume is devoted to a summary narrative (thirty-nine pages) on the making of the treaties, with general considerations of the principles underlying them, and is succeeded by fifty pages containing admirably compressed material on the new Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary, by Childs, Coolidge, and Temperley. The volume concludes with appendixes of armistice texts, Rumanian agreements, and the "Little Entente" treaty, which we should naturally have expected to find reserved for inclusion with similar material at the end of volume V.

That volume is not, as one might gather from its subtitle, mainly given over to economic reconstruction and minorities. Of the 483 pages, only 111 deal with the reparation and financial clauses of the three treaties

and a discussion of commercial policy towards the defeated powers, which is followed by a short chapter on the protection of minorities. The major portion of the volume is composed of the texts of the treaties of St. Germain, the Trianon, and Neuilly, and of documents of various kinds, such as memoranda and agreements concerning reparation and the protection of minorities, the Treaty of London, the Manifesto of Corfu, the Pact of Rome, the different memoranda on Fiume, and the Treaty of Rapallo. The volume concludes with a serviceable topical index to the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian treaties which, with slight effort, might have been made even more valuable. The topic "Plebiscites", for example, is not listed except as a sub-topic under "Austria", and while Fiume is separately listed, Klagenfurt is not, and the topic "Minorities" is incompletely indexed.

The combined topical and chronological arrangement which the character of the material has forced upon the editor is, however, skillfully drafted and the student will in general experience little difficulty in discovering the facts for which he is searching. As in the earlier volumes those facts are presented objectively and in such abundance that the reader may form his own judgments. Mr. Temperley's hope that he might "steer a course equally remote from official apologetics and unofficial jeremiads" seems to the reviewer to have been crowned with a large measure of success. In view of the difficulty of arrangement, the amount of recapitulation is surprisingly small. The various authors have almost without exception achieved clarity of presentation. It is, perhaps, regrettable that more space could not be found for the details of the processes by which the decisions were reached at Paris. But this would not have been possible without drawing extensively upon the secret minutes of the Councils of Ten and Four and upon the *procès-verbaux* of the commissions; the editor has been careful not to infringe upon diplomatic convention by the use of material the publication of which has not been officially authorized. It was, moreover, of the first importance to save space for collecting the most important documents in their complete text. Students will be especially grateful for the statistical tables compiled by Mr. Wallis, although they will regret that the first table, on page 150 of volume V., is so incomplete as to mislead the casual reader and to blur the statistical comparison between the new Austria and the new Hungary.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

The New World: Problems in Political Geography. By ISAIAH BOWMAN, Ph.D., Director of the American Geographical Society of New York. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. 1921. Pp. vii, 632. $6.00.)

THIS book is not, as its title might seem to imply, a description of the twin continents named in honor of the Florentine impostor, nor is it a

prospectus of a new Eden of which we stand at the portals. It is a geographer's survey of political conditions and problems all over the globe, as they present themselves on the morrow of the Great War: a study of a world in which so many of the old boundaries and landmarks have disappeared and so many new formations and situations have arisen that we can fairly speak of it as "the new world". To Americans it is also new in another sense: that it is swarming with problems, to which most of us have hitherto remained happily oblivious, but on which we as individuals are now forced to know something, and we as a nation may conceivably be forced to take sides. Doubtless there are few more pressing tasks before the American democracy than the development of an enlightened public opinion about the complex questions of this new society of peoples, to which, for better or for worse, we are now inextricably bound.

Dr. Bowman is unusually well equipped for the task he has undertaken, not only through his position as director of the American Geographical Society and editor of the *Geographical Review,* but also through his activity during the war as head of the group of specialists charged with collecting for our government data on all the questions likely to be raised at the peace conference, and through his able and many-sided services at Paris as adviser to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Perhaps no other American who has not held at least cabinet rank in recent years, could write with equal knowledge of so many of the diplomatic transactions that have shaped the new world, or could display so wide a range of information and interest.

Its comprehensiveness is, indeed, one outstanding characteristic of this volume. After some preliminary general discussion, the reader is introduced to the chief political and economic problems of the British Empire; France and Belgium, Italy and the Iberian Peninsula; the prosperous north, the convulsed centre, and the stormy east of Europe; and so on with all the states and especially the danger-zones of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and South America. Scarcely any significant region, however small, has been overlooked. If one wishes to inform himself about such problems as the Saar or Fiume, Upper Silesia or Danzig, Macedonia or Smyrna, the Sykes-Picot agreement or the late Anglo-Persian treaty, the causes of unrest in India or Egypt, the present status of Tibet or Manchuria, mandates in Africa, or the dispute about Tacna-Arica, he will find here the fundamental facts in the case, presented by an expert. The surviving world-empires, with their staggering war debts, their problems of reconstruction, their inevitable rivalry for markets and for raw materials, and their teeming populations of increasingly restless and refractory black, brown, or yellow races; the new states from Finland to Azerbaijan, with their ethnographic and religious diversities, natural resources and economic development, constitutional and political questions; the older, unremoved causes of international friction and the new occasions for

possible conflict that the war has produced—all these things are discussed with remarkable clearness, objectivity, fairness, and sense of proportion.

Doubtless so much information could not have been compressed within one volume but for the very copious and judicious use of maps. The volume contains two hundred and eighty maps, diagrams, and illustrations. For each important area such essential factors as the relief, the density of population, the ethnic and religious distribution, the mineral resources and industrial centres, and the old, new, or proposed boundaries, are usually portrayed cartographically, and with admirable technique. Many of these maps cannot be duplicated in any other published works; and, taken as a whole, they form the most remarkable and valuable part of the book.

The student of contemporary politics should also be grateful for the very substantial bibliography at the end of the volume.

An author who has attempted to deal in so limited a space with so immensely wide and varied a field, inevitably exposes himself to some charges of errors and omissions. One may, perhaps, regret that an account of "the new world" should contain virtually nothing about the organization and activities of the League of Nations; or so meagre a treatment of a subject like the new German constitution, or of certain areas so important to us as Mexico or the Caribbean. Some erroneous statements have crept in. Under the Treaty of Rapallo, for instance, Zara is placed under Italian sovereignty, and not "made a free city" (as is stated on page 269). Historians may discover a fair number of inaccurate dates; and may be surprised at some rather chaotic passages—*e.g.*, on Russian expansion in eastern Asia, or the religious troubles in Bohemia (in which the Hussite upheaval and the Thirty Years' War are very much mixed up), or at such statements as that the Seljuks conquered Anatolia in the eighth century (page 431), or that "in 1863 . . . the Duke of Slesvig and Holstein came to the throne of Denmark as Christian IX. and attempted to unite both provinces to his kingdom" (page 175).

Nevertheless, these things weigh but slightly against the merits of a work which is undoubtedly the most useful introduction to world politics that has appeared in this country since the Armistice. One would like to see the volume in every American library.

R. H. Lord.

Essays on the Latin Orient. By William Miller, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. viii, 582. 40s.)

This volume contains (1) twenty articles on the history of Greece from the Roman conquest to the end of "the Venetian revival in Greece", 1718; (2) six "Miscellanea from the Near East". All of these essays have appeared in the last twenty-five years in the *Quarterly Review, English Historical Review, Journal of Hellenic Studies, Byzantinische*

Zeitschrift, Westminster Review, Gentleman's Magazine, and journals of the British and American archaeological societies of Rome.

The titles of these periodicals would suggest a difference in the quality of the essays. Some are well-written summaries, such as the first two, the Romans in Greece and Byzantine Greece, which together take up only fifty-five pages for thirteen and a half centuries; some are valuable contributions in the field in which Mr. Miller is particularly learned; some are more or less "timely" articles, notably the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, written after Allenby's capture of the city. Some essays are furnished with bibliographies; some are copiously annotated, others not.

Most of the essays on Frankish and Venetian Greece, as well as some of the others, were written before Mr. Miller published *The Latins in the Levant* and their conclusions were incorporated in that volume. Frequently passages were reprinted verbatim from the essays, as might be expected; but the plan of the book necessitated rearrangement and frequently condensation or elaboration; *e.g.,* p. 57 of the present volume is made up of material which is printed partly in the preface and partly on p. 1 of *The Latins*; p. 60 contains sentences from pp. 3, 4, and 6 of the earlier book; pp. 118–124 have passages from pp. 221–245 of *The Latins*; pp. 144–147 of this book from pp. 400–406 of the other; etc. In the preface the author states that "all the articles have been revised and brought up to date by the light of recent research". Apparently there have been lapses. Although he has much to say about the "Chronicle of Morea", he does not cite, and apparently has not used, Longnon's excellent edition published in 1911 or Adamantiou's "definitive study" published in 1906.

A review of the more important of these essays would be a work of supererogation, as *The Latins in the Levant* was published fourteen years ago and its worth has been recognized. This volume contains some documents, some lists of rulers, and considerable material not found in the former work. It is a question, however, whether in these days of expensive book-making it was worth while to reprint so much that was already accessible. In the different essays, also, there are frequent repetitions which were advisable when they appeared separately, but might well have been omitted in the book.

The "Miscellanea" include convenient summaries of the history of Valona, of the Medieval Serbian Empire, and of Bosnia before the Turkish Conquest; an interesting paper on Balkan exiles in Rome; and articles of slighter value on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and Anna Comnena. In the former, old errors are repeated: *e.g.,* p. 528, that the Knights of St. John originally took their names from St. John the Merciful; over thirty years ago Delaville le Roulx and Herquet proved that the name was taken from John the Baptist. The old fable that the Assizes of Jerusalem were drawn up by Godfrey and kept in a chest in the Holy Sepulchre is again repeated. One other correction may be

noted: on pp. 301–302 the derivation of *maona,* the name for an association of Genoese business men, is stated as of uncertain origin and various derivations are noted, but not the one now accepted, *viz.,* from the Arabic *ma'ûnah*—mutual assistance—(Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker,* Munich, 1906, p. 289). This last correction suggests the statement that Mr. Miller is not very much interested in economic history.

There are fifteen illustrations, eight for Monemvasia, four for Boudonitza, and three for Karditza; but only one small and rather unsatisfactory map. In other respects the volume is an excellent piece of bookmaking. Yet the question remains, whether it will add to the author's deserved reputation.

D. C. Munro.

Hinduism and Buddhism: an Historical Sketch. By Sir Charles Eliot, H. M. Ambassador at Tokio. In three volumes. (London: Edward Arnold and Company. 1921. Pp. civ, 345; iii, 322; iv, 513. Set £4 4s.)

Sir Charles Eliot has had a long career as a diplomat and has graced several posts from Washington to Tokio. He has been also, if not a specialist, at least a writer on Finnish, Turkish, and related languages, and has had an opportunity to study at first hand the practical working of Buddhism in Tibet, Cambodia, China, and other haunts of later and modern Buddhism. With a foundation of Sanskrit to start with he has thus been admirably equipped to tell the long story of Buddhism as one who knows it both *ab initio* and from the inside. Naturally, however, in so vast a field he is more competent to relate what he has seen at one point than at another; he is more at home and more original when writing of Buddhism outside India than in describing Indian Buddhism, where, despite his early linguistic training, he feels himself dependent on the work of more recent explorers. His three volumes as a whole therefore are a peculiar mixture of borrowed and individual research. In great part they are valuable chiefly to the general reader who will not know how much of what he reads has been repeated or assimilated from previous books; at the same time they are valuable to the specialist, who will find in them useful additions to his store of knowledge in fields rather remote from his own narrower investigations. In sum, it is difficult to discover for which class of readers these volumes were especially intended, but both classes will gain from a perusal of the whole.

"Hinduism" to the specialist has rather a restricted meaning. It does not include the early Vedic religion nor its philosophic expression in the Upanishads. On the other hand, what it always includes is the later mixture of Aryan and un-Aryan religious ideas and their expression in the Puranas, religious works of the first centuries A. D. Ignoring this, the author of the present voluminous work, after a generous introduction, gives a second introduction by discussing the political history

of India and the Vedic religion, and its deities and sacrifices. In the next two books he recounts the well-known facts of Pali Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism, and so comes to his first titular subject, Hinduism, disposing of this in less than two hundred pages of analysis of religious philosophy of the Hindu type. Finally, having thus reached the third volume, he devotes nearly all of it to modern Buddhism outside India, but omits a detailed account of the most important of all forms of later Buddhism, that of Japan, because as ambassador at Tokio he regards it as indelicate to discuss the religious aspects of the people to whom he is accredited.

The author seems to realize that he has undertaken too great a task and apologizes in his opening sentences for choosing "a scene unsuited to any canvass which can be prepared at the present day"; his defense is that "wide surveys may sometimes be useful and are needed in the present state of Oriental studies". The reviewer is willing to admit this, but he would have liked to see the matter better distributed, in more even proportion, with less inclusion of outlying subjects, with a fuller account of one of the chief subjects (Hinduism), and with far less repetition, not to speak of inaccuracies. In the first two hundred-odd pages the same note appears three times, on p. xix, p. 20, and p. 132, stating that Vincent Smith has now put back the date of Buddha's death to 554 B. C. or 543 B. C.; the reader is left in doubt which date is correct as the notes do not agree. On p. 333, Elias is Helios and on p. 63 he is a thunder-god. Which is correct? The author habitually writes *karma* but spells the analogous *brahma* with a final n, which is usual but illogical, as both words are of the same class. In Sir Charles's opinion the idea of a god of limitless light is not Hindu but Persian and a god who saves man must have come from over the border. When it is considered that Upanishads declare the godhead to be the glorious sun "whose light all shines after" and that even Pali Buddhism recognized Buddha as a savior-god the iteration of this doubt as to gods of light being Hindu is unfortunate. But the reviewer has many good things to say about this very laudable history and must hasten to mention them, stopping only to object to the author's annoying practice of saying "it has been suggested" without any indication of who has made the suggestion or where it is to be found. Some such statement on the other hand would have been welcomed in any form in some places, if only to show that the author was aware that a certain suggestion had been made. Thus in discussing Buddha's acquaintance with the Atman or soul-doctrine he makes no distinction between the individual soul and the All-Soul, apparently stating that Buddha directed a persistent polemic against the All-Soul doctrine of pantheism. If so, the author is wrong; for the polemic is always against the theory that there is such a thing as an individual soul in a man, and Buddha seems utterly to ignore or be ignorant of the All-Soul doctrine. More important is the opinion expressed on p. 204 of volume I.,

that "Buddhism is as full as or fuller than Christianity of love, self-sacrifice, and thought for others". But love of one's kind to a Buddhist is explicitly declared to be only a step toward complete indifference. Nothing is said, in Buddha's teaching, of faith as an indispensable beginning of the religious life, though faith in Buddha and orthodoxy are demanded of every convert. To say that the Eightfold Path inculcates simply "that the way to be happy is to have a good heart and mind" is to ignore the fact that the "good mind" is only the orthodox mind.

With these few adverse criticisms the reviewer is glad to praise the excellence of the present work in its lucid arrangement and exposition of Pali Buddhism, which occupies about half of the first volume. The second volume gives an admirable account of the rise of the Great Vehicle and its gradual dissociation from the Little (really the "low") Vehicle or Church and except for its insistence on Persian influence is warmly to be commended. Very illuminating is the exposure of how the lower Hindu rites gradually overwhelmed in India what was left there of Buddha's real teaching; how Shaktism and Tantrism ousted all higher thought and substituted eroticism and mummeries of charms and spells for the clean and philosophic ethical system left by the founder. The learned author very properly distinguishes Shaktism (the worship of the female element in a gross materialistic form) from Tantrism, the magical manipulation of spells and diagrams; but he does not sufficiently recognize that later Tantrism has combined with Shaktism, till the former term virtually includes the latter.

In Sir Charles's presentation of "Hinduism" there is little that is novel. There was an excellent opportunity here to describe Hinduism as it is revealed in the Puranas and in daily practice, but the opportunity has been passed by in favor of a presentation of Hindu philosophical systems.

The whole of the third volume of this work is devoted to Buddhism outside India with the exception of fifty pages discussing the vexed question of "mutual influence". The hiatus caused by his omission of a detailed account of Japanese Buddhism is much to be regretted but the author's description of Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia is most comprehensive and enlightening, as is his penetrating discussion of the comparative influence of Indian and Mohammedan invasions of Java and the Malay Archipelago. Here too is to be found a thoroughly competent investigation of the religious influences operative just after the Christian era in Central Asia, in which Sir Charles has made use of the recent discoveries on the part of Stein and other explorers. This is perhaps the most valuable part of the whole work, though the account of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism is also admirable. In the author's opinion, Cambodia was settled from the vicinity of Bijapur in India. It accepted first the school of the Mahayana and then, after the twelfth century, became Hinayist. The influence of China may be suspected in the practice

of identifying the king with a god. It is only in these outlying regions that Buddhism has countenanced the *jus primae noctis* and again only outside India that the Buddhist monks have become military. In 1730, these monks massacred all the Annamites in Cambodia. Sir Charles confutes the notion that China has been a recluse-nation. She used to send out emissaries over all her known world and has always received foreign religions with indifference or eagerness, never refused them admission. Even her Buddhism accepted as part of its canon a work of Sankhya philosophy! There is a good index at the close of the third volume.

E. Washburn Hopkins.

Histoire Générale de la Chine, et de ses Relations avec les Pays Étrangers. Par Henri Cordier. In four volumes. (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1921. Pp. 574; 434; 428; 427. Set 100 fr.)

We have long been in need of a good history of China. There have, of course, been almost numberless works in Chinese, varying in length from the many-volumed Twenty-four Histories (*Érh Shih Ssŭ Shih*) to much smaller compendiums, and treating either the whole of the history of the country or that of particular dynasties or periods. No other nation is, indeed, so rich in printed historical material covering so long a span of time. All of the important works, however, were produced before China had come into intimate contact with the Occident, and we greatly need a history written by someone, either Chinese or foreign, who will make use of the chief Chinese sources and who will at the same time have the benefit of the point of view of modern historical scholarship in Europe and America and of the perspective that comes with an acquaintance with the history and institutions of the rest of the world and will avail himself of the results of the investigations of European as well as Chinese scholars. No work in Chinese as yet answers this need, and there is a similar dearth in European languages. We have, of course, Mailla's great *Histoire Générale de la Chine,* but most of the volumes of that *magnum opus* followed closely a well-known Chinese work, the *T'ung Chien Kang Mu,* and it has, moreover, long since been out of print. We have in English such works as those by Boulger, Macgowan, Williams, Li Ung Bing, and Pott, and in German such a book as that of Hermann, but these are either too brief or confine themselves to retelling the story as it has been narrated by Chinese scholars.

The time has come, too, when it ought to be possible to write a good history of China. There are accessible the standard Chinese works and much other material in that language, and there has been as well excellent writing on specific periods and problems by Occidental scholars. While the research that it is to be ardently hoped will be made in the next few decades in known Chinese sources and in unexplored archaeological sites will probably necessitate the rewriting of any results that are published

now, it is entirely possible to prepare a narrative that would summarize for us, in some detail and with some degree of accuracy, the story of China.

There are few men better fitted for this task than M. Cordier. No other scholar knows better the material available in European languages, and he has written extensively and well, both books and articles. His editorship of *T'oung Pao* has for a generation kept him in touch with what is being done in a scholarly way on China. Such a book as the one before us might, then, be the worthy climax of a long and noteworthy career. In a certain sense the reader is not disappointed. The work gives us, as does no other in any language, a history of China which combines the materials derived from the older Chinese sources and from the work of European savants. One finds frequent references to the publications of such well-known scholars as Chavannes, Pelliot, and Hirth. The volumes, too, are not badly proportioned, and do not, as do so many of the other histories of China in European languages, hurry over the centuries before the coming of the Westerner as though these were merely introductory, and devote half their space to the events of the last hundred years. Two volumes are taken to bring the story down to the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) and one other to 1820. Only one volume is given to the last century. There is, too, some attention paid to other phases of history than the strictly political events that so engrossed the attention of earlier Occidental writers.

In spite of all these excellent qualities, however, one lays down the work with a certain feeling of disappointment. One feels as though it were possible, even now, to do a better piece of work than has been done, and that the author ought to have done it. In the first place, there is little, if any, direct use of Chinese sources. Mailla is referred to again and again, and the larger proportion of the material for the first two volumes is apparently taken from him. That means in substance that these chapters are based mainly on one Chinese authority, and that that has been consulted only in an old and not entirely reliable translation. Other material is, of course, used, such as Chavannes's great edition of *Ssŭ Ma Ch'ien,* so unfortunately left incomplete by the death of the author; but if there has been first-hand use of Chinese sources it does not appear in the foot-notes. It is, of course, possible to do an excellent piece of work on the basis of what is available in European languages, but one is not satisfied with results which are obtained without at least some examination of the wealth of books in the original language. In the next place, the work is unevenly done. Some phases of the history of China, M. Cordier has previously examined very carefully and written upon authoritatively and fully. These are almost entirely connected with the contacts of European peoples with China from Marco Polo on. The best chapters in the four volumes are largely a repetition or condensation of earlier books and articles, such as the author's edition of Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* and *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* and his *Histoire*

des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales. There can be no objection, of course, to using material which the author has previously worked over, but the periods covered by the other portions of the work have so obviously been treated so much less thoroughly that the contrast is more striking than it ought to be. In the third place, the author still clings too closely to politics as the exclusive interest of history. This cannot be entirely because the materials for the other phases of Chinese history are not readily accessible, for many of these are now to be found in European languages. As an approach to a connected narrative of the development of Chinese civilization, the work is a vast improvement over its predecessors, but history is apparently still conceived of as past politics, and other phases of life as relatively less important to the historian and somewhat apart from his main task. One looks in vain for even a reasonably adequate treatment of the development of literature, philosophy, religion, economic life, social structure, and even of political institutions. The ideal history of China must appreciate the intimate interrelation of all of these, something which it is even now, with our imperfect study of the sources, possible to show more fully than M. Cordier has done.

These criticisms must not be allowed to obscure the fact, however, that as a longer history these four volumes are superior to anything that we now have, and are a real contribution both to the student and the general reader. We will look forward eagerly to the time when some scholar, either a European, an American, or a Japanese, who can use both the Chinese and European languages, or some Chinese who has been trained in modern historical methods and knows what has been done in the Occident on things Chinese, will write us a really satisfactory history. In the meantime M. Cordier's book will largely supersede its predecessors and will prove of substantial value.

K. S. Latourette.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende. Par Henry Vignaud. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1921. Pp. 230. 6 fr.)

Since about the middle of the sixteenth century the biographers and historians of Christopher Columbus, in treating of his first voyage of discovery, have represented him as impelled by the desire to find a new way to India or the Orient. About twenty years ago, Henry Vignaud, together with La Rosa, raised the question whether this view of Columbus was historically correct. In 1905 Vignaud published his *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb avant ses Découvertes* (1 vol. octavo), and in 1911, his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb: comment il aurait conçu et formé son Projet, sa Présentation à différentes Cours, son Acceptation finale, sa Mise à Exécution, son Véritable Caractère* (2 vols. octavo).

These publications were not widely read, and left their readers generally unconvinced. So far as this result was due to bulky form and elaborate exposition, it is counteracted by the present compendium, which, if one may judge from its preface, was completed in 1916. It will doubtless draw attention to the larger volumes and win new readers for them, but that it will carry more conviction is hardly to be expected. It contains in condensed form the defects of the *Études* and the *Histoire,* and so constantly refers to these works that it can hardly be read or reviewed without their being included in the process. Be it then recognized that they constitute, in spite of defects, a most useful compilation of sources and references. They show that the motive of Columbus on his first voyage was largely cupidity and ambition and that religious zeal or scientific interest made but a small, if any, part of it. They have shaken or shattered some of the arguments for the traditional belief in the search for a new route to the East; and in a few minds, have totally destroyed it. But this effect, even supposing it to be general, only clears the stage for the author to prove what is the truth. So far from his doing this, he seems to show that neither he nor any one else is equal to the task.

It may be doubted whether the *True Columbus* will justify itself even as a convenience. One may find it easier to read the *Histoire* or selections of it, than the compendium together with a good part of the *Histoire,* jumping back and forth from one to the other.

The reason of the general rejection or non-acceptance of the author's thesis is not to be found in the proportions or literary features of his earlier publications, nor in the mental attitude of their readers, but in traits of the author's mind which appear in his writings as inconsistencies, misinterpretations, and fallacies.

In his *True Columbus* he begins by stating his position or thesis, the gist of which may be expressed as follows:— The discovery of America was not made by trying to reach the East Indies by a westward route, but was the logical, inevitable, anticipated, consequence of an expedition organized expressly to find the particular land which afterwards received the name of America (p. 2). What land does he refer to, which of the lands to which the name of America has been successively applied, from a part of South America to the whole Western Hemisphere? Here a map on which the territory in question should stand out seems necessary to clear and satisfactory apprehension, but there is none. It is a serious defect of these works that none of them is provided with a map. As one follows the author through the *True Columbus* one becomes more and more confused as to what he is trying to prove. Now he says that the object was to discover new "lands or islands". He does not say where any of them were, or orient them with respect to America, but insists that Columbus had located them or believed that he had, and that none of them was in Asia or in Asiatic waters.

He asserts that Columbus agreed with Pinzon to include among his discoveries "Pinzon's island of Cypangu" (p. 93), which for the present

he does not locate outside of Pinzon's mind. A few lines further on he recognizes an island of Cypangu as in Asia, but not as Pinzon's, and denies that Columbus had any thought of going to it. He says that all that Columbus was aiming at was the island of Antilia, which he believed to be "not at too great a distance from the Canaries and the Azores" (pp. 94, 95). Next, he represents the objective as the double one of Pinzon's Cypangu and Antilia (pp. 100, 101), and depicts Antilia as the Antilles, or the present archipelago of the West Indies (p. 123). Hereupon he tells us that all this time Columbus was apparently not thinking of Pinzon's Cypangu (p. 132), that Antilia was Haiti, and that Haiti was what Pinzon thought of as Cypangu (p. 134).

In the *Historie* of Christopher Columbus by his son Ferdinand is a somewhat obscure passage which may be freely translated as follows:

I say that as one thing depends on another and the one brings the other to mind, being in Portugal, he began to consider whether, as the Portuguese were making their way so far southward, one might likewise make one's way westward, and reasonably expect to find land on that route.

Here Ferdinand implies that his father was reasoning by analogy. Omitting this (the italics), our author quotes the passage as referring only to extra-Asiatic territories and so corroborating his thesis, that Columbus was looking only to what is now the Atlantic Ocean for his discoveries (p. 54; *Histoire,* I. 42 n.). What is the analogy between proceeding from one discovery to another along the coast of Africa and looking for new lands out in an unexplored ocean? Considering that Columbus was reasoning by analogy, that his thoughts and words have come to us, not directly from him, but through several persons and at least two languages, is it not probable or possible that he was thinking of doing along another continent what the Portuguese were doing along the African, and if so, why was not Asia, the Asia of his Ptolemy, that other continent? According to the author, Columbus possessed a copy of the Ptolemy Geography of 1475 (*Histoire,* I. 331). This work represents eastern Asia as extending indefinitely or an unknown distance toward the south.

Our author says that Columbus expressly identified the present island of Haiti with the Cypangu of Pinzon, and for authority refers to two documents, the "Majorat" or Entail of Columbus's estates, February 22, 1498, and a marginal note in a copy of Pliny, which he attributes to Columbus (pp. 133, 134). In the Entail the only reference to this island is the following sentence: "And it pleased our Lord Almighty that . . . I should discover . . . many islands, among which is Española, which the natives call 'Feiti' and which the Monicondos [call] 'Zipango' (*Raccolta di Docum.,* part I., vol. I., p. 304). In other versions of this text the word *Monicondo* reads *Monicongo,* which seems to mean a little man of little sense, a monkey. Did Columbus consider himself a Moni-

condo, whatever that may be? Was this island called Zipango by any intelligent person, and how did calling it Zipango identify it with anything?

The marginal note reads ". . . the island of feiti or ofir, or cipango, to which I have given the name Spagnola" (*Raccolta,* pt. I., vol. III., tav. CI.). It does not identify the Cypangu of Pinzon with the island of Haiti. But admitting that it does, it remains for the author to prove that this mental process, apparently peculiar to Monicondos, took place in the mind of Columbus. The marginal notes (*Postilles*), said to be in the handwriting of Columbus, do not receive the attention which they seem to deserve. In the Alphabetical Table of Contents (*Histoire,* II. 649), the reader is referred to the subject-title *Postille,* but we find no such title. What is said on this subject is scattered and hard to find.

As material for his work, there is nothing that combines authenticity with information in as high a degree as the Letters Patent of April 30, 1492, about three months before the sailing of the first expedition. In this paper the Spanish sovereigns jointly assert: "considering that you, Christopher Columbus, are going by our order to discover and appropriate [*descobrir é ganar*] . . . certain islands [*islas*] and continental territory [*terra firme*] in the said Ocean-sea [*mar Oceano*]", etc. Commenting on this and other similar expressions, the author says, "les souverains n'entendaient récompenser que les découvertes relatives à des îles ou terres nouvelles. . . ." He renders "*terra firme*" as "lands", and seems to regard it as synonymous with "*islas*". Obviously it is used in contradistinction from it, with the meaning already indicated, of continental territory, or mainland. It may refer to some other continent than that of Asia, but why should it not refer also to Asia? Why must "islands" and "continental territory" mean "non-Asiatic islands" and "non-Asiatic continental territory"?

The *Histoire* has no index and this deficiency is not supplied by the alphabetical table of contents. It has a list of eight errata to which about three times that many might be added. Among the errata in the *True Columbus* are the following: "58" (p. 38 n.) and "59" (pp. 46 n. and 59 n.) should read "sq"; "*Étude*" (p. 186 n.) should read *Histoire*; "1492" (p. 112 n.) should read "1492, vol. I."; "p. 506" (p. 187 n.) should read "vol. II., p. 586." On page 110, 6th line, the words "plus tard" should apparently be transposed with the words "comme Colomb l'assura".

JOHN BIGELOW.

The Spanish Borderlands: a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest. By HERBERT E. BOLTON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 320.)

THE real theme of this pleasantly and popularly written book is the part played by Spain in the opening up, to the ken of civilized man, of

lands now a part of the United States. The Spanish borderlands are defined in the short preface as "the northern outposts of New Spain, maintained chiefly to hold the country against foreign intruders and against the inroads of savage tribes". "Far from the centres of Spanish colonial civilization in the West Indies, Central America, Mexico, and Peru", these lands had, nevertheless, throughout almost all the era of discovery and all the colonial era, an importance which arose from the desires of adventurers as well as from the reasons above stated.

Professor Bolton has told this story well and interestingly, and his narrative is full of action as befits the history of Spanish exploration and colonization in what is now territory of our own country. Throughout, he makes abundant use of the old chronicles and accounts, but to this he has added his own vast knowledge of the territory, gained both by intensive study and in part by personal visitation. His narrative is enriched by many sidelights taken from old unpublished manuscripts and from the documents published by himself.

In more popular vein than in the Bolton and Marshall *Colonization of North America,* the volume shows the abiding influence of Spain north of the Rio Grande. Indeed, the Spanish influence in these borderlands is still found, as the author points out, in the many geographical names still in use, the persistence of the Spanish tongue, Spanish customs (social, religious, economic, and legal), and the Spanish type of architecture.

The narrative is divided into two sections: the first of four chapters, treating of the explorers, and the second of six chapters, treating of the colonies. The first section gives in rapid survey the stories of Ponce de León, Ayllón, and Narváez; Cabeza de Vaca; Hernando de Soto; and Coronado, Cabrillo, and Vizcaíno. The second has chapters devoted to Florida, New Mexico, the Jesuits on the Pacific slope, Texas, Louisiana, and California. In these chapters, the author has shown the working of European policy in the wilderness of the New World, and he furnishes, although briefly, the transition to the later period after Spain's connection with these lands had ceased.

Professor Bolton has kept before him the larger relations of Spanish discovery and colonization. For instance, he shows well the early connection between the Philippines and America, and he has conceived of Spanish colonization as a whole instead of as a number of detached and unrelated bits. The virtues and the vices of the Spaniards in the New World are brought out frequently, as well as their elements of strength and weakness in the political arena.

The text is followed by a bibliographical note of somewhat over six pages, in which are described some of the original and secondary sources, both narratives and collections of documents. This will be serviceable to the general reader, for whom the series of which this volume forms a part is primarily intended. The classified arrangement of this list will be especially welcomed. The index is more complete than is the case in

many works of this nature. Nine well-executed illustrations add to the work.

A few misprints occur here and there, and some misplaced accents, but in general the mechanical appearance of the volume is excellent. The word "savage" is misused (p. vii), and the word "monk" is wrongly used in several instances for friar (pp. 87, 89). But Professor Bolton is sure of his facts, and the book will be classed as authoritative. It brings into a single volume the salient features of Spanish history north of the Rio Grande, and because of that fact should be read widely. If the plans of the editors of the series of which it forms a part permit, it should be issued also as a separate volume. It is of interest to note that as first submitted to the general editor, the work was considered too long and reduction and revision became necessary. In this the author was aided by Miss Constance L. Skinner.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History. By PETER G. MODE, A.M., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Church History in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Company. 1921. Pp. xxiv, 735. $4.50.)

DR. MODE'S publication is eventful for all students of American religious history. We have had good denominational histories but no adequate total survey. The chapter divisions, the bibliographies and documents of this new work must stimulate and found attempts at this total view—and when at last all these *disjecta membra* are co-ordinated and interpreted in relation to political, economic, and philosophical history we shall have a story of spiritual process and movement that will help to define and to determine American life.

As a bibliographical guide the book is of the greatest service. To each chapter dealing with a distinct topic (*e.g.*, the Great Awakening, Methodism, its Rise and Organization, the Christianizing of the Indians) is prefixed a list of books in chronological order and also a most welcome array of references to periodical articles. Heaven grant that our libraries may try to meet the test of such a bibliography! Doubtless many a student will suggest additions to it, but the reviewer will only allow himself to regret the absence of foreign works like Nippold's *Amerikanische Kirchengeschichte,* Wilhelm Müller's *Das Religiöse Leben in Amerika,* Houtin's *L'Américanisme,* and Eduard Meyer's *Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen.* What a foreigner selects as interesting and characteristic is helpful to the native observer.

With regard to the illustrative source-material here printed the first word is one of gratitude for the variety and pertinency of documents, many of which are not easily accessible. Naturally the colonial period has been more thoroughly studied hitherto and the selections here are in

general very satisfactory, though here, as everywhere, certain preferences must be disappointed. It is, for example, a misfortune not to have the popular response to Whitefield's first tour in New England illustrated by the Nathan Cole manuscript printed in George Leon Walker's *Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England.* In the nineteenth century the topics which loom large in the selections are the church extension westward, the agitations over slavery, the consequent disruption of denominations, and the federative tendencies following the Civil War, with the recent culmination of concerted practical effort through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. All this is excellent but insufficient. The name of Theodore Parker occurs only in connection with the topic of antislavery. That illustrates the subordination of the whole matter of religious thought to the interests of practical activities. We cannot from these materials tell the rest of the story: the effect of the Great Awakening in breaking up doctrinal uniformity, the sudden invasion of scepticism in the French and Indian War, the undermining of old theology by the new views of human nature current in the political discussions of the Revolutionary period, the reaction against the French Revolution resulting in a revived orthodoxy with the exclusion of liberal elements, the ardor for religious social experiments in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Brook Farm, the Hopedale Community, the Rappists), Transcendentalism, Mercersburg Theology, Episcopalian Neo-Athanasianism, the New Thought Movement. These are also conspicuous matters and belong to one process, doubtless a complex one and operative only in the more alert and progressive elements in society. Possibly Dr. Mode's source-book will evolve through later elaboration and include more of this.

Great labor has gone into this book but not much into the index, which is scant and curious. Whoever has been grateful for the excellent index in Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* will lament the brevity and capriciousness of this one.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Economic Development of the United States. By ISAAC LIPPINCOTT, Ph.D., Professor of Economic Resources, Washington University. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1921. Pp. xvi, 691. $3.50.)

AMERICAN economic history has been recognized only recently in the United States as a school subject, and teachers and text-book writers have been feeling their way in this field of instruction with some caution. About fifteen years ago Professor Bogart and Professor Coman issued volumes on the subject which were in most respects excellent, although they were pioneer works. The present season, when economic problems are forcing themselves more insistently upon the attention of the people than usual, two new text-books have appeared, by Professor Van Metre and by Professor Lippincott, which embody both later facts and later

experience with economic history as a branch of study. Of these Professor Lippincott's *Economic Development of the United States* diverges most from the older text-book style and make-up and represents rather the more original contribution to the interpretative arrangement of the known data of our economic life. It is not only a class-room book, but a work that should receive a welcome in the library of any intelligent and thoughtful citizen.

Much skill and judgment are demanded, even after others have blazed the trail, to apportion the space in a volume of less than seven hundred pages so justly to each of the multitudinous topics which properly fall within the purview of the economic historian that nothing will be slighted and nothing over-emphasized. The author has accomplished this remarkably well. A painstaking reader may discover the occasional omission of episodes that might have added to the completeness of the narrative, but these instances are neither numerous nor important enough to detract materially from the value of the book. They are probably due to conscious efforts at condensation.

Although Professor Lippincott's earlier researches in American economic history related mainly to its pioneer and romantic period, he has not permitted himself to be diverted into antiquarian by-ways. He devotes nearly four hundred pages to the modern era following the Civil War, and the final chapter deals with the latest and possibly most revolutionary epoch of our economic development, from 1914 to 1921.

The introductory paragraphs of several of the chapters, giving a summary of what is treated in fuller detail later, are often models of condensed and logical analysis. This fashion of throwing a search-light ray ahead over the territory to be traversed is useful and happily handled.

American economic history is a theme that lends itself easily to optimistic treatment. An author is forced by the nature of his materials, and by the spirit that pervades the literature which supplies his sources, to treat quantity-measurements and value-measurements as identical. Furthermore an optimistic attitude—a more or less uncritical acceptance of our past as providentially the best of pasts—is demanded by public opinion, especially in text-books. Nor is the school-room the proper place to question the wisdom of our forefathers. Consequently any book of this kind—designed to serve the purpose this book serves—inevitably impresses the peruser who is, let us say, overread in this field of history, as a trifle posed. And the question rises in his mind: Will the time ever come when the public will, not only permit, but insist, that the maturing generation study our history as a record of failures as well as of successes? Perhaps it should be left to the discretion of the teacher to point out to our future citizens and public men how the errors of the past throw light upon the problems of the present. This is something no text-book as yet presumes to do, nor probably could do and be successful as a text-book. Still, so long as this condition lasts, school economic history will have a trace of artificiality.

The present volume has the defects inseparable from a first edition—occasional misprints, especially of figures. Most of these typographical errors—and they are not numerous—any intelligent teacher is likely to detect and can easily rectify. There is a good index, and brief bibliographies, mostly of secondary sources, are appended to each chapter. The book does not contain a chart, map, or illustration. In this respect, and in general mechanical make-up, it suffers somewhat by comparison with the volume just issued on the same subject by Professor Van Metre. Though the text abounds in statistical data, tables are used but sparingly. The book is not padded with appendixes of undigested matter. The result of all this is that an unusual amount of text is compressed within convenient limits, and what the reader loses in graphic presentations he gains in another direction. If I were selecting a single volume to have constantly at hand for reference and for an occasional summary review of our economic past, this is one I should choose.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

The Fathers of the Constitution: a Chronicle of the Establishment of the Union. By MAX FARRAND. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 246.)

Jefferson and his Colleagues: a Chronicle of the Virginia Dynasty. By ALLEN JOHNSON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XV.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. ix, 343.)

THE two volumes of the *Chronicles of America* before me have the characteristics of the series. They are pleasant to handle, in every way beautiful in make-up, strikingly illustrated, equipped with usable bibliographies and indexes. They are intended for the reader who whether popular or learned desires a well-written and at the same time scholarly record of wide ranges of fact and movement. They come from hands experienced in historical investigation and writing. Each of the two authors is well known for his particular interest in the field covered by his present volume.

Professor Farrand attempts in 164 slight pages to describe the conditions and events out of which grew the Convention of 1787, to outline and interpret the discussions of that body, to carry the reader through the ratification of the work of the Convention by the states to the point of the inauguration of the government of George Washington. This writer wishes Professor Farrand had been given the fifty-two pages occupied by a reprinting of the Declaration of Independence (with two pages of Signers attached), the Articles of Confederation (with two more pages of names following), the Northwest Ordinance, the Constitution of the United States, with names of the famous thirty-nine from "George Washington, President and Deputy from Virginia", to "Abr Baldwin" of Georgia, and "Attest William Jackson Secretary".

The treatment is too slight to give occasion for elaborate presentation of novel views of the period or to afford opportunity for many innocent errors of fact—the especial delight of reviewers. The evidences of the lack of respect in which the new United States was held by European countries in 1783 are almost startling, and the description of "Trade and Industry" will be found informing.

The fruitage of the "compact theory" in the revolutionary state constitutions is convincingly suggested and the culmination of experimentation since 1754 in the Articles of Confederation is made plain. The present writer is not sure that he finds in this volume, however, as clear a statement of the whole political problem of the period, the problem of imperial organization, as he finds in the volume in the *American Nation* series, written by Professor McLaughlin. However, the emergence of a colonial problem, another phase of the problem of "imperial organization" as it presented itself to American statesmen, and the remarkably generous and far-seeing solution of the problem are lucidly and strongly set forth.

The Convention of 1787 itself Professor Farrand does not regard as an "assembly of demigods" but as "a fairly representative body, which was of a somewhat higher order than would be gathered together today" (p. 117). The division in the body was between large states and small states, "and public sentiment on the slave trade was not much more emphatic and positive than it is now on cruelty to animals" (p. 130). Although there is nothing definite in the Constitution conferring on federal courts the power to declare legislative enactments void, nevertheless "There is little doubt that the more important men in the Convention . . . believed that the judiciary would exercise this power" (p. 132). Regardless of their theories of government, "the framers" "did not go out of their own experience" (p. 141). They aimed to correct the well-known defects in the Articles of Confederation and succeeded in correcting practically every one of them. Professor Farrand does not place much emphasis on the "economic interpretation of the Constitution". The propertied classes that framed and adopted the Constitution acted in the public interest as well as in self-protection.

Perhaps the most novel position taken by Professor Farrand is that taken at the very end, to wit: that Americans would have been able to make almost any form of government succeed, and that had the Federal Convention not met "there is good reason for believing that the Articles of Confederation, with some amendments, would have been made to work" (p. 164).

Professor Farrand, although not an idolater of the "Framers", nevertheless has something of the advantage of Professor Johnson—in his more nearly complete sympathy with the Fathers of the Constitution than has Johnson with Jefferson and his Colleagues. These colleagues even appear in much better light in Farrand's book than they do in Johnson's. To Farrand Jefferson is the Virginia reformer and a farseeing national

statesman, and Madison is "the leading expert worker of the Convention in the business of framing the Constitution". To Johnson they are members of the "Virginia Dynasty", and the least successful members of that unhappy tribe.

Of course it is not Professor Johnson's fault that these two eminent Virginians were more brilliant in philosophical speculation and legislative effort than in administrative abilities, nor that they had to administer difficult affairs in a peculiarly trying epoch. Although Jefferson did have his scruples about constitutional proprieties, nevertheless the outstanding big fact is that his administration assumed the immense responsibility of signing and ratifying a treaty in which the United States purchased the Louisiana territory. From that day the United States was destined to take its place among powers of the first rank. Also the pursuit of the Floridas, though at times awkward, was under this same dynasty carried to a successful achievement.

So far as Jefferson's commercial warfare against England and France is concerned, Professor Johnson admits (p. 162) that had the commerce of the United States in 1807 "been as necessary to England and France as it was 'at the very peak' of the World War, Thomas Jefferson might have proved that peaceable coercion is an effective alternative to war" (p. 162). Madison, too, preferred "amicable discussion and reasonable accommodation of differences to a decision of them by an appeal to arms" (p. 171).

Mr. Johnson, much better than most historians, emphasizes the real forces behind the actual declaration of war in 1812. The "War Hawks" who had fought Indians and traded in furs; who longed for Canada and thought they had a right to the Floridas; and who had the courage and confidence born of their love of adventure, rejoiced in the opportunity for war and had no intention of putting up with a President who would not work with them for national honor and territorial ambitions.

It is rather odd that "the least talented" of the Virginia Dynasty should appear in so much better light in this volume than do his brilliant predecessors. The times had changed; wars had ceased; Monroe, too, had matured. "He had learned much in the rude school of experience, and he now brought to his new duties discretion, sobriety, and poise. He was what the common people held him to be—a faithful public servant, deeply and sincerely republican, earnestly desirous to serve the country which he loved" (p. 265).

And yet John Quincy Adams figures as the hero of the administration. And Monroe in the new era, with its increasing demands for constructive internal policies, based on broader constitutional views, found himself "out of touch with the newer currents of national life" (p. 311). Indeed Virginia herself was falling behind. Her economic condition had become distressing. Her statesmen's broad policies of expansion from which the country as a whole benefited had drained the old South of

population and wealth. These statesmen themselves in their retirement shared the financial afflictions of their people.

But somewhat more, it seems, than the author of this really good volume conveys to the reader these Virginians are to be commended for their high idealism and their actual accomplishment of lasting benefits to this country. The epoch 1800–1824 was a fruitful period despite its tangled maze of experimental diplomacy—fruitful of great results for which in large measure America is indebted to "Jefferson and his Colleagues".

D. R. Anderson.

Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812. Edited, with an Introduction, by William Wood. Volume I. [Publications of the Champlain Society, vol. XIII.] (Toronto: the Society. 1920. Pp. xv, 678, x.)

The aim of the three volumes, of which this is the first, is to give in full original form the gist of the collection of important British documents relating to the Canadian part of the War of 1812. This collection the Champlain Society now believes to approach completeness for all probable practical purposes. Publication of this volume was delayed two years in order that the harvesting of documents into the Dominion Archives at Ottawa might attain such a degree of finality that further discoveries which would materially change existing evidence would "seem to be almost beyond reasonable expectation". The editorial work in general and the format of the volume deserve high praise.

In place of an introduction to each document or to each group of documents, a judicious, well-written introduction covers the whole war. It is divided into twelve chapters of from two to thirty-seven pages in length, which occupy the first fifth of the volume and serve to integrate the documents which follow. It is not an easy task to assess and properly document events whose importance, like that of the campaign around Detroit in which the relations with the Indians were deeply involved, was vastly out of proportion to numbers engaged or losses of men and war materials, and in one instance, in a note bordering on disgust, the editor aptly describes the campaign along the Montreal frontier as "the most sprawling and sporadic part of a sprawling and sporadic war" (p. 50).

The documents in this volume relate almost exclusively to conditions and events prior to 1813, and, with the exception of eight, chiefly to the military operations in the West. Unquestionably the most valuable portion is that which deals with the correspondence of the British generals, Brock and Sheafe, with Sir George Prevost, the governor-general and commander-in-chief in Canada. Taken as a whole there is little that is both new and important to a full understanding of the part played by the Canadian forces in the first year of the war, but this fact should not obscure the large and permanent worth of an easily accessible publication

like this to students of history on both sides of the St. Lawrence. Among the significant papers here presented are those devoted to the suspicions of the Canadians regarding the sentiments and movements of the Americans along the frontier, particularly about Niagara; the organization of the militia in Upper Canada; the provincial statute of Lower Canada to facilitate the circulation of army bills; and certain personal observations by two Canadians of Hull and his men at the time of the surrender of Detroit, as revealed in letters and a journal.

An important group of papers shows how insistently the British traders and the Canadian government were cultivating the Indians in the United States, the chief being a confidential communication from Robert Dickson, "residing with the Indians near the Missouri" (1812), in which he quotes the speeches of three chiefs, one a Sioux, who confess that they "have for some time past been amused by the songs of bad Birds from the lower part of the River—they were not the songs of truth". The inclusion of the "historical romance" entitled "The War of the Gulls" (pp. 561–579), and the proclamation of the United States Brigadier-General Smyth to the men of New York, which Henry Adams characterized as unmilitary, surprising, and in the end burlesque, and which has long been quickly accessible in *Niles's Register,* is not easily justified in such a carefully edited and definitive collection as this. Very minor inclusions in the midst of many arid and petty details reveal an unexpected touch of chivalry: the offer of the commander at Ft. George to aid the badly wounded American Colonel van Rensselaer at Lewiston with anything "either useful or agreeable to him", and General van Rensselaer's announcement at Lewiston that he will "order a salute for the funeral of General Brock to be fired here, and at Ft. Niagara, this afternoon" [October 16, 1812] (pp. 625–626).

The chief "find" of the collection is presented at the close of the introduction. It is a "private and confidential" letter of the Duke of Wellington at Paris, in November, 1814, to Lord Bathurst after the disastrous defeat of Prevost at Plattsburg: "I see that the Publick are very impatient about the want of success in America, and I expect they will never be quiet until I shall go there . . . it is too late to think of going to America this year; and I believe I shall not be able to go to Quebec till April. If, however, in March next, you should think it expedient that I shall go there, I beg that you will understand that I have no objection whatever" (p. 131).

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

A History of the United States. By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume V. *The Period of Transition, 1815–1848.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. viii, 623. $4.50.)

THE author of a "standard history" may call for sympathy as well as admiration. A balanced and a just account is expected by the general

reading public, with every influence and interest that has affected national development allotted its exact and proper space, with historic characters all assessed, and all historical materials assayed. It must wear the aspect of finality and yet must have the air of freshness; it must not leave out the old but must include the new. Every reader will find it useful, except perhaps those pages which touch—or neglect to touch—upon his own peculiar province, but since common sense and general knowledge will supply the tests, every reader will feel free to point out faults. The story has become so complex with the spread of scholarship that in latter years it has been thought appropriate for companies of specialists. It is an awful enterprise for one sole man, fit only for a bold and seasoned spirit and drawing the attention of the multitude. Parkman, Henry Adams, Rhodes, and others were content with periods; McMaster and Von Holst each made his contribution from a body of sources not before extensively examined; but Professor Channing essays the whole account, making use of all the special studies made by every one in every field.

The fifth volume of his *History of the United States*, covering the years 1815 to 1848, is sharply split in two. In the first half the author reveals it as a "period of transition" in the material concerns of the American people, their intellectual outlook, their home life, and their social habits; in the last he seeks to show the changes in the field of government. In devoting so much space to *Kulturgeschichte* the author diverges from Schouler, Burgess, and others who have written the history of these years exclusively as past politics. That Professor Channing realized the importance of economic interests had been shown before, notably in chapter XIII. of volume III. and chapter IV. of volume IV., but apparently this interest has grown more compelling.

The present volume itself represents a "period of transition" in history-writing. History has added units but not absorbed them; it has new particulars but not synthesis; so that we have chapters on the westward march, cities, labor, plantations and abolitionism, religion, education, literature, and many on politics. Very few people in any age are personally concerned with politics either as a trade or as a science; for the great majority it merely affords the means by which certain definite interests or ideals are safeguarded or forwarded. Will not the next standard historian of the period show more clearly why the American system was American, and why each economic and social interest reacted to it as it did, and how the wealth of nature developed optimism and material ambition for everybody which was reflected in our religion, literature, and education no less than in our zeal for territorial growth and our jealous independence? Professor Channing with great industry and sagacity has selected the materials and to a certain extent has arranged the picture; if there ever is a successor, will he not find points of focus?

Believing that the long intensity of war ending in 1815 had stirred the western world out of its routine, the author summarizes the achievement

of the following generation of Americans, in transportation. This introduces an excellent chapter on the transfer of population toward the West, or "Transappalachia", as he rather usefully christens it. He does not show the effect of this migration on the growth of cities or on rural life in the East, but here and in his chapter on the plantations makes clear what it meant to the seaboard South. His sympathy and fairness in dealing with the Southern "cavaliers" and Northern abolitionists shows how scholarship and time have softened the asperities of years gone by. On prison reform, the temperance movement, the care of the insane, the development of religious sects, etc., he shows remarkable familiarity with the special literatures of the subjects and a restraint never yielding to the temptations of the picturesque. In reviewing education he shows "how slight America's contribution had been to the practice and organization of teaching", and how deep her debt to Germany in the generations before the Civil War; but in his thirty pages on the more hackneyed field of literature he finds it difficult to make a contribution, though not for lack of enthusiasm. "In short", he concludes, "this half-century in the United States in poetry, in fiction, and in history stands apart—it is without an equal since the days of Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, and John Milton" (p. 305)—to which the conscientious reader must append "*mutatis mutandis*".

In this survey of American interests, generally so full and fair, there is nothing about architecture, the position of women, the public land question, the fur trade, or, most surprisingly, the winning of universal manhood suffrage. Also in his political narrative, compressed within three hundred pages, there are unexpected emphases; about ten times as much space is devoted to the work of General Scott as to that of Chief Justice Marshall; Eric Janson, who led a small band of Scandinavians to Henry County, Illinois, has as much attention as President John Tyler; the psychology of the frontier bankers is brilliantly presented, but the Locofocos have to share one short page with the Antimasons. As in volume III. he rescued President Adams from disgraceful defeat in 1800 and brought him out to something near to victory, he does a similar service for his son in 1828; there is a good word for Andrew Jackson as a spoilsman and for General Santa Anna. The estimates of character and service are, as a whole, judicious and precise, and there are few or no traces of sectional prejudice in the distribution of space or praise. Yet one might question some judgments like that on Biddle and his Bank of the United States. The last days of that institution under its Pennsylvania charter were, as Catterall admitted years ago, "unfortunate" and "disastrous", but there is no real evidence to convict the president of chicanery as is implied in this account.

The volume would be distinguished, if for no other reason, by the value of its notes which make critical reference to all sorts and kinds of monographic pamphlets, articles, and books as well as to many curious and comparatively unexploited sources. It will be a rare scholar to whom

a full third of these will not be unfamiliar. Private conversations with many specialists are particularly acknowledged in the sources, and many valuable suggestions. The style is clear, but never eloquent; the many individual instances, unimportant in themselves, used in developing points make for vividness but sometimes destroy perspective. The charts and maps are singularly well chosen, but the index is quite inadequate to a work of reference, neglecting as it does the names of many persons mentioned in the book.

The reader carries away the impression of a wise and careful scholar with whom no traditional judgment can pass without investigation and to whom nothing that is American is foreign. He has enlarged our field of vision, though he has not changed our point of view. If in each generation some single veteran scholar should take stock of what is going forward in the historical study of the United States, Professor Channing should be warmly thanked for his service to our own.

DIXON RYAN FOX.

Captains of the Civil War: a Chronicle of the Blue and the Gray. By WILLIAM WOOD. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. xiv, 424.)

COLONEL WOOD has written a very readable and interesting book. He has chosen to emphasize the picturesque to the necessary exclusion of more detailed discussion of important events. The emphasis on the extent and value of the work of the Federal navy is particularly interesting, though, in places, too detailed for such a study.

The first part of the book is devoted to a rather extended and, in places, detailed discussion of the opening events of the war and of the opposing combatants. Of the make-up of the armies Colonel Wood says that "... when the froth had been blown off the top, and the dregs drained out of the bottom, the solid mass between, who really were sound patriots, settled down to work". It was "the froth ... and the dregs"—the "fustian heroes"—who "formed the mushroom secret societies that played their vile extravaganza right under the shadow of the real tragedy of war" and that caused the "patriots" many an anxious and uncertain hour. After this introduction the opening operations of the navy are discussed, including the taking of New Orleans. There are two interesting chapters on the "River Wars" of 1862 and 1863, in which Grant and Farragut are the heroes. A chapter on Lincoln: War Statesman, though well and sympathetically done, seems superfluous in view of the fact that the subject is well done elsewhere in this series. The important part of the material might well have been worked into the different chapters. The space could certainly be filled to advantage with a more extended narrative of military and naval events.

Except for a chapter on Lee and Jackson, 1862–1863, and one on Gettysburg, making together less than one-fourth of the book, the author follows

Grant and Farragut from place to place and, with few exceptions, only events in which they are the principal actors are given detailed or extended consideration. This method makes possible only cursory mention of the operations and leadership in the so-called Western theatre. The battle of Shiloh, though important as being the first pitched battle in this area, is, like the first Bull Run, given in too much detail. Bragg's Kentucky campaign and the Chickamauga campaign receive only passing mention. Johnston's masterly retreat to Atlanta in the face of Sherman's superior forces is sandwiched into the narrative of Grant's operations before Richmond in 1864 and its importance from the political, economic, and military standpoints is lost sight of. Hood's Tennessee Campaign of the winter of 1864 receives none of the discussion that this last desperate thrust deserves, considering its ultimate possibilities in case of success. As Colonel Wood has said of Rosecrans, Hood, "like many another man who succeeds halfway up, failed at the top".

This neglect of the Western area is characteristic of most military writers of the Civil War period. The Western armies, though comparable in quality of personnel, were not as well led as were the armies in Virginia and at no time, unless we except Joseph E. Johnston, did the Western armies have a leader who was loved, trusted, and respected as was Robert E. Lee. In fact the ascendancy of Lee and Virginia has, until recently, obscured these important operations conducted in the granary of the Confederacy. They took place in a much larger and more physically difficult area than Virginia and one not as well served with railroads. On the other hand, the many navigable rivers were a source of strength to both combatants and, in the case of Chattanooga in the fall of 1863, the accessibility of the Tennessee River prevented the Federal army from being starved out or forced to retreat northwards.

In this altogether readable and interesting book we note several errors of statement, but limitations of space forbid detailed correction of all. For examples: it is exaggeration to speak of Twiggs's surrender as "the greatest of all surrenders" (p. 8) when the statement is made without qualification; Lee was not "Scott's Chief of Staff in Mexico", but only an engineer officer on his staff (p. 9); several exceptions must be made to the statement that West Point furnished "every successful high commander", as, for example, John B. Gordon, N. B. Forrest, F. C. Barlow, David B. Birney (p. 78); McClernand was not dismissed, but simply relieved of his command and returned to his home in Illinois for further mischief (p. 136); General Stephen D. Lee, not General Pemberton, commanded at Chickasaw Bluffs and deserved and obtained the credit for Sherman's repulse (p. 164); Johnston was in Tennessee and Mississippi, in the fall of 1862, ostensibly directing the operations of Bragg and Pemberton, but, in fact, exercising no real command (p. 219); Jackson's failures in the Seven Days' battles are not sufficiently emphasized (p. 223); it is rather an exaggeration to characterize Crocker and the politicians Logan and Blair as "three of the best generals who ever came

from civil life"—the evidence is wanting (p. 261); Rosecrans did not order "an immediate general retreat" at Chickamauga, but sent Thomas orders of a more or less discretionary nature (p. 280); Bragg did not mass "every available gun and man" to meet Sherman's attack against his right on Missionary Ridge, in fact his right was at no time in danger and handled Sherman without reinforcements. Three brigades were sent from the right to assist the hard-pressed left and centre. There was a rout at the centre only, and the retreat was skillfully covered by the "fighting" right led by Hardee and Cleburne. It is not correct to say that "thousands of prisoners were taken; and most of the others were scattered in flight". The break at the centre took with it the left of the line, but the right stood fast. Bragg's "missing" for Lookout Mountain and the assault on Missionary Ridge numbered approximately 4100, as given by Livermore (p. 285). Too much emphasis is placed on the effect of Banks's ill-advised campaign in Louisiana on Sherman's proposed operations against Mobile. Cold Harbor could hardly be called "the last pitched battle on Virginia soil", as the battle of the Crater followed in July, and Early and Sheridan in the Valley of Virginia fought two sizeable battles—at Cedar Creek and Fisher's Hill—in the fall of 1864 (p. 355); Beauregard's relation to Hood was one of supervision and consultation, not of actual "command" (p. 371); there were not thirteen assaults at Franklin, but only one general assault, with continuous and bitter hand-to-hand fighting at the breastworks until long after dark (p. 377); Hood lost a total of approximately 5000, not 15,000, at Nashville (p. 378); Lee was appointed commander-in-chief on February 6, not February 9 (p. 382). General James H. Wilson's masterly cavalry campaign into Alabama and Georgia in the spring of 1865 is not mentioned. Few campaigns have been as well planned and as well executed. The publications of the Southern Historical Society and the twelve-volume Scribner series of *Campaigns of the Civil War* might well have been mentioned in the Bibliographical Note.

The use of the English military terms: battalions for regiments; rails for railroads; and such terms as ratings, enislement, and special-constable indicate the English military training of the author.

The book is thoroughly readable and one is carried through it by the easy flowing style. The volume maintains the high standard of appearance and book-making set by the previously issued volumes of the series.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

Recent History of the United States. By FREDERIC L. PAXSON, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xii, 603. $3.75.)

THIS book is not a revision of the author's *New Nation* which appeared some six years ago as volume IV. of the well-known *Riverside*

series. That volume commenced with the close of the Civil War and ended with the beginning of the World War in 1914. This book begins with the administration of Hayes and brings the story down to the election of Harding. Here, as in the author's earlier work, the primary emphasis is placed upon the social and economic phases of our history, although the political events are given all the space they deserve. Those historians who insist that a disproportionate amount of space be devoted to very recent events should be highly gratified by the fact that Professor Paxson has given 156 pages, or one-fourth of the entire book, to an account of the six stirring years from 1914 to 1920. In this space he has succeeded in giving a remarkably sane and well-balanced narrative of this country's part in the great struggle and its aftermath.

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this text is the author's catholicity in his choice of subject-matter. He has endeavored to envisage the manysidedness of American life and has presented his facts calmly and judiciously. For instance, in his chapter on Post-Bellum Ideals he discusses such topics as new types of literature, the development of higher education, scientific scholarship, and the like. No doubt the most unusual and significant chapter is that in which amateur and professional sport, club life, and related matters come in for their share of attention. Most history teachers now agree that such topics are quite as appropriate as politics, war, and economics.

In devoting a considerable amount of space to the development of business enterprise, the author has but followed the tendency that characterizes nearly all the more recent and popular history texts. It is as an economic historian that Professor Paxson is most at home. And yet so complicated are the forces that are, and for many years have been, at work in bringing our economic society to its present state that even so excellent an historian as Professor Paxson has not entirely succeeded in making clear their interaction, sequence, and significance. Certainly the average sophomore, even after a careful perusal of this text, and aided by a clever instructor, will still find difficulty in understanding the complex life that surrounds him. But after all, it is no easy task to tread the mazes and chart the paths through this wilderness of complexity into the light of understanding. If Professor Paxson has failed, the reviewer ventures to suggest that his chief difficulty lies in the fact that he has made a fetish of impartiality. The intelligent reader will gain the impression that the author has been too fearful of offending some of the numerous groups that are parties in the political and economic conflicts forever going on about us. The prejudices of school-book commissions and college trustees being what they are, this is almost a perfect text for the period it covers, but great books are never colorless.

B. B. Kendrick.

Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities. By CHARLES MOORE. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xvii, 260; ix, 238. $20.00.)

WHEN in 1901 the Senate Park Commission was created, to devise and carry out the systematic development and improvement of the park plan of Washington, Mr. Charles Moore was made its secretary. In this service he became intimately acquainted with the three men most conspicuous in the creation and development of the new plans—C. F. McKim the architect, Frederick Law Olmsted the landscape designer, and Daniel Hopkins Burnham, also an architect, of Chicago. His intimacy with Burnham continued until Burnham's death in Heidelberg in 1912, and the enthusiastic admiration which developed from this intimacy finds expression in the two handsome volumes which are the subject of this notice. It is a one-sided account of the life of a man whose career was so remarkable, and so typically American, as to deserve a more symmetrical treatment; but it is fair to say that Mr. Moore's accounts of Burnham's greater works—the Chicago Columbian Fair, the Washington Commission work, and the great city-planning enterprises which occupied the later years of his life—are exceedingly well done and with a modest relegation to the background of the author's own connection with them.

Daniel Burnham was a shining example of the possibilities of self-culture for an American of fine natural mental endowments, strong character, and an undeviating purpose to make the most of his environment. There was nothing in his antecedents or early education to give promise of the conspicuous success he attained in architecture, unless, indeed, it were the strength of character inherited through a long line from his Puritan New England ancestors. He failed to enter both Harvard and Yale; he attended no school of architecture, and his only preparation for the practice of architecture, upon which he launched independently in 1872, was a brief apprenticeship in the office of Mr. P. B. Wight, who is still living in Chicago. Upon this precarious foundation he built up a practice which at one time was the largest of any in the United States, and which exercised a notable influence upon the development of the art in this country, especially in the field of commercial architecture. His success is the more noteworthy when we observe that nearly all the distinguished architects of his time had enjoyed a thorough technical training, most of them having spent years in study abroad, while his training had been wholly acquired in the school of practical experience. He had a wonderful gift for absorbing all that was best in his environment and for surrounding himself with the sort of men who would be most helpful and inspiring. In his office practice he was less the gifted artist than the man of large conceptions, wise judgment, practical sense, and rare executive ability. He was one of the pioneers in the design and construction of tall office buildings.

It was in the Chicago Fair that he first found full scope for his

peculiar talents; he dominated that enterprise without designing one of its buildings. In later years the talents there revealed found still larger fields in the great civic plans on which he was engaged in Washington and Chicago, and for San Francisco, Cleveland, Manila, and Baguio (P. I.). It is of this phase of his life that Mr. Moore gives the most satisfactory and sympathetic account. Except in one or two chapters he comments sparingly on the character and deeds of his hero, allowing the events narrated and the letters and diary of the man to speak for themselves; sometimes, indeed, at unnecessary length. It would have been better to abridge the extracts from these for the sake of a fuller account of Burnham's earlier professional career and at least some effort at a critical estimate of Burnham's rank as an artist and his rightful place among those who, between 1876 and 1900, contributed to raise American architecture from its low estate to its present stage of distinguished achievement. The imposing list of his works is relegated to an appendix without note or comment. Yet in spite of its incompleteness, one cannot read Mr. Moore's record without conceiving a warm admiration for the man they picture, not more for his architectural skill than for his rare gift for friendship, in which the warmth and constancy of his affection made his later years especially rich in happiness.

A. D. F. Hamlin.

The American Railroad Problem: a Study in War and Reconstruction. By I. Leo Sharfman, Professor of Economics, University of Michigan. [The Century New World Series, edited by W. F. Willoughby.] (New York: Century Company. 1921. Pp. xiii, 474. $3.00.)

Professor Sharfman has succeeded in his attempt to write a well-balanced and impartial analysis of the American railroad problem. The volume is particularly good in its historical summary of the antecedents of the present situation. It furnishes also an admirable résumé of the results of federal control, and clearly sets forth the outstanding features of the Transportation Act of 1920.

The historic approach traces railroad development (1) from 1830 through the period of unrestrained railroad freedom to 1870; and (2) from the beginnings of state control, 1871–1875, to (3) the emergence of federal regulation, which began with the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. The original Act to Regulate Commerce accomplished its primary purpose of curbing rate discrimination and of checking high tariffs, but extensive amendments were needed. Each is discussed in turn, and the year 1906, when the Hepburn amendment was enacted, is taken as the beginning of the concluding period in railway development prior to the war.

The chapter which deals with private war-time operation contains an excellent review of railroad accomplishment during the period of Ameri-

can neutrality and of the attempt of the railroad companies, by voluntary unification through their Railroads' War Board, to meet the extraordinary transportation demands when the United States entered the World War. The reasons why the War Board could not satisfactorily cope with the situation, although its accomplishments were both substantial and important, are clearly set forth, as are also the reasons why federal operation of railroads became necessary.

The author is at his best in his two chapters on federal control. He shows a fairly complete understanding of the policies and performance of the Railroad Administration, and he has appraised the results with impartiality. His conclusion is that federal control creditably accomplished the purposes for which it was instituted. Essential traffic was moved successfully and expeditiously. The cost, while large, was decidedly reasonable. Yet the experience during a war emergency throws little light upon the broader question as to the expediency of federal railroad operation under normal conditions.

Part II. of the volume sets forth the author's conception of the essentials of reconstructive policy. It precedes the concluding section (part III.) which outlines the background of the 1920 legislation, describes the leading plans which were proposed in 1919, and critically summarizes the act as finally passed. This summary is well arranged: the perspective is excellent.

It is apparent that Professor Sharfman is not impressed with the railroad-management viewpoint on the so-called "National Agreements" entered into between the Director General and the several unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. No direct reference is made to what one railroad executive termed the "squandering of morale" through the extreme centralization of control in matters of discipline and other relations with labor. It is apparent, too, that the author minimizes the extent of under-maintenance, as he makes no allowance for that factor in his summary of financial results. He quotes an early estimate (May, 1920) of the total deficit of federal operation, as approximately $900,000,000. This estimate allows nothing for under-maintenance. The preface of the book is dated May 16, 1921. Apparently Professor Sharfman failed to note the Director General's letter of May 5, 1921, to the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations. In that letter the Director General estimated the deficit as at least $1,200,000,000. The difference is accounted for mainly by recognized claims for under-maintenance.

From the viewpoint of style and arrangement, two minor criticisms may be made. There is too much unnecessary repetition. The same subject or phase of a subject is often treated in two or three chapters and in much the same manner. The second criticism attaches to part II., "The Essentials of Reconstructive Policy". This is admitted to be a digression. The author's own views as to what should be done are not tied into what was done by the Transportation Act. Logically it would

have been better if parts II. and III. had been transposed. These defects, however, are minor and detract but little from the value of the book.

WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM.

Our Air Force: the Keystone of National Defense. By WILLIAM MITCHELL, Brigadier General, Air Service. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1921. Pp. xxvi, 223. $5.00.)

DURING the fall of 1917 and the spring of 1918 perhaps the most widely held belief in the United States was that we were going to "win the war through the air". Magazine covers pictured the sky dark with American aeroplanes on their way to wipe out German factories and cities with bombs. Inside the covers, glowing accounts told of what could be done and of the steps taken or just about to be taken to achieve these big results. Many of these articles seemed to receive encouragement from the authorities, at least there were no statements from responsible people suggesting that perhaps the pictures were exaggerated. Meanwhile the reality in France was quite different, and unknown. Early in July, 1918, there was only one American day bombing squadron. (No night ones. The second day bombing squadron began operations in September and at the armistice there were only four that had ever bombed, not six as the official figures show.) This was really less than half a squadron, as there were only eight planes. One was being repaired and six of the others went on a raid into Germany. By reason of absurd leadership none of these came back, so the American day bombing service was practically wiped out. This ended bombing operations for a month, and the German newspapers waxed sarcastic over the event because they knew, of course, that they had captured our only day bombing squadron.

The American public does not yet know the facts concerning our air force, nor will General Mitchell's book enlighten them. Indeed his book is chiefly devoted to what he thinks could be done in the future, and gives a very poor notion of what actually was done in the past. His descriptions of the work of the various branches of the air service might be called the "literary theory" of the air service, for they include much of what was supposed to be done by each but little of what they actually did.

Two quotations, the first from his foreword and the second from the last chapter, will give a better idea of the nature of the book than pages of comment. The first (p. xxiii) is,

In case of the attack of a group of such airplanes or airships, 500 explosions would occur covering the whole of the lower part of New York, which would practically wreck that entire part of the city; and not only paralyze all the business, but would cause a conflagration such as has never been known before. Such a fire occurring in New York, situated on a narrow peninsula between two rivers, would make it impossible for the population to get away from it on account of the congestion of the means of transportation that would result when this great population attempted to escape. They would be burned like rats in a trap.

The second (p. 218) is,

> Looking into the not very distant future, we can see the organization of our aeronautical resources so disposed that the minute war starts, our airships can cross the Atlantic Ocean within thirty-six hours, keep the whole area under observation and report anything that comes across it. They will be able to cross the Pacific in seventy-five hours or less, and do the same thing in that area.

Nevertheless, because of General Mitchell's authoritative position his book will have to be read when the real history of "Our Air Force" is written.

W. S. Holt.

The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783–1860. By Samuel Eliot Morison. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921. Pp. xviii, 401. $5.00.)

This is a book Theodore Roosevelt would have liked. It is the narrative of a people who lived the strenuous life, who faced hardships with courage, who were never dismayed by adversity nor made soft by good fortune. It is the story of the merchants and seafarers of Massachusetts during the days of American shipping supremacy, when the sailing vessels of the Bay State made the American flag a familiar sight in all the seaports of the world.

Professor Morison gives a faithful account of all the maritime activities of Massachusetts from 1783 to 1860, tracing the record through alternating periods of depression and prosperity—the recovery following the Revolution, the rapid expansion of the early years of the Napoleonic wars, the ruin and devastation of the Embargo and the War of 1812, and the wonderful golden age of the sailing vessel, that reached its climax in the majestic clipper. No phase of seafaring activity is neglected. He shows how cod and mackerel were caught in nearby waters and on the Grand Banks; he takes us on voyages around the world with intrepid whale-hunters. He gives the details of the many branches of commerce—foreign trade with Europe and the Indies and the lands of the Pacific, coasting trade with the Middle Atlantic and the Southern States, and trade around the Horn with California and Oregon. He follows the varying fortunes of each village and city that drew its living from the sea. He takes us to the shipyards and shows us ships in the making under the watchful eyes of world-famous builders. He tells of the hardy seamen and captains upon whose resourcefulness and skill the success of all maritime venture ultimately depended. We see the opulent merchant princes of Salem and Boston directing their multifarious enterprises from wharf and counting-room, and we go to their homes to see the manner of their living, learning of their shrewdness and foresight, their politics and philanthropies, and not infrequently of sharp dealing and tight-fisted parsimony. And above all we learn of ships, from the light Chebacco

boat employed in local commerce and fishing to the tall graceful clipper driving before the wind under billows of canvas to sensational records of speed.

The story is told in vivid and picturesque language that brings out the romance and the color of what was one of the most colorful phases of the economic history of the United States. At a time when the great majority of the people were devoting their energies to exploiting the resources of the earth, a goodly portion of the inhabitants of Massachusetts still heeded the call of the sea, taking their sustenance from its waters or ranging over its surface to traffic and barter in every corner of the world. They were buyers and sellers of goods, but they were also dealers in romance and adventure and mystery. Professor Morison has caught the spirit of the people and of their time, and he has written with a heart that "giveth grace unto every art". The achievement for which he merits greatest distinction is the creation of the proper atmosphere for his tale. It is authentic history with the imaginative appeal of *Java Head* and *Moby Dick*.

The author has drawn his materials from a wide variety of sources, employing many documents hitherto unused for works of history. He has probably been a little careless in not observing the fact that Federal statistics of shipping from 1789 to 1793 are merely statements of tonnage entering or leaving American ports. The figures for 1789 are extremely low because Federal collectors did not begin work until after midsummer. In relying upon these figures as a measure of the increase of American tonnage he has unduly magnified the maritime progress of Massachusetts for the first years of the national period (pp. 96, 106, 166). He is also in error in stating that a law of 1817 required that two-thirds of the crews of American ships be citizens of the United States (p. 354).

A highly admirable feature of the book is the large number of excellent illustrations, most of which are reproductions of old prints and paintings of Massachusetts ships, captains, and merchants.

T. W. Van Metre.

The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts before 1875. By Blanche Evans Hazard, Professor of Home Economics in Cornell University. [Harvard Economic Studies.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1921. Pp. x, 293. $3.50.)

Several years ago Miss Hazard published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* an account of the organization of the boot and shoe industry in Massachusetts before 1875, which represented the results of six years' research in that field. She now publishes, as one of the *Harvard Economic Studies*, a maturer and more comprehensive monograph upon the same subject, based in part upon four years of later investigation. She thereby renders two important services to American economic history:

she gives us an exhaustive analysis of the evolution of a typical industry from the home and handicraft stage to the factory system, and preserves many interesting records—including oral testimony—relating to that industry which otherwise would have been lost. More than one-half of the book consists of appendixes containing, among some items of curious rather than scientific interest, many excerpts from private papers and accounts and a few documents which will be of permanent value to historians and economists.

Miss Hazard generalizes very conservatively, and enforces each step in her analysis by an abundance of illustrative material. All of the latter, as the title indicates, is taken from Massachusetts. Only an occasional allusion suggests to the reader the contemporary development of boot and shoe making in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. That is a field yet to be covered before we shall have a complete history of the industry in America. But as a study primarily of organization, this book is sufficiently final to be satisfactory. It fairly covers its subject.

In the final chapter of the text proper, under the caption the Human Element, Miss Hazard deviates somewhat from her main theme into an anecdotal and biographical by-path. Her short accounts of representative New England shoemakers and her rather summary description of the early attempts to organize the shoe workers of Massachusetts into unions, are apparently by-products of her major researches. They contribute little to the direct argument of her book, in view of the date at which her study terminates, except to add, perhaps, a finishing touch to the contrast between the period she describes and that with which the present generation is familiar. Labor conditions among boot and shoe operatives in Massachusetts before 1875 were not entirely typical of conditions throughout the Union.

The book has a model index and contains several sketch-maps and plates; indeed from the book-maker's point of view it is rather a *de luxe* volume in its class. Incidentally to her main theme the author adds some interesting details to our knowledge of commercial relations between New England and the ante-bellum South, and of the Yankee migration to that section in the wake of trade. Additional light is also thrown upon the causes and effects of the crises of 1837 and 1857 within New England.

It is to be hoped that this excellent monograph will suggest similar investigations into other industries, whose records are perishing and many details of whose development may otherwise remain for all time obscure.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918. Volume I. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1921, pp. 487.) An epidemic of influenza prevented the Association from holding the annual meeting which it had expected to hold at Cleveland in December of that year. Therefore the present volume does not contain papers

read at that meeting, which would normally form a part of its contents. It contains: (1) full reports of Council and committees for that year; (2) Mr. Thayer's intended presidential address on Vagaries of Historians; (3) four papers prepared for the Agricultural History Society and here printed in accordance with the terms of the agreement between the two organizations; and (4) a directory of the American Historical Association stating the addresses of members, their occupations or official positions, their membership in kindred societies, and the special fields of history in which they are respectively interested. Volume II., containing the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, was issued previously, and was reviewed earlier in this journal (p. 133, above). The three contributions to American agricultural history are: (1) a careful and interesting history of the sheep industry in the United States (105 pp.), by M. L. G. Connor, of the Department of Agriculture; (2) a biographical sketch of Dr. John Mitchell (d. 1768), naturalist and maker of the Mitchell map, by Mr. Lyman Carrier, of the same department; (3) an account of the early days of the Albemarle Agricultural Society, by Dr. Rodney H. True, of the University of Pennsylvania; and (4) the minute book (88 pp.) of that society, founded in Albemarle County, Va., by Thomas Jefferson and others, covering its very interesting transactions from 1817 to 1828.

The Social History of the Western World: an Outline Syllabus. By Harry Elmer Barnes, Ph.D., Professor of History in Clark University. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1921, pp. xii, 126). Professor Barnes rightly thinks that we ought to give far more attention to social and economic history than has hitherto been customary, and has provided a useful aid to its study, in the form of a syllabus with brief bibliographies, which are modern and good, and his topic-entries are well thought out. Syllabi are a genus of which it is peculiarly true that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, but the reviewer believes that this manual, with its wide sweep and modern viewpoint, will be very helpful in the hands of teachers, broadening their appreciation of social history and of the amount of it which it is desirable to weave into their general courses, and less helpful in the hands of any but advanced students or as a means of teaching social history in an independent course, for its own sake solely. Just as elders brought up on traditional Christianity find it hard to estimate how virtuous a younger generation could be without its help, so teachers trained in history mostly political (because mankind has been chiefly organized in states) will find it difficult to judge what success would attend the experiment of cutting loose from all that framework and organizing the young people's historical study frankly as social history alone. In the history of the medieval period, in which the nation had not yet fully become the dominant element in human society, teachers have already done this in a considerable degree, and for this period Professor Barnes's syllabus offers little that is new. Half the book is given to

earlier periods than the medieval, with preliminary sections on such general topics as the biological and psychological aspects of human progress, or the place of law in social history—matter too difficult and abstract for beginning students. Then follows much good matter on pre-literary and ancient history. The modern period has no more than a third of the book, a small allowance in view of the enormous mass and importance of the data. The Christian church and religion, which are commonly thought to have played quite a part in the social history of the western world, are curiously minimized—eight lines in the medieval period, five in the period preceding.

Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne: Étude de Préhistoire Crétoise. Par Joseph Hazzidakis. (Paris, Geuthner, 1921, pp. 89, ten plates, 25 fr.) This translation into French of an article in the *Ephemeris Archaiologike* for 1912 consists mainly of a description of the articles found by Dr. Joseph Hazzidakis in the course of the excavations conducted by him at Tylissos, a Minoan site half-way on the road from Cnossos to the grotto on Mt. Ida. They include vases of the usual types, but not of very fine quality; some fresco fragments, and two inscribed tablets; a lot of huge copper caldrons; a remarkable bronze statuette of a muscular man in attitude of worship, and a miscellany of objects in lead, stone, terra-cotta, bone, and ivory.

What gives larger significance to the excavations at Tylissos is that, according to the report of Dr. Hazzidakis, which is corroborated by the testimony of M. L. Franchet—at whose instigation and with whose collaboration the translation has been made—the three periods into which, on the basis of the stratification, the history of Tylissos falls do not coincide with the three Minoan periods (Early, Middle, and Late) established by Sir Arthur Evans for Cnossos and accepted generally as applying to all Crete. At Tylissos Early Minoan includes the first sub-period of Middle Minoan while Middle Minoan includes the first two sub-periods of Late Minoan, to which accordingly Late Minoan III., or Mycenaean, alone is left. M. Franchet's interest in these determinations arises from the fact that they accord broadly with the divisions which, from the point of view of ceramic technique, he finds to exist at Cnossos itself (*Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques,* XXII. 1). Translated into terms of metal M. Franchet's system is as follows: Aeneolithic (E. M. I. and II.), Bronze 1 (E. M. III. + M. M. I.), Bronze 2 (M. M. II. + beginning of M. M. III.), Bronze 3 (end of M. M. III. + L. M. I. and II.), and Bronze 4 (L. M. III.). In a translation this nomenclature has merit; but only in a translation. As our records run, in the Aegean world of the second millennium B. C. the original must always be written in the language of pots and palaces.

The historian in quest of a chronological conspectus of prehistoric Greece has had hitherto to guide him the Minoan system based on Cnossos (A. J. Evans, *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation*

Minoenne, 1906), the Cycladic system based on Phylakopi (Dawkins and Droop, *B. S. A.,* XVII.), and, since the epoch-making excavations of the American School at Corinth, the Helladic system of Messrs. Wace and Blegen (*B. S. A.,* XXII. 175ff.). In his book *Korakou* (Amer. School at Athens, 1922) Dr. Blegen has combined in a single tablet of synchronisms these three systems. It is interesting to observe what happens when Dr. Hazzidakis's divisions are substituted in this table for those of Sir Arthur Evans: Early Helladic, for example, coincides precisely with Tylissos α, and there seems to be something to be said from Hellas for splitting Middle Minoan III. More and more clearly as these investigations proceed the fact emerges that the great period of prehistoric Greece, whatever be its Cretan, insular, or mainland subdivisions, runs without faltering from Middle Minoan II. to Late Minoan II. inclusive, or from 2000 to 1400 B. C.

W. S. Ferguson.

Classical Associations of Places in Italy. By Frances Ellis Sabin, assistant professor of Latin at the University of Wisconsin. (Madison, Wis., the Author, 1921, pp. 526, $5.00.) The plan of Miss Sabin's book has been to gather together several hundred passages in classical authors which describe places in Italy, narrate events which happened in them, or otherwise relate to them, and to arrange them in alphabetical order of places, with the Latin or Greek on the left-hand page, and the best translations opposite, and with a number of pleasing illustrations. Thus the traveller or reader may refresh his remembrance, or learn for the first time, of the charms of Baiae as described by Propertius or Cassiodorus, of Pliny's villa at Laurentum, of Livy's account of the battle of Lake Trasimenus, or Strabo's of Tarentum. The sights of Rome are of course treated with special fullness. Such a book can make no claim to importance as an historical source, but it can give much pleasure to many historical students.

Vitae Paparum Avenionensium. Stephanus Baluzius edidit. Nouvelle Édition d'après les Manuscrits, par G. Mollat, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Tomes I. et III. (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1916–1921, pp. xxxi, 629; 561.) The original edition of the Lives of the Avignonese Popes, published in 1693, fails to meet the demands of modern critical scholarship. Baluze, as is well known, drew his material from a variety of chronicles. He extracted the pertinent sections and published each separately under the name of the pope to whom it referred, labelling these excerpts as the first, second, third, etc., life of the pope in question. The value of the sources thus published is unequal. Much of the material is of the highest importance while some portions are of doubtful value. Baluze made no attempt to classify the various lives and they have been generally treated as of equal importance by those who have consulted his collection. M. Mollat has therefore rendered a great

service to scholars by publishing a critical edition in which he has collated the manuscripts used by Baluze with other copies found in Belgian, German, French, and Italian archives. He has in some instances been able to determine more accurately the authorship of certain pieces and to distinguish between the work of chroniclers and their continuators, and has given a critical estimate of the value of the different parts. In the new edition, the dates given in the chronicles have been reduced to the modern style and their exactness determined. This has led to important changes, especially in connection with the correspondence of Clement V., Baluze having reckoned the beginning of his pontificate from the day of his election, June 5, 1305, instead of from his installation on November 14, as he should have done.

The original edition was published in two volumes, the first containing the "Lives" together with the valuable notes of Baluze, the second volume being devoted to the documents and other sources on which these notes were based. Mollat's edition is divided into three volumes. The first contains the Lives, followed by a critical description of the various manuscripts consulted by the editor; the second, a new edition of Baluze's notes; and the third the collection of proofs found in the second volume of the old edition. As a supplement to the present work, Mollat has recently published more fully the results of his investigations in a little book entitled, *Étude Critique sur les Vitae Paparum Avenionensium d'Étienne Baluze* (Paris, 1917).

A. C. Howland.

Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester. Translated and epitomized by Isaac Herbert Jeayes, sometime Assistant Keeper of the MSS., British Museum. (Colchester, the Town Council, 1921, pp. xxxiii, 242, £2 2s.) Colchester is one of the most ancient and interesting of English boroughs. It has long been known as possessing valuable records which were used by Brady, Madox, and other writers on English municipal history. In 1865, Henry Harrod published three reports on the Colchester muniments and between 1902 and 1907 there appeared three important publications of borough records—namely the *Red Paper Book* (1902), the *Charters of the Borough of Colchester* (1904), and the *Oath Book or Red Parchment Book* (1907).

The present volume comprises a translation of the nine court rolls of the borough that are in existence for the forty-two years between 1310 and 1352. Although thirty-three rolls have been lost, some of them representing most important and interesting years, those that remain present a valuable picture of early fourteenth-century municipal life and activity. They are a true record of the legal business of the borough and this business was a large one. Over three thousand persons are mentioned in various capacities and the laws of the borough and of the king seem to have been more honored in their breach than in their observance. Trespass, which covered a multitude of sins, is naturally the most fre-

quent plea, but debt, nuisance, land, seizure, assault, and *hamsokne* (burglary) are quite frequent. Interesting light is thrown on the plea of *freshforce* as a process in municipal law. Many curious and quaint entries occur and there are references to common scolds and the ducking-stool. No cases of witchcraft are mentioned and the burgesses appear to have been hard-headed and practical folk.

Although ably translated and epitomized by Mr. Jeayes, the collection lacks a really adequate introduction such as is found in the *Publications* of the Selden Society. Mr. Benham, who is chairman of the Museum and Muniments Committee of the Colchester Town Council, has contributed a brief general introduction and a *Who's Who* of the principal personages mentioned in the volume. The index is almost entirely confined to proper names.

N. M. Trenholme.

The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua: a Critical Study. By Ephraim Emerton, Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University, Emeritus. [Harvard Theological Studies, vol. VIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1920, pp. 81, $1.25.) This monograph by Professor Emerton is an almost perfect example of the sort of study which he undertakes. He brings to the subject an exceptional equipment for the task and an exceptional interest in it. The very inadequate knowledge of Marsiglio and his work that prevails in America gave the opportunity for an illuminating treatment of the subject and it is hard to see how the treatment could have been more enlightening and more satisfactory.

The scheme of the work is to present first the general conditions that made Marsiglio possible, and then to analyze the *Defensor Pacis,* selecting the doctrines that are particularly salient from the point of view of history and explaining them with lucidity and soundness. In accordance with this scheme we have first an analysis of the political doctrines of Thomas Aquinas and of Dante. This is accompanied by an adequate summary of the political and ecclesiastical conditions of the time. Then comes the wholly satisfactory presentation of Marsiglio's epoch-making ideas.

In the exposition of this remarkable body of doctrine not only is the broad outline most intelligibly presented, but the learning of Professor Emerton is brought to bear on the controverted points in Marsiglio's argument with most satisfactory results. Of particular interest is the author's judgment, based on a careful comprehensive study, that the expression "pars valentior" signifies "majority", rather than "the more competent part"; so that Marsiglio's doctrine as to the seat of supreme or sovereign authority in the state is a doctrine of democracy and not of aristocracy. Students of Marsiglio will all be interested in the judgment of Professor Emerton on this point. But I do not feel sure that all of

them will be convinced even by the powerful reasoning by which this judgment is sustained.

Another point that will be regarded with interest by students of Marsiglio is the interpretation of "Veritas" to mean "the Gospel", rather than "the truth"—an interpretation which puts a different light on Marsiglio's sentence "according to the truth and to the opinion of Aristotle . . . the essential source of law is the people".

Besides the detailed analysis and discussion of the text of Marsiglio's great work Professor Emerton gives us also the complete facts, so far as known, as to the personality of Marsiglio, the details of his career, and the influence of his work on the later generations. There is no disguising the fact that much obscurity still remains in regard to these matters, but it is very satisfactory to have under the seal of Professor Emerton's scholarship a full statement of all that is known.

The Conservative Character of Martin Luther. By George M. Stephenson, Ph.D. (Philadelphia, United Lutheran Publication House, 1921, pp. 143, $1.20.) This book from the Historical Department of the University of Minnesota offers a brief, condensed, simple, and sober interpretation of details, with which the reader is presupposed to be familiar. The author traces the conservative thread running through a life crowded with great events and minor incidents. The formative years of Luther are shown to lack all revolutionary impulses. His motives for reform proceed from consistency with what he had implicitly received as the Church's teaching. The analysis made of the famous theses results in the indication of nothing more than a conscious dissent from an influential element in the Church. Luther's claim that he was only trying to clear up what was true Catholic doctrine is substantiated not only from what the theses contain, but from the omission of much that they might have been expected to express. Up to the Leipzig discussion, Luther's arguments are declared to be mostly historical; afterwards they became also theological. The date of the break with Rome was 1520.

With the emergence of actual revolutionary movements breaking away from his conservative restraint, the decision of Luther against the Wittenberg radicals, and against the Peasants' Revolt, as well as the part which he took in the much discussed Marburg Colloquy, furnish further proofs of the author's thesis. The final chapter on the Augsburg Confession could be very materially strengthened, as a triumph of conservatism after thirteen years of hot conflict.

The author is rarely diverted from his "thread". But one instance occurs, when on p. 79 he states the Lutheran definition of the Church to be that merely of the ideal church. To Luther and his associates, "the community of saints" is not, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession asserts, "a Platonic idea", like the "Republic", but it actually exists, *i.e.*, "truly believing people, scattered here and there, throughout the whole world".

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS.

The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. By James E. Gillespie, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies, vol. XCI., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921, pp. 367, $3.00.) This careful and exhaustive study of Mr. Gillespie's is an excellent example of one phase of historical work now evident in the United States. In a thick volume of 367 pages, with an excellent bibliography—but no index—he has presented a great mass of material relating to the influence of oversea expansion on England. He has brought together a huge array of facts of almost every kind. It cannot in fairness be said that he has greatly altered the general opinion of the effect of that movement, but he has provided a wide basis for that opinion, he has given a multitude of illustrations to modify or confirm it; and if he has arrived at no very startling conclusions, he has covered a field which need not be cultivated again within any reasonable period.

Such work as this is necessary and useful as providing the material for future histories, of countries or of the world. It is of value to many workers outside the field of history proper—to the literary historian and the student of society in particular. And it is not without its own peculiar interest. The story of the development of such a society influenced by such a movement cannot fail to attract attention, not only of professional historians but of a wider audience, once brought to its attention.

It is unfortunate, however inevitable, that certain studies of the development of the East India Company have appeared since the book was completed; though they would, perhaps, only have confirmed, not modified, the conclusions here set down. There is some question whether individual statements, like that of Child, that "England could pay a greater tax in his time in one year than his forefathers could in twenty", should be taken too seriously, unless one defines "forefathers" carefully. And it is questionable, as a mere matter of arrangement, whether the collection of botanical specimens should be included in a chapter on "Thought". But these are details, which could be multiplied indefinitely, as personal opinions would vary. On the whole it may be said that Mr. Gillespie has done the task set for him well and thoroughly; and that his thesis will be of value to many, and of interest to not a few.

The Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845–1849. By Hugo C. M. Wendel, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in New York University. (New York, University Press, 1921, pp. viii, 114, $3.00.) This is an interesting and valuable book, which outlines the evolution of industrial freedom in Prussia during the period from 1845 to 1849. The author explains in a lucid style the character of the industrial system established by the law of 1845, examines the reactions of the various working classes toward the new economic legislation, and traces the subsequent policies of the Prussian monarchy, which culminated in the restrictive industrial laws of 1849. The work is packed with interesting information and reveals an exhaustive study of the source-literature of

the period. A comprehensive bibliography of contemporary and non-contemporary material, numerous foot-notes, and a good index add to the value of the study.

The author outlines in his introduction the industrial reorganization of Prussia under Stein and Hardenberg, and traces the history of Prussian craft-guild legislation to 1845. One might wish that he had fully explained the diversified Prussian system, which varied from the industrial liberalism of French origin in the Rhine province to the restrictive guild system in the provinces east of the Elbe. The rise of a new social group and a new system of manufacture created the necessity for a uniform organization of industry in all the provinces. This was established by the law of 1845. The terrible agrarian situation, however, especially in Silesia, and the discontent of over two million industrial workers, hindered the rapid development of the factory system. Although the reactionary report of the governor of Silesia is mentioned, the author does not show the general attitude of the provincial bureaucracy toward the agricultural discontent.

The March Revolution prevented the orderly transition from an obsolete guild economy to a modern factory economy. During this period, the master craftsmen as well as the proletariat of Prussia were discontented with this transitional stage of industry. The liberal law of 1845 was violently attacked. In the final chapter of his study, Professor Wendel has outlined in a masterly way the policies of the Prussian monarchy toward the industrial problem, and has related the liberal legislation of the period to the great events of the Revolution of 1848.

RALPH H. LUTZ.

Betrachtungen zum Weltkriege. Zweiter Teil: *Während des Krieges.* Von Th. von Bethmann Hollweg. (Berlin, Verlag von Reimar Hobbing, 1921, pp. xv, 280.) The first half of this second volume of Bethmann-Hollweg's "Observations" deals, as did the first volume, which has already been noted in the *Review* (XXV. 618 ff.), with matters already well known and adds little that is really new, except to give the Chancellor's motives and defense of his policy. Thus, in discussing such questions as the responsibility for the war, the manifesto of October, 1916, promising independence to the Poles (which Bethmann vigorously and probably correctly avers did not thwart any possible separate peace with Russia), the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare, and President Wilson's peace note of December 18, 1916, Bethmann-Hollweg is merely threshing over old straw. A much fuller and more enlightening insight into these matters can now be found in the two large volumes, with documents, containing the stenographic reports of the public hearings of the Fifteenth Investigating Committee of the German National Assembly.

The second half of the volume, however, contains highly interesting, and often quite new, light on the extraordinary political confusion and personal enmities in the German domestic political situation which cul-

minated with the dramatic crisis of July, 1917, and the fall of the man who had been chancellor since 1909. This was brought about partly by the increasingly insistent demand for equal suffrage in Prussia; Bethmann had favored this in principle and did accept it, in fact, on July 7, though in the Kaiser's "Easter message", three months earlier, he had used such veiled language in holding out the prospect of a reform of the three-class system of voting, that many persons believed he intended to replace it, after the war, not by equal suffrage, but by some plural system of voting. His own changed attitude and the growing demand for immediate equal suffrage in Prussia was in no small part due to the influence exerted by the Russian Revolution. The crisis was also brought about by his growing conviction of the opportuneness of efforts for a negotiated peace, due in part to the supposed willingness of the Entente to open peace negotiations as indicated by the mission of the papal nuncio, Pacelli, and the offer of Prince Sixtus of Bourbon. But the greatest causes of the crisis were the disappointment over the apparent failure of the submarine campaign, the growing war-weariness, the lack of food, and the consequent general irritation of nerves within Germany, but most of all the desire of the German General Staff to be rid of Bethmann as chancellor. In fact, it was, according to Bethmann's account, the threat of Hindenburg and Ludendorff that they would resign, as they could no longer co-operate with him as chancellor, which led him to hand in his own resignation.

The book as a whole confirms the impression that Bethmann usually meant well, but had not the force of character successfully to oppose the militarists.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Der Kronprinz und sein wahres Gesicht. Von Carl Lange. (Leipzig, F. W. Grunow, 1921, pp. 136.) There is not much more to be said about Friedrich Wilhelm who might have been Kaiser if the market for Kaisers had not suddenly weakened. Nowadays the comments of his enemies, like the ferocious Swiss-French novelist Louis Dumur, and the comments of his admirers, like the excited Junker Carl Lange here under discussion, come to pretty much the same thing. Dumur, in his terrible story *Le Boucher de Verdun,* represents the prince as pushing shameless love-affairs while his division was being battered to pieces before Verdun. Lange admits, on page 38: "Wir wollen offen und ehrlich zugeben, dass der Kronprinz eine gewisse Schwäche gegenüber dem weiblichen Geschlecht zeigte." Dumur presents him as a fatuous figurehead, contemptuously pushed aside, when crucial decisions were necessary, by the old soldiers his nominal staff subordinates. Lange's ostensible tribute to his courage (p. 99): "Seine Umgebung musste manche Täuschung vornehmen, um ihn zu verhindern, sich in die grösste Gefahr zu begeben", comes very near a confession that someone beside the prince was conducting the campaign. There is no question that the poor fellow has been

complimented by the imputation to him of offenses of which he was entirely incapable—at least mentally incapable. The world cursed at heartless telegrams dealing gaily, in the days of the ghastliest suffering, with "cheese", "ladies", and "corpses"—till it transpired that the telegrams were really the most serious of communications couched in a secret code. An unexpected white uniform was mistaken for a tennis-outfit. Thefts and outrages of soldiers and subalterns were unjustly saddled on the commander. Nor is the erstwhile crown prince a fool. Lange's citations from his books show a good deal of poetical feeling and a pleasant command of literary German. Said Maximilian Harden of the heir apparent: "Not a bad sort. A chap who has many good impulses, but knows little . . . has little to do, therefore learns things not particularly good for him and often gets into mischief." Lange was a personal friend of the prince's, and his facts are much as we have them from other sources, but his inferences are different, and unconvincing. It is hard to find as serious a significance in the prince's public utterances, for instance, as Lange finds, when we remember that he said to the American newspaper correspondent Charles H. Wiegand, "What regimental commander has not made such speeches to his men? That is part of the game of being a soldier. It does not necessarily mean much and should not be taken too seriously. Others have made such speeches and worse, and yet you have never heard of them."

On the whole, it seems pretty clear from the data which Junker Carl Lange supplies us himself, that he has taken his subject a little too seriously.

Roy Temple House.

The Big Four and Others of the Peace Conference. By Robert Lansing. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921, pp. 213, $2.50.) Mr. Lansing's portraits of the chief personalities of the Paris Conference were well worth reprinting. One regrets only that they are not illustrated by his skillful pencil sketches. He had ample opportunity for observation during the sessions of the Council of Ten, and, if we are to believe his own statements in his previous volume, he was sufficiently distant from the real centre of negotiations to secure something like perspective. He is judicious by nature and his desire that personal differences of opinion shall not affect his estimate is obvious. He has an eye for the picturesque and reproduces admirably the atmosphere of Pichon's study where the Ten held their sessions. It is certainly curious, however, in view of the number which he attended, that he should have forgotten the order in which the plenipotentiaries were placed; the Italians did not sit with their backs to the windows, between the British and the Japanese, as he places them, but faced Clemenceau on the right of the Japanese. He emphasizes, as we should expect, the varying harshness and sarcasm of Clemenceau and the mercurial traits of Lloyd George. More surprising is his statement that the latter possessed no arts of diplomacy but won his successes

through the excellent advice he received. Some, at least, of the British experts have felt that however good that advice, Mr. Lloyd George rarely followed it. It is interesting to note the high estimate he places upon the intellectual capacity and statesmanlike qualities of Orlando, which Mr. Lansing explains by the Italian premier's experience as a jurist. He appreciates fully the magnetism of Venizelos which brought to Greece more than her delegates asked, and he paints a convincing picture of the statecraft of Paderewski, which unquestionably deserves more emphasis than it has thus far received.

The author is evidently anxious to be fair in his efforts to explain what he regards as President Wilson's failure. He ascribes this in part to his inability "to appreciate at the first that the aims of his foreign colleagues were essentially material". Mr. Lansing is apparently unaware of irrefutable evidence showing that the President knew very definitely before he reached France that Lloyd George and Clemenceau had not been entirely converted. His argument that Mr. Wilson had no plan for a treaty ignores the carefully defined basis which Colonel House had established in October during the armistice negotiations; the President's failure lay not in his lack of a plan but rather in his inability to write that plan fully into the treaties. Mr. Lansing seems also to have forgotten the "Black Book" drafted early in January at the President's command, which contained a clear-cut outline of the American programme, and copies of which were sent to the United States plenipotentiaries. It is unfortunate, too, that he should perpetuate the story current in Paris, according to which the Council of Four was formed purely to satisfy Lloyd George's sense of secretiveness. In reality the Council resulted naturally from Wilson's absence in America, Clemenceau's illness, and the consequent renewal of the guiding committee of the previous autumn, composed of House, Lloyd George, and Clemenceau.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Towns of New England and Old England, Ireland, and Scotland. By Allan Forbes. In two volumes. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. 225, 225, $12.50.) These two volumes, resplendent in binding and title-page which imitate the art of the seventeenth century, have been compiled by the president of the State Street Trust Company of Boston, and constitute at once a contribution to the celebration of the Pilgrim tercentenary and an achievement in publicity worthy of encouragement. The purpose of the work is to give an account, historical and descriptive, of some eighty-four towns in New England (fifty-six of them being in Massachusetts), and of the towns in England, Ireland, and Scotland, somewhat fewer in number, whose names they bear. To these latter the greater part of the text and most of the two hundred and seventy illustrations are devoted. The work is not, however, an encyclopaedia of New England's local history, nor is it a study of migration from the British Isles and of settlement in New England, although it contains

material which might constitute a modest contribution to such a study. The connection which is assumed between "parent" and "daughter" is sometimes conjectural and it by no means follows that because a town in southern Massachusetts bears the same name as a town in Devon it was founded by people coming from the latter.

The chief value of these volumes lies in the record which they contain of the relations of friendship which have been maintained between British towns and towns of New England. Those who vehemently deny the kinship of the English-speaking peoples will be surprised to learn in what glad and cordial fashion and with what pride this kinship has been asserted, time and again, over many years. Correspondence between town officials, exchanges of gifts and of messages of congratulation and good will, visits of delegations, and the erection of monuments—all these constitute an impressive exhibit of manifestations of friendship.

WALDO G. LELAND.

The Evolution of Long Island: a Story of Land and Sea. By Ralph Henry Gabriel, Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. 194, $2.50.) The author states his problem to be that of tracing the "development of a people as it has been affected, not only by its social and economic, but by its natural surroundings". In the main he confines himself to tracing the influences of environment upon the economic life of the population. This he does clearly and convincingly. The comparatively simple influence of the sea, and the complex influences of the vast continental hinterland are brought out forcefully, even dramatically. The first five chapters—on the geologic upbuilding of the island, the coming of the settlers, the development of agriculture, and the expansion of the economic life of the people until whaling led many of them far out into the world—yield an unusually vivid sense of watching the drama of existence unrolling. The remainder of the book partially sacrifices chronological order, and we have a series of essays on the fisheries, oyster industry, smuggling, water-borne trade, ship-building, railroads and highways (omitting stage-coach routes), the "barrens", and the recent development of the island as a summer playground.

Little is said of the primary and secondary effects of environment upon social and intellectual life, and too little account is taken of the important difference between the east and west ends of the island. This was a fundamental fact, climatically, economically, socially, and, for a considerable period, politically, resulting in two distinct areas of different cultural development. Curiously, the author has not utilized any local town histories in what is an intensive study, largely historical, of a limited area. Had he done so, he would have avoided a number of minor errors, *e.g.*, "Sag" is not Sag Harbor (p. 67) but Sagaponack, quite another place; Sag Harbor was not founded by whalers but for other economic reasons (p. 68); the first "east end" port of entry was estab-

lished in 1668 not 1687 (p. 118); the original settlers of Southampton and Easthampton did not arrive by the ocean but by the bay (p. 23); agricultural not shipping factors determined their location by the ocean (p. 24), each town having its harbor on the bay shore. Also, we may note, the first Navigation Act was not that of 1660 (p. 118); Promised Land is over 100, not 50, miles from New York (p. 88); and Furman's name is twice given as Furnam (p. 187). Owing to bad drawing the Peconic section of the map is misleading. However, Mr. Gabriel has treated a worth-while topic successfully, in a suggestive and interesting book.

J. T. Adams.

Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature. By Theodore Bolton. (New York, Frederic Fairchild Sherman, 1921, pp. x, 180, $7.50.) It is as a *catalogue raisonné* rather than as a connected essay that Bolton's book on American miniature painters is intended. As such, it will prove a valuable reference book both for experts in the subject and for those whose occasional interests lead them into this field.

One of the first requirements of such a book is convenient arrangement. The requirement has been most satisfactorily met in this case. The artists are not put in chronological order but are arranged alphabetically, with a uniform disposition of the text concerning each, so that not only the artist but also specific facts about him may be readily found. After the artist's name the essential vital statistics are given, together with a concise indication of the nature of his work, such as "portrait and genre painter", "portrait painter in oils and miniature". Then, following a brief résumé, usually limited to eight or ten lines, of the training and artistic career of the painter, is a list of his known miniatures with their present or most recently known location.

In the foreword to the book, where we find also a definition of miniature painting and a very brief account of its rise, growth, and decline in America, the author sets as *terminus ad quem* for his investigations the date 1850, "when the photograph had already numbered the days of the small portrait". Thus Bolton covers only about a century, but he enumerates something over three hundred miniature painters, native and foreign, working in America.

While recognizing the necessity of brevity and conciseness in a compilation of the nature of this book, one feels that additional criticism and, especially, more bibliographical material might have been given. The illustrations, inserted more or less at random, help to give the book the attractive appearance which we expect in Sherman's publications.

John Shapley.

Governor Edward Coles. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XV.; Biographical series, vol. I.]

(Springfield, Illinois, Trustees of the Library, 1920, pp. viii, 435.) The editor of the volume under consideration hints rather broadly in the preface that the task which he has performed was imposed upon him by force of circumstances, from which it may be assumed that it was not a part of his original plan to include such a publication in the *Collections*. The document which fills a considerable part of the volume is a reprint of the well-known *Sketch of Edward Coles* by Elihu B. Washburne, which is readily accessible in the original edition. The editor wisely decided, however, to turn to account the opportunity in a measure thrust upon him, by seeking out and publishing all the additional documentary material available concerning the life of Governor Coles. The result is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of an interesting and in many respects remarkable figure in Illinois history. The life of Edward Coles, however, is of more than local interest, for he was one of the most conspicuous of the southern plantation-owners and slave-owners who, holding slavery to be wrong, left their homes, emancipated their negroes, and settled on free soil. He became the second governor of Illinois, and was one of the leaders in the struggle which was waged from 1822 to 1824 over the question whether the state should remain free territory or should admit slavery. In addition to the reprint of Washburne's life of Coles, the volume contains an appendix which includes, among other material, a group of documents pertaining to a suit brought against Governor Coles for political reasons, but based upon his alleged violation of the law in failing to give bonds at the time of freeing his slaves; a number of documents relating to his career as register of the land office at Edwardsville, Illinois; and a series of letters written in 1854–1855 by persons prominent in early Illinois history, concerning his character and political service. The volume measures up to the uniformly high editorial standard already established by the *Illinois Historical Collections*. There is a good index and also a "List of Coles Material Published", in the form of a calendar in which the items are chronologically arranged. There is, however, no table of contents for the volume as a whole, although one would have been desirable, particularly as a guide to the various groups of documents contained in the appendix.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Ephraim McDowell, "Father of Ovariotomy" and Founder of Abdominal Surgery. With an Appendix on Jane Todd Crawford. By August Schachner, M.D., F.A.C.S. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921, pp. xviii, 331, $10.00.) August Schachner has rendered a conspicuous service to American medicine in spending several years of his life in digging out the facts relative to Ephraim McDowell and Jane Crawford, and then placing them on record for our refreshment and for the instruction of the generations to come. McDowell, as Shachner well shows, was not only the father of ovariotomy, but he opened up the whole realm of abdominal surgery as well, declaring from a ripe ex-

perience that "there was no call for the trepidation with which men regarded the peritoneal cavity". One might well say that McDowell opened up the vast new *field* of modern surgical endeavor, while the boon of ether anaesthesia, coming in the forties, a generation later, gave us the *condition* under which our work must be done, and after yet another generation the Lister idea of antisepsis supplied the *method*. Let it be noted that he was successful in ten out of eleven ovarian operations; it took his successors several generations to attain this. It is now 112 years since Mrs. Crawford rode 60 miles on horseback, bumping and bruising her big tumor on the pommel, to undergo in Danville, Kentucky, what was frankly declared to be, and accepted as, an experiment; that backwoods rivulet of trust has swollen to the mighty stream of all that is greatest in modern surgery.

The details of McDowell's and of Mrs. Crawford's lives are delightfully set forth in this most readable book, even including the dramatic attempt of Lawson Tait to discredit our backwoods surgeon and to substitute a fake hero, one Robert Houston, from Glasgow. The photographs of persons, places, and relics are a welcome addition to the text.

We have here an acceptable classic to add to our sparse literature of medical heroes.

HOWARD A. KELLY.

Memoirs of Mary A. Maverick, arranged by Mary A. Maverick and her son George Madison Maverick. Edited by Rena Maverick Green. (San Antonio, Texas, Alamo Printing Company, 1921, pp. 136, $3.50.) Written forty years ago primarily for the author's family, this unpretentious little volume has a far wider appeal. Based for the most part upon notes made by the author and her husband at the time of the events which it chronicles and upon contemporary letters, it has all the freshness and vividness to be expected in a personal narrative of the stirring years from 1838 to 1859, with which it is chiefly concerned; especially when the narrator is a pioneer woman of exceptional mental, physical, and spiritual vigor.

The book presents graphically the hardships of pioneer life: Indian and Mexican warfare; the sufferings of captives; travel in all kinds of weather; housekeeping in adobe, or log houses, sometimes with dirt floors; fights for the ten children's life and health; cholera; fever; death by violence and disease; the agony of women's waiting while their men faced death.

It would be against human nature for the child—of nineteen years—that Mrs. Maverick was when she came into this elemental life not to find and record its brighter side. There was open-handed hospitality and human sympathy; there was fun a-plenty for the group of young American women who soon followed Mrs. Maverick to San Antonio: in the afternoon swimming parties for mothers and babies at the bathhouse on the San Antonio River; in the queer types, native and foreign, in the little

community; in young folks' courtships; in balls and parties. Even when fleeing before the enemy, there were "gay gallops"; there was "great fun" in "decorating our domicile"—a blacksmith shop generously placed at the refugees' disposal. And her description of her husband's brave, cheery letters during his captivity in Mexico in 1842–1843 and of the gay spirits with which the Texans fought the Mexicans at the battle of Salado suggests the A. E. F.

Many of the picturesque figures of early Anglo-Texas are interestingly, sometimes amusingly, portrayed: brilliant "Jack" Hays, for instance, the Ranger captain; Captain Karnes, whose red hair, the Indian squaws thought, must emit heat; President Lamar, "a poet, a polite and brave gentleman and first-rate conversationalist", but a poor dancer.

For the tourist and the student of San Antonio history there is interest and value in the descriptions of old landmarks, as well as in the picture of domestic and community life of fourscore years ago.

Of the illustrations, those of most general interest are those of old San Antonio, especially of the missions, of some buildings which have since disappeared, and of the siege of the Alamo, from a painting by Theodore Gentilz, an early San Antonio artist. The typography, with some unfortunate exceptions, is good. The appendix reprints several personal letters, one group of these reversing the popular account of the origin of the term "maverick", and a eulogy on Samuel Augustus Maverick by Dr. George Cupples, delivered in 1870, shortly after Mr. Maverick's death.

ELIZABETH HOWARD WEST.

Texas and the Mexican War: a Chronicle of the Winning of the Southwest. By Nathaniel W. Stephenson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. 273.) This book, like the other volumes of the well-known series to which it belongs, is most agreeable both to look at and to handle. Its contents include the history of Texas from 1819 until that republic was annexed by the United States, and close, after the ratification of the treaty of peace with Mexico, with a glance forward. In view of the extent and importance of the rest of the field, too much space has perhaps been given to the early times. Out of 257 pages of text, eighty-six are used to bring us through the battle of San Jacinto, and fourteen more to continue the narrative as far as the recognition of Texas by the United States, while the war with Mexico has been allowed only about seventy. The author had the laudable aim of writing with spirit, and possessed a facile, practised pen. But to combine spirit and accuracy in handling such extremely complex and delicate subjects requires, of course, most thorough study and most carefully revised statements—in short, what off-hand writers sometimes call subtlety; whereas the author, to judge from the volume in hand and his wide range of publications, is not a specialist in this field, and in the present instance was not extremely painstaking. The

result is a pleasing narrative, with some really good points and rather numerous errors. On the political side one observes a marked tendency to present easy views in preference to less simple but sounder ones, and on the military operations of the war with Mexico a serious effort hardly seems to have been made to follow the account that is termed "authoritative" (p. 261). The volume includes an impressionistic "bibliographical note", an index, a map and eleven illustrations. The portrait of Santa Anna (p. 32) is described as "after a photograph", which sounds convincing; but the original of the photograph was really a picture, not the man. Unintentionally, of course, views of the present writer are incorrectly represented.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

History of the New York Times, 1851–1921. By Elmer Davis, of the *New York Times* editorial staff. (New York, the *Times,* 1921, pp. xxii, 434, $2.00.) It was hardly necessary for Mr. Davis, the author of this book, to identify himself on the title-page as a member of the New York *Times* staff. That fact is apparent throughout the 428 pages and impairs the quality of an otherwise interesting and valuable history of a great journal.

The book, which was published incidentally to the twenty-fifth anniversary of possession of the *Times* by Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, partakes too much of the character of a Jubilee Number. There is too much implication by the writer that in his opinion the New York *Times* has always been right and its contemporaries generally wrong. Occasionally, when the reader has reason to believe that he is about to get something vital concerning the policy of the paper and its attitude toward great questions, the author leaves him in the lurch.

Despite these defects the book is a useful contribution to the history of journalism as a political force in America, and it traces the half-century development of a great newspaper which has attained success without stooping to sensationalism. Relevant to that, one of the most interesting things related by Mr. Davis is that the founder of the paper, Henry J. Raymond, and his successors have always considered it essential to have a continuity of policies. After the Civil War three of these policies were those concerning sound money, tariff reform, and the merit system in the civil service. In a chapter on the *Times* and the Tweed Ring there is as clear and comprehensive a summary of New York City's financial and political scandals of the early 70's as anyone interested in such matters would wish to know fifty years afterward. In the chapter on the *Times* and the war of 1914–1918 the author is guilty of grave omission. He does not print the *Times* editorial of September 16, 1918, favoring the consideration of the Austrian proposal for a discussion of peace terms. Perhaps no incident in American journalism has caused more discussion among people not of the journalistic profession concerning a newspaper policy than this editorial. Mr. Davis devotes two and

one-half pages to a discussion of the matter without even an extract from the editorial itself. He says, "If the Editor of the *Times* gave premature expression to that feeling (that the Austrian appeal meant the beginning of the end), it was because he saw further ahead than most people and knew that the appeal meant that peace was near."

Historic Houses of South Carolina. By Harriette Kershaw Leiding. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921, pp. xx, 318, $10.00.) One who opens this book expecting to find the equal of its pendant, the Huger Smiths' *Dwelling Houses of Charleston,* will be grievously disappointed. That was the unique product of collaboration between a diligent and skeptical searcher of the records, a sensitive artist, a trained architect, and a skilled photographer. This volume has had the benefit of none of these. Instead of conservative and documentary datings there are pleasant romances; instead of competent drawings, sketches sometimes almost childish in their technique. Judge H. A. M. Smith's scholarly articles in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* are drawn on in some instances, but in others traditional statements are relied on by preference.

The Carolina country outside of Charleston has been at once an unknown and a promised land to architects and students of the colonies. This book gives at least a first view of its resources. It must be confessed that these themselves do not equal expectations. There are to be sure a great number of houses more or less old, but few to awaken such enthusiasm as those already known in Charleston itself, or on the James or the Severn. Drayton Hall, indeed, was worthy to be called a palace in its day, and our author informs us of wainscoting from floor to ceiling, but illustrates no interiors and gives exterior photographs much inferior to others already published.

The flamboyant style of the Foreword tends unfortunately to destroy our gusto for the many admirable morsels of old Southern life scattered in the text.

FISKE KIMBALL.

Since the Civil War. By Charles Ramsdell Lingley, Professor of History, Dartmouth College. [*The United States,* edited by Professor Max Farrand, vol. III.] (New York, Century Company, 1920, pp. ix, 635, $2.65.) In his preface Professor Lingley leaves to future historians the effort to "delineate the *spiritual* history of America since the Civil War—the compound of tradition, discontent, aspiration, idealism, materialism, selfishness, and hope that mark the floundering progress of these United States through the last half century". His book is thus essentially a narration, with interpretations of the many successive issues and episodes, and with occasional surveys of economic and political conditions interspersed. The organization of the book is excellent, and the style of presentation clear. The reader is deftly led from one theme to another

and back again — political management, legislation, judicial decisions, labor, capital, transportation, money, commerce, foreign relations, etc.— with a sense that all these matters in a people's life are interlinked, and that while public exigencies may bring one or another phase of activity into the focus of attention, all of them are synchronous and continuous. The few character-sketches are well done, and the fairly numerous maps and diagrams are well conceived and executed. In general, whatever the book touches it treats soundly and adequately for its purpose as a college text-book. By comparison with certain of its rivals it has an old-fashioned flavor in that it follows long-approved practice rather than to seek innovation whether in matter or manner. It is silent, for example, upon education, literature, and sport, and brief upon immigration and urbanization. The theme of general readjustments in the South is one of the few which the book fails to treat in systematic manner; for its brief allusions in these premises are scattered, and neither the table of contents nor the index gives aid in the discovery of them. The index, in fact, is regrettably amateurish.

Ulrich B. Phillips.

Roosevelt in the Bad Lands. By Hermann Hagedorn. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921, pp. xxvi, 491, $5.00.) Mr. Hagedorn has made a good beginning in a work that will run many years before it is completed, and will in the end reveal the true outlines of a generation of American life. He has enlarged our knowledge of Theodore Roosevelt. His volume is in valued contrast to those of many of the Roosevelt biographers, who have taken their cue from the Roosevelt letters or autobiography, and have retold a story that is already conventionalized. They have exuded emotion, pro or con; but too many have neither added by their industry to the known facts, nor sifted new truths from the mass of myth and legend by their criticism. The conflict of testimony about Roosevelt extends beyond his acts to the interpretation of even the simplest of them. There is an untold story of absorbing critical interest in the history of the Ananias Club, and hardly an episode in his long career has been adequately described. It is no longer useful to write arguments or to express opinions upon him; what is needed is diligent collection of new material and relentless criticism of the old.

It has clearly been a labor of love for Mr. Hagedorn to trail Colonel Roosevelt through his Dakota haunts of 1883–1887. The testimony of survivors has been taken, and is here used to enrich the extracts from journals and family letters which now first see the light. The volume shows how Roosevelt bore himself on the raw frontier, makes him a real and vital character, and rescues from near oblivion an era in western history. The cow country has been described in fragments by various writers, but no one has hitherto been able to use it as background for a character that was both literate and vocal. Mr. Hagedorn has been successful in his research and judicious in his interpretations. If the Roose-

velt Memorial Association, for whom he has produced the volume, can continue its publications as here begun, it will at once serve well the need of the historian and give to the army of Americans who love the memory of the Colonel a reasoned and substantial ground for their devotion.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The American Spirit in Education: a Chronicle of Great Teachers. By Edwin E. Slosson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXIII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. x, 309.) This book bears the same title as a bulletin of the Bureau of Education written by Dr. C. R. Mann three years ago. Here the similarity ceases, however, except perhaps for the admiration of both authors for Benjamin Franklin as one of the greatest prophets in American education. To Dr. Mann the American spirit in education has been the development of practical, industrial education for the masses. To the author of this book it has been the development of free, public education until now "in a large part of the country a youth of sufficient ability to profit by the opportunity can get any education he needs, up to the highest professional training, without spending any money other than what he can make by his own exertions during his course", a statement which would not be universally agreed to.

With this background the author has really attempted a short history of American education, with especial emphasis on higher education, which occupies nearly one-half of the book. This fact appears from the chapters which deal successively with the Schools of the Colonies, the Colonial College, Franklin and Practical Education, Jefferson and State Education, Washington and National Education, Horace Mann, DeWitt Clinton, the Westward Movement, the State University, Catholic Education, Technical Education, the Morrill Act, Colleges for Women, the New Education and the University of Today.

There are a few conspicuous weaknesses in the book. For example, with no introduction, the reader is left to discover the author's purpose in writing the book as the story unfolds. There is also an undue emphasis placed on college and university education as compared to other fields, with consequent neglect or very inadequate treatment of secondary education, elementary education west of the Alleghenies, negro education, the training of teachers, and professional education. The chapter on Catholic education is longer than the compass of the book warrants. Of chief importance, however, is the author's very unsatisfactory attempt to describe modern educational tendencies in his chapter on the "New Education", which he declares to be characterized by broadness in the course of study, natural development of the pupil's mental powers, and the postponement of each course to such time as students are old enough to appreciate its usefulness. A few pages on these topics by no means satisfies the curiosity of readers who naturally look for a keen analysis of the present educational system both from the point of view of pedagogical method and of educational organization. The chapter on the

University of Today is better but by no means so penetrating as the observations of E. E. Holme, the Australian professor, in his recent book on the *American University*.

The book is therefore of traditional type but nevertheless a delightful introduction to the subject, largely woven about the heroic efforts of a number of American educational prophets.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

The Age of Invention: a Chronicle of Mechanical Conquest. By Holland Thompson. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXVII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. xii, 267.) The author of *The Age of Invention* frankly limits himself to outlining the personalities of some of the most conspicuous American inventors and indicating the significance of their achievements. In the first intent he has fairly succeeded, in the second he has clearly failed. The reasons for failure are not without interest. From one angle there is the attempt to combine in one volume the divergent pleasures of biographer and philosopher. Here the biographer overshadows his rival. From another is the lack of unity resulting from incomplete organization. This might have been obviated in part by grouping inventions according to types of power such as horse, steam, and electricity, or again initial purpose of use, such as agriculture; industry, manufacture, and commerce; communication. Unity might also have been increased by adding, to the surveys of 1790 and 1860, others for 1830, 1900 and 1914. A general summary at the end of the volume would have served the same purpose. From still another angle, and the most important, there is a lack of comprehension of the relation of the subject to the world at large. Nowhere is there more than surface consideration of the meaning of this Age of Invention. What fascinating possibilities that title opens up. What is the Age of Invention doing to our own time? What has it done to the agricultural, social, economic, political, religious, and other interests of civilization, the world that our grandfathers and great-grandfathers knew? Whither is it driving us? Will a study of it throw any light on the struggle of the materialistic forces of our modern world with the more purely spiritual and cultural ones? Is there any truth to the suspicion that the conditions which brought on the recent world war were due very largely to the effects of a too prolonged draught of the Age of Invention, with too little spiritual and cultural antitoxin to offset it? Does a study of the development of invention suggest any form of control, other than the present rules of the Patent Office? Might it not also be well to consider the possible social and economic effects—to take only two influences of an invention—before loosing it upon an unsuspecting public?

The volume is not without errors of fact and omission. Selecting one section, pp. 112–118, the reviewer notices the following. The English and the Scotch were not the first to attempt to build machines to cut grain. The Romans, and it seems probable the Carthaginians, had precedence in

this matter. Patrick Bell's first reaping machine was made and operated in 1827 not 1826. One, rather than four, of his machines came to America. The population of Chicago in 1847 was not 10,000 but over 16,000. C. H. McCormick manufactured 800 reapers instead of 500 in 1848. In the discussion of plows, the iron plow of Stephen McCormick of Fauquier County, Virginia, invented in 1816, patented in 1819, and widely used for many years in Virginia and neighboring states, should not be omitted.

H. A. Kellar.

Memoirs of the Harvard Dead in the War against Germany. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Volume II. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1921, pp. 376, $4.00.) The first volume of this memorial, reviewed in these pages in April, 1921, contained the record of Harvard men who lost their lives prior to the declaration of war by the United States. The second volume carries the record through the first year of American participation. Fifty-one men are here commemorated; all but five, four of whom were British and the other Cuban, were American citizens, yet exactly a third of them had found a way of entering into the war, through British or French service, before the United States followed their example on April 6, 1917. As Philip Comfort Starr, of the class of 1914, descendant in the eighth generation of Comfort Starr of the class of 1647, wrote from Canada where he had gone to enlist in the early summer of 1916, "I knew I had to go to make myself better. . . . When your job comes up, keeps pounding at the door for over a year, you might as well be business-like and go and do it. . . . I'll have the chance to do the unselfish thing for once."

Twenty-three of the fifty-one met death before the enemy; thirteen were decorated or cited in orders; thirteen were aviators, of whom eight were killed in accidents. Nearly all branches of the service are here represented, including the navy, the merchant marine, and the Y. M. C. A., and many famous organizations — the Coldstream Guards, the Black Watch, the Grenadier Guards, the Lafayette Escadrille.

The historical value of this volume is not inconsiderable. With his customary skill and sureness of touch the editor has selected material, chiefly extracts from private letters, which not only reveals, as in a portrait, the subjects of the memoirs, but which casts a spot-light on what was going on about them. Thus we have a series of scenes and impressions, from many points of view, of the war as it was waged in many places and at various times.

W. G. L.

Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1846–1906. Edited by Mary Thacher Higginson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921, pp. iii, 358, $4.00.) "Miscellaneous Gleanings"— the phrase used by the editor to characterize one particular section of this

compilation—might well have been chosen as the title of the book. Colonel Higginson was a very prolific writer, much given to reminiscence. His journals and letters had already been drawn on heavily for *Cheerful Yesterdays, Old Cambridge,* and *Contemporaries.* To the readers of these and of divers other books of narrative and characterization which came from his hand this slender volume will bring many a pleasant anecdote and observation, but little of substantial importance. To the younger generation of readers who have not known Colonel Higginson in person or through his writings, this book will give an inadequate presentment of the man. The editing is too casual. A single prefatory page of chronology and a grouping of these hundreds of fragments according to their bearing upon the causes in which he was interested would have left a far stronger impression of this man of light and leading.

In Colonel Higginson's personality, as these selections from his writings clearly show, there were combined qualities rarely found together—the zeal and fearlessness of the radical reformer championing the abolition of slavery, woman suffrage, and freedom of religious thought and teaching, combined with the no less characteristic gentleness of the lover of nature, and the urbanity of the cultured man of letters. He "knew everybody" among the forward-looking leaders of two generations. He has left a charming account of the marriage of Lucy Stone, at which he officiated. He spoke words of intimate appreciation at the funeral of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe. At the age of thirty-four he was already making such discerning appraisals of his contemporaries as these (p. 93):

> Mr. Emerson is bounteous and gracious, but thin, dry, angular, in intercourse as in person. Garrison is the only solid moral reality I have ever seen incarnate, the only man who *would do to tie to,* as they say out West; and he is fresher and firmer every day, but wanting in intellectual culture and variety. Wendell Phillips is always graceful and gay, but inwardly sad, under that bright surface. Whittier is the simplest and truest of men, beautiful at home, but without fluency of expression, and with rather an excess of restraint. . . . Theodore Parker is wonderfully learned in books, and given to monologue, though very agreeable and various it is, still egotistical, dogmatic, bitter often, and showing marked intellectual limitations.

The book abounds in literary reminiscences and anecdotes of his contacts with American and European men of eminence in literature and art. His relations with *Atlantic* editors are summed up thus:

> Fields's taste is very good and far less crotchety than Lowell's, who strained at gnats and swallowed camels, and Fields is always casting about for good things, while Lowell is rather disposed to sit still and let them come. It was a torment to deal with Lowell and it is a real pleasure with Fields (p. 111).

In the chapter, Army Life and Camp Drill, the most interesting passages relate to the first regiment recruited from the freed slaves, the First South Carolina Volunteers, of which Higginson became the colonel, and from which he secured excellent drill results and devoted loyalty.

COMMUNICATION

Calvin and Unbaptized Children

The Managing Editor:

Dear Sir: Students of church history who are more expert in respect to Calvin than I am may have protested to you already against the unjust statement by your reviewer of Dr. Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation* in your July issue, p. 765: "It remained for Calvin to condemn them [unbaptized children] to the awful and unremitting terrors of eternal fire." Calvin shifted salvation, both for children and for adults, from baptism to the eternal purpose of God. As to the possible salvation of those who died in infancy, an interesting discussion of his views, with quotation of the pertinent passages, may be found in an article by Professor Shields on "The Doctrine of Calvin concerning Infant Salvation", in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review,* I. 634–651.

John Alfred Faulkner.

Drew Theological Seminary,
Madison, N. J.,
Dec. 7, 1921.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In accordance with the terms of a bequest of the late George L. Beer, of New York City, the American Historical Association announces the George Louis Beer Prize in European International History. The prize, $250, will be awarded annually for the best work upon "any phase of European International History since 1895". The competition is limited to citizens of the United States and to works submitted for the purpose. A work may be submitted in either manuscript or print. It should not exceed in length 50,000 words of text, with the additional necessary notes, bibliography, appendixes, etc.

A work submitted in competition for the Adams Prize may at the same time, if its subject meets the requirements, be submitted for the George Louis Beer Prize; but no work that shall have been so submitted for both prizes will be admitted to the competition for the Beer Prize in any subsequent year.

In making the award the committee in charge will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and general excellence of style. The prize is designed especially to encourage those who have not published previously any considerable work or obtained an established reputation. Only works in the English language will receive consideration.

Inquiries concerning the prize should be addressed to the Chairman of the Committee or to the Secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

All proofs of Miss Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1919,* have now been passed, and it is hoped that it will before long emerge from the Government Printing Office, as a supplemental volume to the *Annual Report* for 1919. The Austin papers (papers of Moses and Stephen F. Austin), which will constitute the secondary volumes of that and some subsequent years, are in type to the extent of about one-half; they prove to be of greater extent than was expected when their publication was undertaken.

The Agricultural History Society has recently elected Dr. Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Agricultural Library, Chicago, its president; Mr. O. C. Stine and Mr. N. A. Olsen of the Department of Agriculture, vice-president and secretary-treasurer, respectively. The executive committee is to consist, in addition to the above, of the two ex-presidents, Dr. Rodney H. True and Mr. Lyman Carrier, and of two elected members, Messrs. G. K. Holmes of the Department of Agriculture, and F. K. Lewton of the National Museum.

PERSONAL

Viscount Bryce, O. M., historian, publicist, ambassador, died suddenly on January 22, at the age of eighty-four, after an old age of remarkable vigor and activity; they continued indeed to the last day of his life. Born in Belfast in 1838 and educated at Glasgow and Oxford, he won distinction at a very early age by the publication in 1864 of *The Holy Roman Empire,* which for nearly sixty years has maintained high regard as a standard exposition of its subject, lucid, suggestive, broad in view, sound in scholarship. From 1870 to 1893 he was regius professor of the civil law at Oxford, from 1880 to 1907 a conspicuous Liberal member of Parliament, holding in the latter part of that period various cabinet offices. His collected *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (1901), his *Studies in Contemporary Biography* (1903), and his books on South Africa and South America show the breadth and variety of the intellectual interests which he meantime and always maintained. In 1888 he published *The American Commonwealth,* the greatest of his works and the most important book ever written about the United States, in which, with remarkable accuracy, sympathy, and insight, he treated of our political institutions in their relation to the history, character, and habits of the American people. His most recent work, *Modern Democracies* (1921), was in a sense an expansion of the same general theme. From 1907 to 1913 he was British ambassador in Washington. The appointment was at first criticized in England, as of one not belonging to the conventional diplomatic service; but if ever any ambassador approached more closely to the ideals of that office set forth in Mr. Jusserand's article on preceding pages, history does not record the instance, and certainly Mr. Bryce, ambassador to the American people, did more, in those six years, than all preceding representatives of Great Britain taken together had done, to bring that people to a state of mind toward Great Britain admitting of willing co-operation in warfare at a vital moment. For several years Lord Bryce was president of the British Academy, and from 1906 to 1922 he was the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association.

Such a chronicle of offices and achievements, however, gives no adequate notion of the man and of his relation to American historical scholars. An assiduous traveller, tireless in walking, in questioning, and in social converse, he knew hundreds of Americans, and was the hearty and obliging friend of all; but to those of the historical fraternity his attitude was one of peculiar geniality and helpfulness. His wisdom and public spirit were always at their service. In conversation with them he poured out the astonishing treasures of his knowledge, while his insatiable desire for information prevented him from ever monopolizing the talk. His fresh and youthful spirit kept him always in sympathy with younger scholars, and toward all such he was unwearied in acts of thoughtful kindness.

Dr. Williston Walker, who for the last two years had been a member

of the Board of Editors of this journal, died at New Haven on March 9, at the age of sixty-one. From 1889 to 1901 he was associate professor and professor in the Hartford Theological Seminary; since 1901 he had been professor of ecclesiastical history, and in recent years also provost, in Yale University; and for ten years he was president of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. His historical works included *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (1893), *A History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* (1894), a volume on *The Reformation* (1900), one on John Calvin (1906) in the series of *Heroes of the Reformation,* and other biographical productions. He was a man of great learning and administrative capacity but made no display of either, so that what was most obvious in intercourse with him was his quiet modesty and constant kindness. His official connection with this journal was unhappily brief, but was marked by great helpfulness.

Dr. Alfred Cauchie, who since 1893 had been professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Louvain, died in Rome on February 10, at the age of sixty-one, as the result of a distressing street accident. The first of his publications consisted of two volumes on *La Querelle des Investitures* in the two Belgian dioceses (1890–1891). But soon his attention was turned to research in Roman and Neapolitan archives, concerning the history of the Belgian provinces in the sixteenth, and later in the seventeenth century. He warmly advocated, from 1895 on, the foundation of a Belgian school of historical studies in Rome, and at the time of his death was in charge of the Belgian Institute there. He and another Louvain professor founded in 1900 the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* and from that time to the outbreak of the war his repute rested mainly upon the conduct of that admirable journal and upon the training of many distinguished students of ecclesiastical history, including an important number of young Americans. On occasion of the German outbreak against Louvain he was carried away as a hostage, and subjected to many dangers and hardships. He was a prominent member of the Belgian Academy and of the Commission Royale d'Histoire, and was a man of high character and many endearing qualities.

Professor Ernst Daenell of Münster, formerly of Kiel, made many friends in America during his periods of residence as exchange professor at Chicago, in 1908, and as Kaiser Wilhelm professor at Columbia University in 1910–1911, and there will be general regret at the news of his death, which occurred shortly before last Christmas, in his fiftieth year. His earlier devotion had been to Hanseatic history, culminating in his *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse* (1906). After that, and down to the time of the war, his main interest was in American history. His *Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika,* first published in 1907, was brought out in a new and enlarged edition in 1913, and was one of the most intelligent presentations of our history available in German. He also published *Die Spanier in Nordamerika von 1513 bis 1824* (1911).

Gerhard Seeliger, professor in the University of Leipzig, died November 24, at the age of sixty-one. From 1895 to 1903 he was professor of the sciences auxiliary to history, and from 1903 of medieval history. His earlier publications related to the capitularies of the Carolingian monarchs, those of his later years to the institutional history of medieval Germany. In these last the most conspicuous was his *Politische und Soziale Bedeutung der Grundherrschaft* (1903). He was from the time of its foundation in 1898 the principal editor of the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift.*

Professor Herbert C. Bell of Bowdoin College sails for Europe in April, intending to spend a year's leave of absence in historical researches in London. Professor Herbert D. Foster of Dartmouth College, having leave of absence from February on, spends the months from March to September similarly in London. Professor C. H. Haskins of Harvard has leave of absence for the same semester and will spend the time in Europe.

Professor Charles Cestre of the University of Paris delivered the lectures upon the George Slocum Bennett Foundation at Wesleyan University during February. His subject was *The Contribution of France to the Universal Ideals of Mankind.*

Professor Preserved Smith is lecturing in modern European history at Cornell University during the second semester of the present college year.

Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington sails for Paris in April, to complete his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Paris Archives.*

Professor William K. Boyd of Trinity College, Durham, is spending this year at the University of Pennsylvania, as Harrison research fellow.

Professor H. W. Cordell has been made head of the department of history and economics in the State College of Washington at Pullman.

Dr. William A. Morris has been promoted from the rank of associate professor to that of professor of English history in the University of California.

Mr. C. R. Fay, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, has been appointed professor of economic history in the University of Toronto.

GENERAL

In the January number of the *Historical Outlook* E. McK. Eriksson of the State University of Iowa describes the League of Nations at Work, and Professor K. S. Latourette discusses Chinese History as a Field of Research. In the February number Dr. George F. Zook of the United States Bureau of Education discusses Higher Education and the Training for Citizenship. The February number contains also the report on the

Study of Civics, made by a committee of which Professor William B. Munro was chairman to the Pittsburgh meeting of the American Political Science Association, December 27, 1921, and discussed but not adopted. In the March number are a report, by Dr. D. C. Knowlton, of the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association, and the papers presented in the conference at St. Louis upon desirable adjustments between history and the other social studies in elementary and secondary schools.

Die Struktur der Weltgeschichte: Philosophische Grundlegung zu einer jeden Geschichtsphilosophie (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. viii, 378), by T. L. Haering, combats Spengler's theories. A translation of Spengler, *The Decline of Western Civilization,* is announced by the Princeton University Press.

A complete list of contributors to the series of volumes called *Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* has been received in America. Each of the following scholars is to contribute one or more volumes on the economic history of the country mentioned: Professors Baasch of Freiburg, Holland; Bächtold of Basel, Switzerland; Brodnitz of Halle, England and also Germany; Bull of Christiania, Norway; Doren of Leipzig, Italy; Gras of Minnesota, the United States; Heckscher of Stockholm, Sweden; Kaser of Graz, Austria; Koetzschke of Leipzig, the Middle Ages; Nielsen of Copenhagen, Denmark; Oertel of Leipzig, antiquity; Preyer of Königsberg, Russia; and Wolters of Marburg, France. The first volume, on the *Economic History of England* (in German), appeared in 1918, and the volume on the *General Economic History of the Middle Ages* is now in the press. The editor of the series is Professor Georg Brodnitz, who, like a true leader, has been the first to bring out his contribution—on England—using in its preparation some original sources, and the best and latest monographs and articles. If all the volumes are as scholarly and readable as this one, the success of the series is assured. A generation ago Inama-Sternegg remarked that we had no universal economic history. It may be that we shall never have one, but such a series as the *Handbuch,* making available the results of scholarly work in the various fields, takes a good step in that direction.

A skilful presentation in very brief compass is furnished by Hans Achelis in *Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1921, pp. xi, 236).

A suggestive discussion of the spirit of historical writing in Germany is Georg von Below's *Die Parteiamtliche Neue Geschichtsauffassung: ein Beitrag zur Frage der Historischen Objektivität* (Langensalza, Beyer, 1920, pp. 86).

The eight lectures delivered at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in August, 1921, by Viscount Bryce have been brought out by Macmillan in a volume entitled *International Relations.* Lord Bryce's in-

augural lecture of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions, delivered at the Mansion House, London, on June 27, 1921, has been brought out in this country by the same publishers. It bears the title *The Study of American History.*

The Grotius Society is publishing in pamphlets of moderate cost a series of texts for students of international relations (London, Sweet and Maxwell), of which no. 1 is the appropriate chapters of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani,* no. 2 a portion of Sully's *Memoirs* setting forth the Grand Design of Henry IV., while later numbers, yet to be published, will include portions of Grotius *De Jure Belli et Pacis,* selections from St. Pierre, Bentham, Kant, etc. All are provided with introductory commentaries.

Professor Ephraim Emerton's *Learning and Living: Academic Essays* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, pp. 325) contains nine essays admirable for old-fashioned wisdom, often humorously and often very cogently expressed, of which two, that on the Academic Study of History and that on the Place of History in Theological Study, may be especially commended to teachers of history and to serious and thoughtful students.

Macmillan publishes, in three volumes, a fifth edition, rewritten, of Westermarck's standard *History of Marriage.*

In *Angewandte Geschichte* (Berlin, Gruyter, 1920, pp. 233) Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven has collected a series of studies on the great turning-points of history. The same author has published *Feldherrngrosse, vom Denken und Handeln hervorragender Heerführer* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. 209), an essay on the great military leaders of history with chief emphasis on the period of Frederick the Great and Napoleon.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains a paper by Rev. Dr. Victor Carrière on La Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France, one by Rev. Dr. Thomas P. Phelan on Catholic Patriotism in Revolutionary Days, and one by Rev. Dr. Charles L. Souvay, C. M., on the Society of St. Vincent de Paul as an Agency of Reconstruction.

Dr. W. T. Whitley's valuable *Baptist Bibliography* (London, Kingsgate Press) is now completed by the issue of volume II., 1777–1837, with the inclusion of some addenda dating from 1613 down. There are four indexes.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* contains a monographic study, by Henderson H. Donald, of the Negro Migration of 1916–1918, a movement of negro population to the industrial centres of the North and West, far surpassing in volume all other migrations of the race in America. The author studies in particular the causes and effects of the migration, but he also investigates the source, volume, composition, and destination of the migrants, and presents the results of an examination of the statistics of 1920. In the January number are found the following articles: Slave Society on the Southern Plantation, by Frances L.

Hunter; the Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church, by W. H. Brooks; Early Negro Education in West Virginia, by C. G. Woodson; and First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia, by J. W. Cromwell. In the section of Documents appears the Experience of a Georgia Peon: My Escape from Bondage.

A History of European and American Sculpture from the Early Christian Period to the Present Day, in two volumes, by Chandler R. Post, is from the Harvard University Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Troeltsch, *Der Historische Entwicklungsbegriff in der Modernen Geistes- und Lebensphilosophie,* III. (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXV. 3); J. Volkelt, *Die Grundbegriffe in Spengler's Geschichtsphilosophie* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XX.); H. E. Barnes, *The Relation of Geography to the Writing and Interpretation of History* (Journal of Geography, December); C. C. Tansill, *Termination of War by Mere Cessation of Hostilities* (Law Quarterly Review, January).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: O. Gruppe, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Antiken Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte aus den Jahren 1906–1917* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXXVI.); M. Fluss, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit von Tiberius bis auf Diocletian, aus den Jahren 1894–1913* (*id.,* CLXXXIX.); *Bibliography of Books and Articles on Jewish History, 1914–1921* (Revue des Études Juives, April–June).

Professor V. Scheil has published an important *Recueil de Lois Assyriennes* (Paris, Geuthner, 1921, pp. 125), which includes not only the Assyrian text but also a French translation and index. It throws much light upon the manners and customs of ancient Mesopotamia.

Die Altpersische Religion und das Judentum (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1920, pp. viii, 240), by J. Scheftelowitz, develops the many similarities between the two religions but regards them as parallel phenomena rather than borrowings. C. Clemen, already well known for his *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae,* has published *Die Griechischen und Lateinischen Nachrichten über die Persische Religion* (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1920, pp. viii, 232).

Das Griechentum und seine Weltmission (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1921, pp. 187), by Freiherr von Bissing, is a thoroughgoing and competent presentation of the Greek contribution to the history of civilization.

In the *Skrifter* of the Christiania Society of Sciences for 1919 (Christiania, 1920, Dybwad) Professor S. Eitrem presents the third series (pp. 202) of his remarkable *Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte,* dealing with processions and sacrifices, Aeneas and the Caucones, the mythical founders of Greek colonies, and other topics.

Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. vi, 226) is a posthumously published work of Diedrich Fimmen, the first part being a new edition of the author's *Zeit und Dauer der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur* (1909). The concluding chapter was written by G. Karo.

Ernest Babelon, the author of the well known *Traité des Monnaies*, gives in *Les Monnaies Grecques: Aperçu Historique* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 160) a condensed but very illuminating account of one portion of his subject.

Professor P. N. Ure of University College, Reading, has put forth a volume on the *Origin of Tyranny* (Cambridge University Press, pp. xii, 374, and 46 illustrations), tracing the rise of the Greek tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries to the political possibilities involved in the invention and prevalence of coinage.

Professor A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan has brought out through the Macmillan Company *A History of Rome* to 565 A. D.

Eugen Täubler is the author of *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Decemvirats und der Zwölftafeln* (Berlin, Ebering, 1921, pp. ix, 140), a monograph on the evolution of the Decemvirate in the light of the Twelve Tables.

A critical study of the sources of Josephus is published by Wilhelm Weber under the title *Josephus und Vespasian; Untersuchungen zu dem Jüdischen Krieg des Flavius Josephus* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1921, pp. viii, 287). He reconstructs the original source and gives a minute account of the operations of the Flavii in the east.

Two studies of Roman Egypt have appeared. A. B. Schwarz in *Die Oeffentliche und Private Urkunde im Römischen Aegypten: Studien zum Hellenistischen Privatrecht* (1920, pp. 310) has made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the sources of law in the pre-Roman as well as the Roman period. T. Reinach in *Un Code Fiscal de l'Égypte Romaine: le Gnomon de l'Idiologue* (Paris, Sirey, 1920–1921, pp. 187) gives the text, translation into French, and a full commentary on the papyrus manuscript.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. De Morgan, *De l'Influence Asiatique sur l'Afrique à l'Origine de la Civilisation Égyptienne*, I. (L'Anthropologie, XXXI.); A. T. Olmstead, *Shalmaneser III. and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power* (Journal of the American Oriental Society, XLI.); W. F. Albright, *A Revision of Early Assyrian and Middle Babylonian Chronology* (Revue d'Assyriologie, XVIII.); A. T. Olmstead, *The Fall and Rise of Babylon* (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, January); C. L. Woolley, *La Phénicie et les Peuples Égéens* (Syria, II.); J. L. Heiberg, *Les Sciences Grecques et leur Transmission*, I. *Splendeur et Décadence de la Science Grecque* (Scientia, January); R. Herzog, *Nikias und Xenophon von Kos: Zwei Charakterköpfe aus der Griechisch-Römischen Geschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift,

CXXV. 2); F. Behn, *Die Schiffe der Etrusken* (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, XXXIV.); G. F. Moore, *Christian Writers on Judaism* (Harvard Theological Review, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General reviews: H. von Soden, *Die Erforschung der Vornicänischen Kirchengeschichte seit 1914* (Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte, XXXIX.); H. Leitzman, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XX.).

The purpose, sources, and historical value of the Acts of the Apostles comprise the subjects dealt with in A. Wikenhauser's *Die Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtswert* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1921, pp. xviii, 440). An extensive bibliography is included.

C. Guignebert is the author of *Le Christianisme Antique* (Paris, Flammarion, 1920, pp. 270), a masterly study of Christianity and its social environment.

In *Analecta Bollandiana,* XXXIX. 3–4, Father Hippolyte Delehaye publishes the Passion of St. Felix of Thibiuca, and examines the mutual relations of the stories of Cyprian of Antioch and Cyprian of Carthage. In another article Father Paul Peeters prints the Georgian version of the Autobiography of Dionysius the Areopagite, and discusses the order of the versions—in his view Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Cambridge University Press announces that the long-awaited third volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* is to appear at once.

Students of medieval things will be grateful for Dr. Reginald Lane Poole's authoritative paper on *The Beginning of the Year in the Middle Ages,* published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press.

The third edition of Georg Gropp's *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1921, pp. viii, 369) is briefer, but very much better in arrangement than the preceding ones, and has much new material.

Father Hippolyte Delehaye's excellent little book on the history of the Bollandists, of their *Acta Sanctorum,* and of their other literary labors, a model of commemorative statement concerning their three centuries of famous labors in scholarship, was reviewed from the French original in a previous volume (XXV. 742); students of history, especially those who are interested in the history of learning, will be glad to possess the excellent English translation now put forth by the Princeton University Press, *The Work of the Bollandists through Three Centuries, 1615–1915* (pp. 269, $2.50).

A good additional source-book (Caesar, Tacitus, Ammianus, Gregory of Tours, Procopius, Gildas, Paulus Diaconus, etc.) is Dr. Johannes Bühler's *Die Germanen in der Völkerwanderung* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag).

Histoire Sommaire de la Littérature Méridionale au Moyen Age (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. ix, 274), by Joseph Anglade, furnishes the first comprehensive manual to be published in France and brings together the results of previous study into a general survey of this important period of literary history.

In *Richard von Cluny, seine Chronik und sein Kloster in den Anfängen der Kirchenspaltung von 1159: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Anschauungen von Kardinalkolleg und Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Ebering, 1921, pp. 173), Dr. Ingeborg Schnack has made a detailed and exhaustive study of the subject, presenting an abundance of documentary material.

Erich W. Meyer, in *Staatstheorien Papst Innocenz III.* (Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1920), attempts a systematic organization of the political theories of Innocent, dealing with them without reference to the immediate circumstances in which each theory was developed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Schrörs, *Das Charakterbild des Heiligen Benedikt von Nursia und seine Quellen* (Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, 1921, 2); T. F. Tout, *The Study of Medieval Chronicles* (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, January); M. Ferraud, *Origines de Justices Féodales* (Le Moyen Age, January–April); A. P. Evans, *The Problem of Control in Medieval Industry* (Political Science Quarterly, December); M. Viller, *La Question de l'Union des Églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le Concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence, 1274–1438*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); J. Huyzinga, *La Valeur Politique et Militaire des Idées de Chevalerie à la Fin du Moyen Age* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXV. 2).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: F. Vigener, *Literaturbericht zur Geschichte des Neueren Katholizismus,* II. (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXV. 1).

La Question d'Occident: les Pays d'Entre-deux de 843 à 1921 (Brussels, Lamertin, 1921, pp. 218), by Professor L. Leclère of Brussels, is a study of the historical geography, military, political, and diplomatic history of the middle region set apart by the Treaty of Verdun. A recently published *Geschichte Elsass-Lothringens* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1920) is by K. Stählin.

The eighth edition of Édouard Driault's *La Question d'Orient depuis ses Origines jusqu'à la Paix de Sèvres, 1920* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. xv, 479) has been published. It not only brings the work down to the Treaty of Sèvres but makes needed changes in the whole text.

The chief events in the relations between England and Germany are set forth by G. von Schoch in *Die Politischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und England vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zum Jahre*

1815 (Bonn, Schroeder, 1921, pp. viii, 282), with the conclusion that the influence of England has been disadvantageous to Germany. A study of Franco-German relations is published by René Lote under the title *Les Relations Franco-Allemandes* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. xvi, 220); with this may be compared Professor T. F. Tout's *France and England: their Relations in the Middle Ages and Now* (Manchester University).

The Oxford University Press is about to issue the fourth volume, 1519–1521, of the *Letters of Erasmus,* ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen.

Dr. Paul Kalkoff's *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiments und einzelner Reichsfürsten* (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, pp. x, 132) is a preliminary to his larger and more recent *Der Wormser Reichstag von 1521* (*ibid.,* pp. viii, 436), in which the whole history of the personal and party developments is set forth. Another important contribution to Reformation history is Dr. Arnold O. Meyer's *Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Reformation aus Schlesischen Quellen* (*ibid.,* pp. xiv, 170).

Professor Heinrich Sieveking has published *Grundzüge der Neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. iv, 110), which compresses a great deal of economic history into very small compass. Professor Georg von Below's *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte: eine Einführung in die Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1920, pp. xx, 711) is a collection of essays in economic history.

Two substantial and authoritative volumes, both relating to the last half of the seventeenth century, have within a year or so been added to the great collaborated history of the Jesuits, the sixth volume of Father Antonio Astrain's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* (Madrid, Adm. de Razon y Fe, pp. xii, 890), and the third of Father Bernhard Duhr's *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge* (Regensburg, Manz, pp. xii, 924).

A description of the legal status of the peasants in the countries of Europe has been published by Henry Sée under the title *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Régime Agraire en Europe aux XVIII. et XIX. Siècles* (Paris, Giard, 1921, pp. 276). The volume is clear and trustworthy, and fills a distinct gap.

The memoirs of Sir Henry Elliot of which we spoke in a former number are, it seems, to be entitled *Some Revolutions, and other Diplomatic Experiences* (London, Murray); the reminiscences relate to missions to Naples, 1859–1862, to Greece, 1862, and to Constantinople, 1867.

Freiherr von Schoen, formerly secretary of state and ambassador to France, and earlier to Russia, has contributed some material of value to pre-war history in *Erlebtes: Beiträge zur Politischen Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 227).

La Dernière Ambassade de France à Vienne (Paris, Plon, 1921) is a

volume of memoirs by A. Dumaine, the last ambassador, which brings out some hitherto unknown facts.

The Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917–1921: an Outline Economic and Political Survey of the Central States and Russia, by Leslie H. Guest, is from the press of Doran.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Bourgeois, *L'Alliance de Bonaparte et de Paul Ier* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); C. Dupuis, *Les Deux Saintes-Alliances, 1815–1919* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXV. 2); G. Lacour-Gayet, *L'Ambassade de Talleyrand à Londres, 1830–1834* (Revue des Études Historiques, May); A. Friis, *Die Aufhebung des Artikels V. des Prager Friedens* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXV. 1); Baron Mourre, *La Crise de 1920–1921 et ses Causes* (Revue d'Économie Politique, September).

THE GREAT WAR

Further discussion of the origins of the war is presented by Alfred Pevet in *Les Responsables de la Guerre* (Paris, Librairie de l'Humanité, 1921, pp. 500); the Kautsky documents have been translated into French as *Documents Allemands relatifs à l'Origine de la Guerre* (Paris, Schleicher, 1921, 4 vols.).

The question whether the revolutionary parties in Germany caused the defeat of that country is answered in the affirmative by E. von Wrisberg, an official of the war ministry, in *Der Weg zur Revolution, 1914–1918* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1921, pp. 179).

A concise strategic review of the whole period of the war is furnished by Otto von Moser in *Kurzer Strategischer Überblick über den Weltkrieg, 1914–1918* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921, pp. 123). General A. von Kluck tells the story of the advance of the 1st Army at the battle of the Aisne under the title *Der Marsch auf Paris und die Marneschlacht 1914* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. vi, 167). It includes many orders and military communications. A book designed for self-justification but of some historical value is General Lanrezac's *Le Plan de Campagne Français et le Premier Mois de la Guerre, 2 Août–3 Septembre, 1914* (Paris, Payot, pp. 284).

Volume VII. of *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot), edited by Pierre Dehautcourt, is written by General Palat and entitled *La Course à la Mer.* It deals with the loss of St. Mihiel, the French in the battle of the Aisne, and the race to the sea.

Die Marzoffensive, 1918: Strategie oder Taktik (Leipzig, Koehler), by Otto Fehr, gives an account based on the documents of the German Supreme Command.

An account of the final phase of the war is given by Major S. Ashmead-Bartlett in *From the Somme to the Rhine* (London, John Lane).

With the Russian Army, 1914–1917, in two volumes, by Sir Alfred

Knox, consists chiefly of extracts from the diary of the author, who was military attaché. There are numerous illustrations, chiefly from photographs taken by the author, and also a number of maps (New York, Dutton).

Two books have recently appeared dealing with the war in Rumania C. J. Baicoianu has published a study of *La Banque Nationale de Roumanie pendant l'Occupation, Novembre 1916–Novembre 1918* (Paris, Sirey, 1921, pp. 163), and A. Berindey has written *La Situation Économique et Financière de la Roumanie sous l'Occupation Allemande* (Paris, Duchemin, 1921, pp. 216).

The breakdown of Austria-Hungary in September 1919 is told on the basis of documents by Hugo Kerchnawe in *Der Zusammenbruch der Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Wehrmacht im Herbst 1918* (Munich, Lehmann, 1921, pp. 205). A French translation by Captain Koelz of General A. von Cramon's *Quatre ans au G. Q. C. Austro-Hongrois pendant la Guerre Mondiale comme Représentant du G. Q. G. Allemand* (Paris, Payot, 1921) has been published.

The more important of the seven articles included in *Zwischen Kaukasus und Sinai* (Berlin, Mulzer und Cleeman, 1921) deal with the Germans in Palestine during the Great War. This is the first of a projected series to be published by the Association of Germans who fought in Asia.

The naval history of the war has had very little attention from Continental writers. Georges Douin has described the rôle played by the navy in the defense of the Suez canal and the protection of Egypt in *L'Attaque du Canal de Suez: 3 Février 1915* (Paris, Delagrave, 1921, pp. 114). Lieutenant de Rivoyre has written *Histoire de la Guerre Navale, 1914–1918* (Paris, Fournier, 1922, pp. 387), and a former minister of marine, Georges Leygues, has written a brief account of *Les Marins de France: l'Oeuvre de la Marine Française pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. 112).

Le Pape Benoît et la Guerre (Paris, Tequi, 1921, pp. xxiii, 394) is a collection of articles by C. Gallet which defends the papal diplomacy and holds Benedict XV. to have been perfectly impartial in action though he felt a marked preference for the French cause.

Another section of the history of the Great War based on official documents is entitled *Medical Services, General History* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xvi, 464). The first volume of this series, by Major-Gen. Sir W. G. Macpherson, has just appeared.

Losses of territory by Germany are described in *Der Kampf um Schleswig-Holstein* (Berlin, Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1921), by A. Köster, who was intimately connected in an official capacity with the events which he narrates, and by M. Worgitski in *Geschichte der Abstimmung in Ostpreussen: Der Kampf um Ermland und Masuren* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1921), written from a similar point of vantage.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Général Douchy, *Le Plan d'Invasion de 1914 d'après le Grand État-Major Allemand* (La Revue Universelle, October 1); Capt. J. S. Sweitzer, jr., *The Champagne-Marne Defensive,* cont. (Infantry Journal, January, February); Major E. N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., *The St. Mihiel Offensive* (Marine Corps Gazette, December); P. Painlevé, *Comment j'ai nommé Foch et Petain,* I., II. (Revue de Paris, December 15, January 1); M. Lair, *Les Chefs de Guerre Allemands,* I., II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July, October); Rapisardi-Mirabelli, *Le Traité de Sèvres, 10 Août 1920, et les Principales Questions Internationales qui s'y Rapportent* (Revue de Droit International, II. 5).

GREAT BRITAIN

The American Association for International Conciliation has brought out, with the title *Present Problems of the Commonwealth of British Nations,* the proceedings of the conference of prime ministers and representatives of the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, held in June, July, and August, 1921, and has also issued, with the title *Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments,* the addresses of President Harding, Secretary Hughes, Mr. Balfour, Baron Kato, M. Briand, and others.

H. M. Stationery Office (Imperial House, Kingsway, W. C. 2) has published for the Public Record Office a volume of *Lists of the Records of the Treasury, the Paymaster General's Office, the Exchequer and Audit Department, and the Board of Trade to 1837* (pp. x, 217, £1 8s.). American students will be especially interested in the detailed listing of the papers of the Royal African Company (T. 70) and of those relating to the Loyalists (T. 79 and 50) and to East Florida (T. 77).

A *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum,* in four volumes, edited by Sir George F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, has been printed by order of the trustees.

Under the direction of Dr. Hubert Hall, a seminar of the London School of Economics has compiled a valuable conspectus of the most important sources of English agrarian history under the title *Classified List of Agrarian Surveys in the Public Record Office* (pp. 23), listing and briefly describing such documents, from Domesday Book into the nineteenth century, with an introduction of 12 pages, a brief notice of similar manuscripts outside the Public Record Office, and a bibliography of agrarian surveys.

Mr. W. C. Bolland, whose course of lectures in the University of London on *The Year Books* was mentioned a year ago, has followed that volume with a second series of similar lectures on *The General Eyre* (Cambridge University Press).

James A. Williamson in *A Short History of British Expansion* (London, Macmillan) carries his subject from the Conquest to the present day.

The Royal Historical Society has in preparation a volume of diplomatic instructions to British ministers to Sweden, 1689–1727, ed. J. F. Chance, intended to be the first in a series of volumes of diplomatic instructions; and a volume of the parliamentary papers of John Robinson, 1775–1783, edited by Professor W. T. Laprade of Trinity College, North Carolina.

Professor J. Holland Rose, professor of naval history in the University of Cambridge, has published a new book on *Lord Hood and the Defence of Toulon* (Cambridge University Press, pp. viii, 175).

Messrs. Longman have in press a new work by George Macaulay Trevelyan, on *British History in the Nineteenth Century,* in which the political, economic, and social history of Great Britain, and in a less degree of the Empire, are all considered.

Principal J. W. Graham, who had an important relation to the conflict between the British government and the conscientious objectors, has written a full account of the episode, with a sketch of the corresponding history in other countries, under the title *Conscription and Conscience: a History, 1916–1919* (London, Allen and Unwin).

The late Dr. J. Willis Clark intended, a dozen years ago, to follow up his *Architectural History of Cambridge* with a portfolio of reproductions of six old plans of Cambridge, with accompanying description. Delayed by the war, the enterprise has now been achieved by the Master of Jesus College, Mr. Arthur Gray. *Old Plans of Cambridge* (Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes) reproduces the bird's-eye views by Richard Lyne, 1574, George Braun, 1575, and Thomas Fuller, 1634, two plans of 1688 and 1798, respectively, and, most important of all, a plan by John Hamond, 1592, of which only one complete copy (Bodleian) is known. These are reproduced in the portfolio, and there is an accompanying volume of careful explanations (pp. xxxvii, 154).

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January we note an interesting list of documents relative to coal mining in the Saltcoats district in the early part of the eighteenth century by N. M. Scott, and an article on Robert Owen and the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle by an American, Albert T. Volwiler.

An important monograph on the origin of the Scottish Court of Session, by Professor R. K. Hannay, is printed in vol. XI. of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir William Ashley, *The Place of Rye in the History of English Food* (Economic Journal, September); Godfrey Davies, *Council and Cabinet, 1679–1688* (English Historical Review, January); E. Halévy, *Comment Lord Palmerston passa pour Grand Homme* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); R. L. Schuyler, *The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England* (Political Science Quarterly, December).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see page 666)

An important contribution to knowledge of the history of modern Ulster, and especially of the settlement of Derry by the ten London companies, is made by Mr. J. W. Kernohan's *The County of Londonderry in Three Centuries* (Belfast, the author, 115 Park Road).

On the occasion of the recent beatification of the martyred primate of Ireland, Mgr. C. Salotti wrote *Un Martire Irlandese, Oliviere Plunket* (Rome, Ferrari, 1920, pp. 274). In its preparation he used a number of documents difficult of access, which make the book of particular value.

An objective exposition of the opinions and the facts which molded opinion is set forth by Yann M. Goblet (Louis Treguiz) in *L'Irlande dans la Crise Universelle, 1914–1920* (Paris, Alcan, 1921). E. Cailliet has written of *Les Origines du Mouvement Sinn-Fein en Irlande* (Metz, *Le Messin*, 1921, pp. 64).

In series III. of the *Historical Records of Australia* [Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament], vol. IV. (pp. xviii, 975) is concerned with Tasmania, 1821–1825.

Australia also is to have her official war history. It is entitled *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918*, and is to consist of twelve volumes, nine dealing with military matters, one with the navy, one with affairs in Australia during the war, and one containing photographs. The first six volumes—two on Gallipoli and four on France—are to be contributed by Mr. C. E. W. Bean. The first Anzac volume has appeared (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, pp. xxviii, 660). Meantime, an excellent history of the achievements of the New Zealanders has been published, "a popular history based on official records", *The New Zealand Division, 1916–1919* (Auckland, Whitcomb and Tombs), by Colonel H. Stewart, C. M. G., who in times of peace is professor of classics in Canterbury College at Christchurch.

Volume I. of the *Cambridge History of India* has been published by the Cambridge University Press.

In the first number of the *Journal of Indian History*, published by the department of modern Indian history in the University of Allahabad, five of the eight articles are by the editor, Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and the other three by his three assistants. Documents and discussions concerning the East India trade in the seventeenth century, articles on the sources in British archives for Indian history in that century, on the East India Company's war with Aurangzeb, on the Mughal government under Jahangir, on Sher Shah, and the like, compose the contents.

Humphrey Milford is about to publish a second edition, in two volumes, of Erskine and Leyden's translation of the *Memoirs of Bābur, Emperor of Hindustan*. The first edition appeared in 1836.

A further volume, 1660–1663, of the *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company,* by Miss Ethel B. Sainsbury, with an introduction by Mr. William Foster, will soon be published by the Oxford University Press.

The Imperial Record Department of Calcutta has issued a *Press List of "Mutiny Papers", 1857,* giving a précis of papers in Persian and Urdu taken at the capture of Delhi and dealing with its history during the period of the mutiny. Lack of classification makes it somewhat difficult for the student to avail himself of the valuable material here presented.

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, November); Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France, 1378–1498* (*ibid.,* September).

R. Genestal's *Le Privilegium Fori en France du Décret de Gratien à la Fin du XIV^e^ Siècle,* vol. I. (Paris, Leroux, 1921, pp. xix, 246), is a learned study of the earliest period, of especial value for church history, but not without interest in a wider field.

M. Aubert, who wrote a history of the cathedral in 1909, has now published *Notre-Dame de Paris: sa Place dans l'Architecture du XII. au XIV. Siècle* (Paris, Laurens, 1921, pp. 242), a more detailed and elaborate study of some of the problems of the construction, and of its influence upon Gothic architecture. It is excellently illustrated.

A new and useful manual is D. Blanchet and J. Toutain's *Histoire de France, depuis le Début du XVI^e^ Siècle jusqu'en 1774* (Paris, Belin, 1921, pp. 246).

Messrs. Champion have published a second volume (pp. 448), dealing with the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians, of *Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime,* by J. Mathorez, of which the first volume was reviewed in a former issue of this journal (XXVI. 82).

An intimate picture of Paris, still outwardly medieval, is given by Alfred Franklin in *Paris et les Parisiennes au Seizième Siècle* (Paris, Émile-Paul).

Dr. J. Pannier, Protestant pastor in Paris, in his volume on *L'Église Réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII., 1610–1621* (Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. 900), follows the history he published in 1911 of the Huguenot churches under Henry IV. with a similar account of events, of persons, and of movements in the fields of religion, letters, and art.

P. Costes has now published the second and third volumes of the *Correspondance de Saint Vincent de Paul, 1640–1650* (Paris, Gabalda, 1920–1921, pp. 644, 649). A great number of unprinted and previously inaccessible letters are printed. The editor has shown great care in reading and interpreting the text and separating originals from copies. There are abundant notes.

C. Urbain has collected *Écrits et Lettres Politiques de Fénelon* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 195), publishing among other things a severe letter addressed to Louis XIV. in 1694.

Abbé J. Dedieu has written a hostile account of the political activities of the Huguenots under the title *Le Rôle Politique des Protestants Français, 1685–1715* (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1921, pp. xviii, 362). He absolves the Catholics from blame for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, making Louis entirely responsible.

C. Chassé in *Napoléon par les Écrivains* (Paris, Hachette, 1921, pp. 260) has gathered together what was said of Napoleon by Mme. de Staël, Constant, Fontanes, Talleyrand, and others during his reign, during his exile, at his death, and at various periods since. The selection and arrangement make it very illuminating. Somewhat the same task was undertaken by R. Burnand and F. Boucher in *L'Histoire de Napoléon racontée par les Grands Écrivains* (Paris, Grasset, pp. 390). The arrangement, however, is different inasmuch as the editors gathered together what authors said of different periods of his life. J. d'Auriac has published *Napoléon raconté par Lui-Même* (Paris, Chiron, 1921, pp. 500), which includes a good many comments on Napoleon which contemporaries put in their memoirs.

F. Masson has gathered three papers based on unpublished documents into a volume entitled *Revue d'Ombres* (Paris, Ollendorff). The change from republic to empire, the last days of Murat, and the conspiracy of Grenoble, 1816, are the topics dealt with.

The second and third volumes of *La Société du Second Empire* (Paris, Michel, 1921, pp. 414, 168), by Comte Fleury and L. Sonolet, cover respectively the years 1858 to 1862, and 1863 to 1867.

Bossard, Paris, has published *Les Origines de la III^e^ République: Étude et Documents Historiques.* The compiler of this collection, Auguste Callet, was the reporter of the Commission of Enquiry into the Revolution of September 4, 1870, and the volume now printed is the first of two which he intended to make from the abundant materials then collected.

M. Bruchet has published two volumes on *Archives Départementales du Nord* (Lille, Danel, 1921, pp. lxvii, 515; xxxii, 253). The archives at Lille are of exceptional value for the history of the Middle Ages.

J. Régné has published the second volume of his *Histoire du Vivarais* under the title *Le Développement Politique et Administratif du Pays de 1039 à 1500* (Largentière, Mazel, 1921, pp. xvi, 520). Not only political but religious and economic questions are capably studied. The first volume appeared in 1914.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Lot, *Conjectures Démographiques sur la France au IX^e^ Siècle* (Le Moyen Age, January–April);

G. Goyau, *Saint Louis* (Revue Universelle, January); R. Vivier, *La Grand Ordonnance de Février 1351: les Mesures Anticorporatives et la Liberté du Travail* (Revue Historique, November); N. Weiss, *Les Débuts de la Réforme en France d'après quelques Documents Inédits,* VI. *Les Premiers Missionnaires Pierre de Sibiville, Michel d'Arande, Aimé Meigret, 1523–1524* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, October); L. Batiffol, *Richelieu et la Question de l'Alsace* (Revue Historique, November); C. Pfister, *Le Second Voyage de Louis XIV. en Alsace, Octobre, 1681,* I., II. (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May–June, July–August); Comte d'Haussonville, *Lafayette et Madame de Staël: Lettres Inédites* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); H. Sée, *La Rôle de la Bourgeoisie Bretonne à la Veille de la Révolution* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXIV. 4); P. Gaxotte, *Les Influences d'Argent dans la Révolution Française* (Revue Universelle, January); A. Mathiez, *La Révolution et les Subsistances,* VIII. *Le Mort de Marat et le Vote de la Loi sur l'Accaparement* (Annales Révolutionnaires, November); P. Meuriot, *Les Districts de 1790: Comment ils sont devenus les Arrondissements de l'An VIII.* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May–June); Varagnac, *Napoléon et son Conseil d'État* (*ibid.,* May–June); H. Puget, *Le Conseil d'État au Temps de Napoléon* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); Lord Teignmouth, *Napoleon and the British Navy* (United Royal Service Institution, November); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Augustin Thierry d'après sa Correspondance,* II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, December 15); H. Salomon, *Une Expérience Politique en 1870 et ses Conséquences: Étude Critique,* I. *Le Ministère du 2 Janvier et les Responsabilités de M. Émile Ollivier;* II. *L'Incident Hohenzollern* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XXXII.); E. Déborde de Montcorin, *La Légende du Drapeau Blanc, Octobre, 1873* (Revue des Études Historiques, May); A. Auzoux, *Une Institution d'Autrefois: Les Charités Normandes* (*ibid.,* May).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Previous estimates of population are overthrown by P. Egidi in *Ricerche sulla Popolazione dell' Italia Meridionale nei Secoli XIII. e XIV.* (Lucca, Baroni, 1920). On the basis of returns from taxation he estimates the population for Italy at about 3,400,000 and for Sicily at 1,100,000.

Firenze dopo i Medici (Florence, Bemporad; London, Truslove and Hanson), by Giuseppi Conti, recounts the "improvements" made by the Lorraine grand-dukes, 1737–1792, and the Florentines' dissatisfaction with them.

A. Luzio, archivist at Turin, who two years ago published the letters which passed between Mazzini and his mother, throws further light on his career in a volume entitled *Giuseppe Mazzini, Carbonaro* (Turin, Bocca, 1920), based on new documents. Mazzini is followed step by step from his initiation in 1827 till the foundation of the Young Italy.

G. Bourgin has translated into French from the Italian R. Michels's *Le Prolétariat et la Bourgeoisie dans le Mouvement Socialiste Italien, particulièrement des Origines à 1906* (Paris, Giard, 1921, pp. 356).

Professor Rafael Ballester has performed for Spanish history a service similar to that which has been rendered before to students of French and of Belgian history by the manuals of Monod and Pirenne, by preparing a *Bibliografía de la História de España* (Barcelona, 1921, pp. 297), listing some 1400 books, including both sources and later writings.

An additional volume of the *Catálogo de Legajos del Archivo General de Indias*, by the archivist, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, has been published at Seville by the Centro de Estúdios Americanistas; it covers about two-thirds of section III., Casa de Contratación. The printing of the *Libro de las Longitudines* of Alonso de Santa Cruz in successive numbers of the archival *Boletín* having been finished, it also is now issued as a separate volume.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Mayer, *Das Altspanische Obligationenrecht in seinen Grundzügen*, II. (Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, XXXIX. 1 and 2); A. Alcover, *Los Mozárabes Baleares*, II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, July).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: E. Stähelin, *Die Zwingliliteratur der Jahre 1913–1920* (Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte, XXXIX.).

The German Historical Commission attached to the Bavarian Academy is finding much difficulty in publishing the volumes of materials completed, but a new "Gesellschaft von Freunden der Deutschen Geschichte" has been formed, which will supplement diminished governmental aid. Vols. XIII. and XVI. of the *Reichstagsakten*, earlier series, have been finished, and Augsburg VIII. and IX. and volumes for Brunswick and Lüneburg, in the *Städtekroniken* series. For the series relating to the nineteenth century, the papers of Radowitz are ready for publication, those of Droysen well advanced.

F. Philippi has published his lectures under the title *Einführung in die Urkundenlehre des Deutschen Mittelalters* (Bonn, Schroeder, 1920, pp. viii, 256). The volume will be especially useful to graduate students.

The second part of volume II. of G. Dehio's *Geschichte der Deutschen Kunst* (Berlin, Gruyter, 1921, pp. iv, 350) covers the period from the middle of the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. It is well illustrated.

Kulturgeschichte der Urzeit Germaniens, des Frankenreiches, und Deutschlands im frühen Mittelalter, bis 919 A. D. (Bonn, Schroeder, 1920, pp. 374), by Rudolf Goette, is particularly noteworthy in its treatment of the stone age, of the bronze age, and of Roman influence on German civilization.

A remarkable collection of 544 documents from the archives of Reval is published by Professor W. Stieda of Leipzig in *Hildebrand Veckinchusen: Briefwechsel eines Deutschen Kaufmanns im 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, pp. lvii, 560), with an interesting introduction. The collection consists in the main of letters that passed between two brothers, Hanseatic merchants trading with marts as widespread as Novgorod, Bergen, and Venice, and ranges through forty years from 1395.

Richard Wolff's *Studien zu Luthers Weltanschauung* (Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. 65) is a small book but a solid contribution toward understanding Luther's personality and purposes.

Wilhelm Schüssler has edited *Die Tagebücher des Freiherrn Reinhard von Dalwigk zu Lichtenfels aus den Jahren 1860–71* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1920, pp. viii, 535). The diary was a painstaking piece of work and gives a vivid account of events. It is well edited and has numerous notes and appendixes.

A careful and clear account of the elements which composed and the events which precipitated the crisis in the first three months of 1890 is to be found in W. Schüssler's *Bismarcks Sturz* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1921, pp. xii, 327). It is written from a viewpoint hostile to the Kaiser. An attempt to analyze Bismarck's personality is embodied in *Bismarck im eigenen Urteil: Psychologische Studien* (Berlin, Cotta, 1920, pp. 247) by Karl Groos. Wolfgang Windelband has published *Herbert Bismarck als Mitarbeiter seines Vaters* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921).

C. Bornhak has written a book covering the period from the fall of Bismarck to the outbreak of the war under the title *Deutsche Geschichte unter Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1921, pp. viii, 360). F. Caburi's *Guglielmo II.* (Milan, tip. ed. Risorgimento, 1920, pp. 103) is the work of an Italian journalist thoroughly familiar with Austria and Germany. It is devoted largely to a study of the Kaiser's personality. D. Roget has translated W. Rathenau's *Le Kaiser: Méditations* (Paris, Agence Générale de Librairie et de Publications, 1921, pp. 150) into French.

The second volume of Georg von Hertling's *Erinnerungen aus Meinem Leben* (Kempten, Kösel, 1920, pp. iv, 312; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 506) is edited by his son, Karl Graf von Hertling. The volume covers the period down to 1902, and is to be followed by a third. George Michaelis has published *Für Staat und Volk: eine Lebensgeschichte* (Berlin, Furche-Verlag, 1921).

Many commentaries upon the new German constitution are appearing in that country. Hans Naviasky's *Die Grundgedanken der Reichsverfassung* (Munich, Duncker und Humblot, 1920, pp. 164) is an interpretation of the political content of the new constitution which contrasts it with the constitution of 1871. *Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches vom 11*

August, 1919 (Berlin, Stilke, 1921, pp. 290), by Gerhard Anschütz, gives the historical background and explains the constitution from parliamentary material. The second edition of F. Giese's *Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches vom 11 August, 1919* (Berlin, Heymann, 1920, pp. xvi, 456) contains a bibliography of important books and periodical articles about the constitution. The second edition of Fritz Poetzsch's *Handausgabe der Reichsverfassung vom 11 August, 1919* (Berlin, Liebmann, 1921, pp. 226) is enlarged by the latest legislation, which in effect amends constitutional practice. The first collection of legislation based on the new constitution is Otto Meissner's *Das Neue Staatsrecht des Reichs und seiner Länder systematisch dargestellt* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1921, pp. xi, 359). It is organized in a very useful way. Rudolf Cohn in *Die Reichsaufsicht über die Länder nach der Reichsverfassung vom 11 August, 1919* (Berlin, Heymann, 1921, pp. vii, 64) makes an attempt to work out systematically the rights of imperial control under the new constitution.

L'Allemagne: Lendemains de Guerre et de Révolution (Paris, Colin, 1921, pp. 300) is by Maurice Baumont and Marcel Berthelot, who were attached to French missions in Berlin after the armistice and whose information, therefore, was gathered on the ground. They made use of many documents not readily available elsewhere.

After a long interval the second half of the first volume of Rudolf Bemmann's *Bibliographie der Sächsischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. xviii, 614) has appeared. It contains titles relating to the constitution, law and government, economic relations, intellectual life, the church, and the army.

Stimulated by the opening of the Austrian archives up to dates quite recent, and by other causes, the archivists of the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv have begun the publication of a journal, *Historische Blaetter* (Vienna, Rikola), which promises to be of much value, especially to students of modern history. The first number contains an article by Professor G. von Below, of Freiburg, continued in the second number, on the modern development of German historiography, especially in its relations to romanticism, Hegel, Marx, and sociology; a body of correspondence of Archduke John with the Austrian chancery respecting the Sonderbund question; an article by the late Professor August Fournier, on European politics from 1812 to the first peace of Paris, intended, together with his article in the *Deutsche Rundschau* of July, 1919, on the Paris peace conference of 1814, to form the preliminary chapters of a book on the Congress of Vienna; and a paper by Professor Alexander Cartellieri, of Heidelberg, on Georges Bourdon's *Figaro* articles and book of 1913 on German public opinion respecting France and war. In the second number there is a thorough critical discussion of the character of the political testament of Charles V., by Professor J. K. Mayr, of Vienna; a first installment of "Neues zur Orientpolitik des Grafen Andrássy", 1876–1877,

by Eduard von Wertheimer, of Vienna; and "Das Schicksal der Deutschen und der Weltkrieg", by Berthold Molden.

Professor Viktor Bibl, of the University of Vienna, with the aid of copious materials from the national archives, is preparing an important historical work on *Der Zerfall Oesterreichs* (Vienna, Rikola), of which the first volumes, *Kaiser Franz und sein Erbe* and *Von Revolution zu Revolution* [1848–1918], will shortly appear. The same publisher announces two important documentary publications, *Kronprinz Rudolf: Politische Briefe an einen Freund, 1882–1889,* letters to Moritz Szeps, editor of the *Wiener Tagblatt,* and articles contributed by the prince to that journal, and *Der Politische Nachlass des Grafen Eduard Taaffe,* prime minister of Austria from 1879 to 1893.

The Emperor Francis Joseph and His Times (London, Hutchinson), by Lieut.-Gen. Baron von Margutti, is a memoir of the later years of the emperor's life by a member of his official family.

Field-Marshal Conrad-Hötzendorf is publishing, at considerable length and with many supporting documents, his memoirs, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit, 1906–1918* (Vienna, Rikola). The first volume, *Die Zeit der Annexionskrise,* 1906–1909, and the second, continuing the narrative through 1912, have already appeared. The third, extending through 1913 and the first half of 1914, will appear in the autumn. After these volumes dealing with Balkan wars and military preparations will come the memoirs of the Great War, which the author is preparing.

The Czechoslovak government is establishing at Rome an independent historical institute in the place of the "Bohemian expedition" formerly attached to the Austrian Institute, and will bring out before long vol. III. (pontificate of Urban V.) of the *Monumenta Bohemiae Vaticana.* The Cracow Academy of Sciences is contemplating the foundation of a Polish institute also, and there is prospect of a Yugoslav institute and of co-operation between the three Slavonic establishments.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Mayer, *Der Ursprung der Germanischen Gottesurteile* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XX. 3); M. von Hagen, *Die Bündnispolitik des Deutschen Reiches* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The late Dr. J. G. de Hoop Scheffer of Amsterdam, whose monograph on the Brownists, in the *Werken* of the Amsterdam Academy, is known to students of Pilgrim history, prepared before his death a volume which has been translated into English by his son and edited by Rev. Dr. William E. Griffis, and is now about to be published under the title *History of the Free Churchmen called the Brownists and Pilgrim Fathers in Holland* (Ithaca, N. Y., Andrus and Church). It is certain to constitute an authoritative account of the Amsterdam community from which the Leyden Pilgrims came, and of its relations to the church history of the time.

The new organ of the Belgian historians and philologians, the *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* appeared in January, as announced in our last number, and makes a most creditable beginning of an enterprise which has our best wishes. Among the historical articles we note one of much suggestive generalization by Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, "Mahomet et Charlemagne", on the general effect of the spread of Islam on the western world; one by Professor L. Leclère of Brussels, on the chronological limits of the Middle Ages; one by M. Hubert Nelis on the dating of the charters of Philip the Good; and a useful article by M. Victor Tourneur, secretary of the Numismatic Society of Brussels, on the proper procedure in evaluating sums of money mentioned in medieval and modern Belgian sources.

The *Bulletin* of the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXV. 1, contains a full account of the Ypres chronicle, 1562–1595, of Augustijn van Hernighem, by M. Victor Fris.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: K. Völker, *Zur Reformationsgeschichte Polens: ein Forschungsbericht* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XXXIX.).

An elaborate history of the swords of the vikings, by Dr. Jan Petersen, with nearly 140 illustrations, occupies 228 pages of the *Skrifter* of the Christiania Society of Sciences for 1919 (Christiania, 1920, Jacob Dybwad).

The chief Norwegian historical society, the Norske Historiske Forening, has celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation by publishing an impressive volume on the history of historical work in Norway during the period from 1869 to 1919, *Norsk Historisk Videnskap i Femti År* (Christiania, Grøndal and Son, 1920, pp. 352), to which Professors Halvdan Koht, Edvard Bull, and Oscar A. Johnsen, and other scholars, contribute chapters on various aspects of Norwegian historical work during the half-century, while Dr. Wilhelm Munthe gives a history of the society itself.

A history of the revolutionary movement in Russia with particular emphasis upon the period between 1905 and 1918 is published under the title *Wie Russland Bolschewistisch Wurde: ein Aufriss der Russischen Revolution* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1921, pp. iii, 128). The author, E. Jenny, lived for many years in Russia. S. Zagorsky, professor of political economy in the University of Petrograd, has written *La République des Soviets: Bilan Économique* (Paris, Payot, 1921), attempting to show the way in which developments have been in a direction diametrically opposite to communist principles and to the objects sought by Bolshevist leaders. V. Tchernov, former minister of agriculture under the provisional government and one of the leaders of the Socialist Revolutionary party, has published *Mes Tribulations en Russie Soviétique* (Paris, Povolozky, 1921).

The first of three volumes on *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. x, 377), by M. Paléologue, French ambassador at St. Petersburg, covers the period from July, 1914, to June, 1915. This very important contribution first appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

The first volume of Professor Paul Miliukov's history of the second Russian Revolution (*Istoriia Vtoroi Russkoi Revoliutsii*), meaning the revolution of 1917, has been published (Sofia, Russian-Bulgarian Press; London, Jashke). It covers the period from March to July, 1917. It was partly written the next winter, and was then to be published at Kiev. There the Petliura troops endeavored to destroy print and manuscript, but an imperfect copy of the latter escaped destruction, and was made the basis of the present important work.

Two volumes of General Denikin's memoirs have appeared under the title *Ocherki Russkoi Smuti* [Outlines of the Russian Turmoil] (Paris, Povolozky). These recollections, just, impersonal, convincing, are of such value that it is to be hoped that they may soon be translated. The second volume runs to the arrest of Kornilov, Denikin, and others, after Kornilov's rising.

P. Apostol and A. Michelson, well known Russian economists, have written *La Lutte pour le Pétrole et la Russie* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 224) which deals with the subject historically as well as devoting space to the present situation.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Vicomte de Guische, *L'Évolution de la Politique Russe du XIX^e^ au XX^e^ Siècle* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May–June); J. W. Headlam-Morley, *Russian Diplomacy before the War* (Quarterly Review, January); anon., *L'Assassinat d'Alexandre II.*, I. (Revue de Paris, January 1); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre,* second series, I. *La Réouverture de la Douma* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); O. Dzenis, *How the Bolsheviki captured the Winter Palace* (Living Age, February 11, from the Moscow *Pravda,* November 6); Général C. Brummer, *Les Derniers Jours du Grand Duc Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

To the S. P. C. K. series of *Translations of Christian Literature* has been added a small volume of *Lives of the Serbian Saints* (pp. xx, 108), ed. Voyeslav Yanich and C. P. Jankey.

The general history of the Orthodox Church to the year 1050 is given in *Istorija Hristianske Erkve* (Belgrade, Kon, 1920, pp. vi, 220) by R. M. Grujic. The same author, who is a professor in the University of Belgrad, gives an account of the church in Serbia in *Pravoslavna Srpska Tzrkva* (Belgrade, 1921, pp. vi, 220). The work includes an extensive

bibliography. *Pravoslavno Monastvo i Monastiri u Srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Karlovicz, 1920) is a posthumous work of B. Markovic and is a learned contribution to the study of monasticism in the Serbian church.

In *Deux Typica Byzantins de l'Époque des Paléologues* (pp. 213, from the *Mémoires* of the Royal Academy of Belgium), Father Hippolyte Delehaye presents the Greek text of the *typica* of two nunneries in Constantinople, that of Our Lady of Good Hope, founded about 1300 by Theodora, niece of the Emperor Michael VIII. Palaeologus, and that of Constantine Lips, founded by him in the eleventh century, and refounded by another Theodora, wife of Michael VIII. *Typica* were monastic rules. Father Delehaye gives a chronological list of those that have been printed. Very few of them are for convents of women. He also gives a full discussion of the history, organization, and rules of these two convents.

General Liman von Sanders has published his memoirs under the title *Fünf Jahre Türkei* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 408). When, after the armistice, he was held prisoner of war for six months he began this account of his experiences. It is a record of conflict with Enver and an attempt to prove that the Turks were not entirely controlled by their German allies.

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

General review: E. Montet, *Histoire de l'Islam* (Revue Historique, September).

The Lombard colony of Nicosia, both before the Norman conquest and during the twelfth century, forms the subject of a recent study, *I Lombardi di Nicosia nel XII. Secolo: Nuovi Studi e Ricerche* (Nicosia, Lavoro, 1920), by A. Barbato.

La Syrie (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. xix, 733), by G. Samné, is a work of almost encyclopaedic character and is particularly good on the historical side.

A specimen of the difficulties attending government under mandates and of the patient consideration and competence of knowledge with which British administrators may approach them is afforded by the *Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire into the Affairs of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Oxford, University Press, pp. vii, 336), prepared by the commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, chief justice of Ceylon, and Mr. H. C. Luke, assistant governor of Jerusalem. The Patriarch and the majority of his synod have come to be so widely at variance that a determination of their constitutional relations, and of the power of the Orthodox Eastern Churches to try and depose a Patriarch, became necessary. In pursuing this inquiry, the commissioners have brought together an extraordinary amount of information concerning the constitutional history of those churches.

Among recent books dealing with the trans-Caucasian peoples that of P. G. La Chesnais, *Les Peuples de Transcaucasie pendant la Guerre et devant la Paix* (Paris, Bossard, 1921), is worthy of note.

An account of the origin and spread of Mohammedanism in China is given by N. Hartmann in his recently published volume, *Zur Geschichte des Islam in China* (Leipzig, Heims, 1921, pp. xxiv, 152). M. Anesaki is the author of *Quelques Pages de l'Histoire Religieuse du Japon* (Paris, Bernard, 1921, pp. 173).

The Economic History of China; with special Reference to Agriculture, by Mabel Ping-Hua Lee, is among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (New York, Longmans).

A. Dubosco, whose residence at Pekin as a lecturer in the university gave him opportunities for observation, has written the history of the last ten years under the title *L'Évolution de la Chine: Politique et Tendances 1911–1921* (Paris, Bossard, 1921, pp. 204).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: anon., *L'Organisation de la Syrie sous le Mandat Français* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1); B. Nikitine, *Une Petite Nation, Victime de la Guerre: les Chaldéens* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); Sir Aurel Stein, *A Chinese Expedition across the Pamirs and Hindukush, A. D. 747* (Geographic Journal, February).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

After an interval of seven years Professor Paul Darmstaedter has published the second volume of his *Geschichte der Aufteilung und Kolonisation Afrikas seit dem Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (Leipzig, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1920, pp. vi, 176) under the title *Geschichte der Aufteilung Afrikas 1870–1919.* The account is based upon much unpublished material and even the latest discoveries are treated.

Dr. Mérab, the physician of Menelik II., has published the first volume of his *Impressions d'Éthiopie, l'Abyssinie sous Menelik II.* (Paris, Libert, 1921, pp. xv, 390). It includes an historical sketch as well as material on geography and ethnography.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Kahle, *Zur Geschichte der Mittelalterlichen Alexandria* (Der Islam, XII.); C. C. Rossini, *Expéditions et Possessions des Habašāt en Arabie* (Journal Asiatique, July–September).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress has acquired, by transfer from the Department of State, those papers of the Continental Congress of a diplomatic sort hitherto retained in that department, together with Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the records of the Constitutional Convention,

and some papers of Franklin, Madison, and Jefferson. The Department of State has also transferred to the Library the Henry Adams transcripts of diplomatic correspondence of Great Britain, France, and Spain, relating to the United States, 1787–1814 (20 volumes). Among the other recent accessions of importance are: papers of Commodore David Porter and Admiral David D. Porter, 1799–1899 (about 260 pieces); accounts, etc., of the Charles Bruce plantation at Staunton Hill, Charlotte County, Virginia, 1798–1879 (about 500 pieces); Nathaniel Niles papers, 1802–1850 (175 pieces); miscellaneous papers of William Eaton, 1801–1808; papers of Maj.-Gen. John M. Schofield, 1861–1895; Russel Jarvis papers, 1827–1851 (74 pieces); additions to the Andrew Jackson Papers, 1812–1839 (67 pieces); additions to the Nathanael Greene Papers 1778–1783 (16 letters); letters (16) from John Quincy Adams to Joseph Blunt, 1804–1834; letters from Baring Brothers and Company to the United States Bank, 1833 (about 100 pieces); and numerous transcripts from the archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Mexico.

The Historical Section of the War Department, located at the Army War College in Washington, hopes in the near future to be able to undertake the preparation of a manual of American military history, in such form as to serve for orientation and elementary bibliography for students. The Section, besides being always ready to place its own archives at the disposal of students properly accredited, and to assist them in gaining access to other files in the War Department, has some facilities for obtaining copies of documents in the military archives of foreign countries, for the benefit of historical students.

Bulletin 74 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is entitled *Excavation of a Site at Santiago Ahuitzotla, D. F., Mexico,* and is by Alfred M. Tozzer. The *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report* (1913–1914) of the Bureau, in two parts, contains, as the Accompanying Paper, a study, by Dr. Franz Boas, of the Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, based on data collected by George Hunt. The paper embodies a large mass of material relating to the industries of the tribes, their beliefs, customs, family histories, songs, etc. The *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1914–1915) of the Bureau has for its principal content a study, by Francis La Flesche, of the Osage Tribe: Rite of the Chiefs; Sayings of the Ancient Men.

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at the semi-annual meeting of October, 1920, Chief Justice Arthur P. Rugg presents, with documents, a paper on the celebrated case of Sherman *vs.* Keayne, 1642; Dr. Charles L. Nichols describes the portraits of Isaiah Thomas, founder of the society, which are reproduced in his article; Mr. Arthur Lord discourses authoritatively upon the *Mayflower* Compact; and Dr. Thomas H. Gage contributes an artists' index to Stauffer's *American Engravers.*

The student of New England history, especially, will find much to

interest him in *Dublin University and the New World* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 96), a memorial discourse preached in the chapel of Trinity College by Rev. Robert H. Murray, and conveying many interesting details respecting the Mathers and Winthrops and other Americans connected with the college.

The September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains a study, by Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, of the Restoration of the Society of Jesus in the United States, 1806–1815, and an account, by Sister Mary Eulalia, O. M., of the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States: Pittsburgh.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne's long-expected book on *The Causes of the War of Independence* is published this month by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Encyclopedia Press of New York has in the hands of the printers a volume on *The Life and Times of Archbishop John Carroll,* by Professor Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America.

Mr. J. A. Hoskins of Summerfield, North Carolina, is the compiler and publisher of *President Washington's Diaries, 1791–1799.*

No. 33 of the publications of the Niagara Historical Society is a body of *Documents relating to the Invasion of the Niagara Peninsula by the United States Army commanded by General Jacob Brown, in July and August, 1814* (pp. 99), drawn mostly from sources in Washington.

Longmans, Green, and Company have brought out a new edition of *Division and Reunion,* by Woodrow Wilson, in the "Epoch" series, with additional chapters by Edward S. Corwin, bringing the narrative down to the end of 1918.

Lincoln the Greatest Man of the Nineteenth Century, by Charles R. Brown, is from the press of Macmillan.

The late Professor Harry Thurston Peck's *Twenty Years of the Republic* (New York, 1906) comes to us in a French translation, *Vingt Années de Vie Publique aux États-Unis, 1885–1905* (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 2 vols.). The translator, M. Charles Oster of *La Patrie,* who died in July, 1914, had in 1908 spent some months in America in the study of our electoral system, and appendixes by him relating to that subject are added.

Mr. Hamlin Garland's *A Daughter of the Middle Border* (Macmillan, 1921, pp. 405) is certainly not now American social history, nor is it fiction. Yet it occupies a border-land touching both fields, and a century hence will probably be used freely by students interested in either subject for the period 1893–1921.

A volume by the late William F. McCombs, entitled *Making Woodrow Wilson President,* has been published, under the editorial supervision of Louis J. Lang, by the Fairview Publishing Co. (342 Madison Avenue, New York).

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The *Report on the Naval Investigation* by the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs (67th Cong., 1 sess., reports, no number), the product of the long investigation conducted by that subcommittee in consequence of Admiral Sims's charges, is in itself a partisan document, more exactly two partisan documents, by the majority and minority members (pp. 136, 80). But the hearings, now available through the committee, in two volumes, aggregating 3445 pages, contain, along with much that is diffuse and worthless, a great amount of valuable historical testimony and document, deserving of preservation and study.

A *History of the 29th Division: Blue and Gray, 1917–1919,* by John A. Cutchins and George S. Stewart, jr., prepared at the request of the divisional historical committee, is understood to contain a complete record of the division, including the name of every officer and enlisted man connected with it (George S. Stewart, jr., 4206 Walnut Street, Philadelphia).

Dodd, Mead, and Company have brought out a *History of the Seventy-Eighth Division in the World War, 1917–1919,* edited by Thomas F. Meehan.

A *History of the 90th Division* in the Great War, by Major George Wythe, division historian, is brought out by the Harlow Publishing Company of Oklahoma City.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Historical papers in the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1919–1920 are: biographical sketches of Vermonters in Congress, compiled from the *Congressional Record* by Henry W. Taylor; the Diary of a Journey through Massachusetts, Vermont, and Eastern New York in the Summer of 1800, probably by John Russell Davis; the Reminiscences of Jonathan Elkins (1774–1783, including his experiences as a British prisoner); an address, delivered before the society in 1864, by Rev. C. C. Parker, on Ezra Butler, member of Congress 1813–1815, and governor of Vermont 1826–1828; and an address, by Chief Justice John H. Watson, on the Vermont Constitution of 1777 and Slavery.

A *History of Vermont: the Green Mountain State,* by Walter H. Crockett, has been brought out by the Century History Company (8 West 47th Street, New York), and is for sale by the Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont.

The contents of the January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* include: Washington in Essex County, by Robert S. Rantoul; the Province Galley of Massachusetts Bay, 1694–1716, by Harriet S. Tapley; and a continuation of the papers by George G. Putnam on Salem Vessels and their Voyages.

Contributions of the Lowell Historical Society, vol. II., no. 1 (October, 1921), includes a paper on the Writing of Local History, by Rev. Wilson Waters; an Historical Sketch of the Police Court of Lowell, by Judge Samuel P. Hadley; a paper on the Acadian Exiles, by Mrs. Sara S. Griffin; and some Reminiscences of the Lowell High School, by Miss Mary A. Webster.

Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts: a Collection of Narratives and Observations made by Travelers, 1605–1799, collected and annotated by George F. Dow, is published in Topsfield, Massachusetts, by the Topsfield Historical Society.

Vol. II., part I., of Dr. Worthington C. Ford's *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library* (pp. 250) extends, with the same excellent care and method as its predecessors, from the books printed in 1600 into those of 1634.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Articles in the July (1921) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* are: Revolutionary Camps of the Hudson Highlands, by W. S. Thomas; the Calvinist Mind in America, by Professor Dixon R. Fox; the Town of Dover on Staten Island, by George W. Tuttle; and the Huguenots the First Settlers in the Province of New York, by Ralph Le Fevre.

The January number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains an illustrated paper, by William L. Calver, on the American Army Button of the War of the Revolution, a brief description of the De Peyster family papers recently acquired by the society through the gift of Mr. F. Ashton De Peyster, and a continuation of the Notes on American Artists, by the late William Kelby. Among these notes is an account of the portrait of Washington by Charles Willson Peale which was captured by Captain George Keppel, R. N., in September, 1780.

The Township System: a Documentary History of the Endeavor to establish a Township School System in the State of New York . . . to 1918, and *Free Schools: a Documentary History of the Free School Movement in New York State,* both by Thomas E. Finegan, are published as parts of the 14th and 15th annual reports (1918, 1919) of the department of education of the University of the State of New York.

The Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, at Hamilton, New York, has been greatly enlarged by acquiring the remainder of the books on Baptist history collected by Mr. Champlin Burrage. The late Richard

Colgate bequeathed $10,000 as an additional endowment for this important collection of materials for religious history in America.

The director of the public record office of New Jersey, Mr. C. E. Godfrey, has issued a special report on the *Conditions of the Public Records in the State of New Jersey*. The report deals with conditions in counties, cities, towns, townships, boroughs, and villages.

Among the contents of the January number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society are Some Unpublished Scots East Jersey Proprietors' Letters, 1683–1684; a paper, by James C. Connolly, on Quit-Rents in Colonial New Jersey as a Contributing Cause for the American Revolution; and a part of the Journal of William Johnson, describing a journey by way of Pittsburgh and the Mississippi to New Orleans, 1800–1801. The journal, which will be continued, extends to 1813.

Articles in the July (1921) number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are: A Whitemarsh Orderly Book, 1777; some letters (1689, 1755) pertaining to Pennsylvania found in the Massachusetts archives; Extracts (1819–1821) from a Commonplace-Book of Henry D. Gilpin; a letter of Christopher Sower, written in 1724, describing the voyage from Europe and conditions in Philadelphia and vicinity, contributed by Professor R. W. Kelsey; and an account (chiefly documentary) of the services of the Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry in the Revolution, by Major W. A. Newman Dorland.

In the *Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*, January 7, 1921, is found a paper, by David M. Landis, on the Awakening and the Early Progress of the Pequea, Conestoga, and other Susquehanna Valley Settlements, which includes numerous letters of the early eighteenth century. The number for February, 1921, contains an article, by H. C. Martin, on the Provincial, Continental, and Federal Revenues of Lancaster County; and that of March adds Items of Local Interest from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1771–1775.

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains the first four chapters of a history of Fort Pitt, by Charles W. Dahlinger, and a paper on William Penn, by Albert S. Bolles.

In a booklet called *The Cradle of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott), Thomas Willing Balch commemorates the action of Governor Johan Printz in establishing on Tinicum Island the first permanent seat of government in Pennsylvania, and urges, very properly, that the event might well be commemorated by an historical park upon the island.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The annual appropriation by the state of Maryland for the publication of the *Maryland Archives* has been increased from $3,000 to $5,000, enabling the Maryland Historical Society to continue the publication at the

rate of a volume each year. Having carried the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly to 1740 in the fortieth volume of the *Archives,* the committee on publication has decided to issue in 1922 a volume in the long-suspended series of Acts of the Provincial Court, beginning with the records and papers of the year 1657.

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains the first installment of a study, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, of the career of James A. Pearce, United States senator from Maryland from 1843 to 1863. In this number are also printed some recently acquired provincial records, principally letters of Governor John Seymour, 1707–1709. The Life of Thomas Johnson, by Edward S. Delaplaine, is continued, as is also the series of Notes from the Early Maryland Records. The March number contains a Civil War diary, 1862–1863, of Gen. Isaac R. Trimble, C. S. A., mostly a record of captivity, and an account of Mrs. Richard Caton, by Dr. George C. Keidel.

The contents of the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* include a Diary of James Stevens of a journey from Halifax County, Virginia, to Scotland in 1786; some historical notes on the Shenandoah Valley (illustrated), contributed by Charles E. Kemper; a letter from Thomas Jefferson to William B. Giles, August 4, 1817, relative to Central College, the forerunner of the University of Virginia; and the Virginia War History Commission's Supplement, no. 4, of Lists and Calendars of Source Material. In the January number are found a paper, by E. Alfred Jones, on the American Regiment in the Carthagena Expedition (1740), and one by Fairfax Harrison on Parson Waugh's Tumult (1689).

Dr. Rodney H. True contributes to the January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* an article on John Alexander Binns of Loudoun County, Virginia, author of a pamphlet on agriculture published in 1803, which became a subject of some correspondence between Jefferson and two members of the English board of agriculture, Sir John Sinclair and William Strickland. Portions of this correspondence are reproduced in the article. In the same number is a paper by Robert M. Hughes entitled William and Mary, the First American Law School.

In the January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* appear two letters from Dr. M. F. T. Evans of Virginia to his sister, Mrs. Frank R. Stockton, in Philadelphia, the one written April 30, 1861, the other June 14, 1865, of interest for their indication of Southern attitude at the beginning and at the close of the war, respectively.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. VI., no. 4 (July), is the Westover Journal of John A. Selden, Esqr., 1858–1862, with an introduction and notes by Professor John S. Bassett. The writer of the journal was

the owner, from 1829 to 1862, of the noted Westover estate on the James River, the seat of the Byrd family from 1668 to 1814. The journal itself is the matter-of-fact record, by a busy and practical man, of daily events and transactions on his plantation, and presents a quite definite picture of life on a Virginia estate before and during the Civil War.

Historic Periods of Fredericksburg, 1608–1861, by Mrs. Vivian M. Fleming, is published in Fredericksburg, Virginia, by the author.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues in the July (1921) number the Izard-Laurens correspondence. The letters are principally those of Ralph Izard, written from Paris between July, 1778, and June, 1779, with one from Izard to John Laurens, dated at Philadelphia, March 27, 1781.

The Journal of Alexander Chesney, a South Carolina Loyalist in the Revolution and After (pp. 166), edited by E. Alfred Jones, with an introduction by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, is issued as vol. XXVI., no. 4, of the *Ohio State University Bulletin.* Alexander Chesney, whose father migrated with his family from Ireland to South Carolina in 1772, first served with the Whigs, from 1776 to 1779, but joined the Loyalists in 1780, and remained in their service until 1782, when he returned to Ireland. He was taken prisoner at King's Mountain, but afterward escaped. Somewhat more than half the journal is devoted to his life in Ireland from 1782 to 1821. Besides copious informing annotations, there are some ninety pages of "Additional Notes" concerning individual Loyalists and others, together with documents pertaining to Chesney's career.

The September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by Professor William H. Kilpatrick on the Beginnings of the Public School System in Georgia, and one by Mary Lane entitled Macon: an Historical Retrospect. The December number contains a paper by Judge Beverly D. Evans on the Evolution of Jurisprudence; one by Dr. E. Merton Coulter, of the University of Georgia, on the Ante-Bellum Academy Movement in Georgia; and a continuation of the Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks.

The Florida State Historical Society was founded December 1, 1921, by a group of citizens of the state and Northerners interested in its history, with Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., as its president. The object is study and research in Florida history and the making accessible in print of important original manuscript materials for that history. It is intended that the volumes, carefully prepared, and limited in each case to 300 copies, shall be supplied to the members at about the cost of production, and that they shall illustrate all the varied periods of Florida history. Among the first volumes will be a treatise on the Aborigines in Florida by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička of the Smithsonian Institution, a bibliography and biography of Bernard Romans, with a reproduction of his map of Florida, prepared by Mr. P. Lee Phillips of the Library of Congress, a treatise on the Loyal-

ists of Florida by Professor W. H. Siebert of the Ohio State University, and several volumes of documents from Seville relating to Florida history in the Spanish period, translated and edited by Mrs. Washington E. Connor. The secretary of the society, to whom subscriptions to membership should be sent, is C. B. Rosa, De Land, Florida.

Frank M. Hawes contributes to the January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* lists of New Englanders in the Florida census of 1850.

A work entitled *History of Alabama, and Dictionary of Alabama Biography,* left partly finished by the late Dr. Thomas M. Owen, state archivist, has been completed by Mrs. Owen, his successor in that office, and printed in four volumes (pp. 3289), which can be obtained from Mrs. Owen, at Montgomery. Volumes III. and IV. comprise six or eight thousand biographies, in alphabetical order. The arrangement of the first two or historical volumes is not chronological or that of narration, but is also alphabetical, composing an encyclopedia of historical and other information respecting the state.

Vol. III., no. 4, of the University of Chicago's *Supplementary Educational Monographs* is *A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860,* by William H. Weathersby, with an introduction by Professor Marcus W. Jernegan. Although Mississippi presented many of the same educational problems that arose in the older South, its educational legislation was influenced by factors not found there; for the original settlers came largely from the back-country regions, and the environment which they entered was comparable to that of the region west of the Alleghanies. These factors led to the establishment of a decentralized school system, with the township, for the most part, as the unit of control. An effort in 1846 to establish a unified system went on the shoals, and the final outcome was a "bewildering maze of school systems". The author's examination into the methods of handling the sixteenth section of public lands in Mississippi (the principal source of public funds for the support of elementary education until those funds were presently lost) is, Professor Jernegan states, "a previously unwritten chapter" in the history of the subject. A large proportion of the children did not, however, attend the public schools, but received their instruction at home or in private institutions. The state's participation in secondary education consisted chiefly in the incorporation of private academies and similar institutions, as many as 179 charters of the sort having been granted prior to 1860. There is also a chapter on the history of higher education in the state, and a special examination into federal and state aid to education.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for October, 1920, just received, is chiefly marked by a series of interesting documents of the French period from the Cabildo archives, illustrating varied aspects of Louisiana life from 1727 to 1753, translated by Mrs. H. H. Cruzat and edited by

Mr. Henry P. Dart. There are also papers on the constitutions of Louisiana, by W. O. Hart, on the New Orleans custom-house, on the bonded debt of the city, and on the dramatic events of 1874.

The *Year Book* of the Louisiana Society Sons of the American Revolution for 1921, besides including some correspondence relative to the services to the cause of the Revolution rendered by the Louisiana militia under Governor Bernardo de Galvez, in 1779–1781, and an address on the subject by the president of the society, C. Robert Churchill, contains a roster of the militia officers, numerous letters of Governor Galvez, and other related documentary materials.

In the preparation of *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796–1806* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 242), F. P. Renaut used a wide range of source-material and writes with great precision and clarity showing the relation of the Louisiana question to the general political situation.

WESTERN STATES

The Development of High-School Curricula in the North Central States from 1860 to 1918 (pp. 322), by John E. Stout, is vol. III., no. 3, of the *Supplementary Educational Monographs* issued by the University of Chicago. The book is an elaborate study of the subject, based primarily on original sources. Besides discussing at length the development in the organization of subjects and curricula (part I.), conditions and changes in subject-matter (part II.), and recent developments (part III.), it presents many comparative tables of curricula. What will most interest students of history is of course the examination of the place given to history in the high schools and the conditions of history teaching.

Indian Policy and Westward Expansion, by James C. Malin, Ph.D., constitutes vol. II., no. 3, of the series of *Humanistic Studies* emanating from the University of Kansas. In the author's view "the early history of the trans-Mississippi Valley is essentially the history of the relation between the Indian and the advancing frontier placed in proper perspective with all the other related problems". The present study is limited to a history of the Indian policy prior to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The history of the period since 1854, which "presents a markedly different aspect", he hopes to relate in a future study. The Indian policy in the period 1830–1854 presents three phases: first, the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi; second, their consolidation in the southwest; and third, the working out of a new policy, designed to group the Indians to the north and to the south in such a manner as to permit expansion westward between the groups.

Messrs. Harcourt, Brace, and Howe have recently published a short *History of Indiana* by Professor Logan Esarey of the University of Indiana. While intended primarily as a text-book, there is still much in the volume, particularly in those portions treating of the pioneer period, which will be of interest to the general reader.

Among the articles in the July (1920) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Side Lights on Illinois Suffrage History, by Grace W. Trout; Lewis and Clark at the Mouth of Wood River, by Charles G. Gray; the Visit of Colonel Richard M. Johnson to Springfield, May 18–20, 1843, principally from the *Illinois State Register,* May 26, 1843; and Greene County, Born 100 Years ago, by Charles Bradshaw.

In the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* Joseph J. Thompson continues his studies of Pierre Gibault (also in the January number); Rev. John Rothensteiner, in his series of papers on the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, relates the history of the La Salle Mission; Alphonsus Lesousky tells the story of St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kentucky, which celebrated its centenary in June, 1921; and Stephen J. Palickar writes concerning the Slovaks of Chicago. In the January number there are articles on the historical antecedents of the diocese of St. Louis by Rev. John Rothensteiner, and on the Illinois part of the diocese of Vincennes by the editor, Mr. Thompson.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* are: A History of the Coal Industry in Kentucky, by Willard R. Jillson; and Clark County, Kentucky, in the Census of 1810, copied and edited by A. C. Quisenberry.

The principal paper in the January (1921) number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is an extended account of the battle of Franklin, by Rev. Dr. W. W. Gist, a participant on the Federal side. There are also a history, principally documentary, of the Tennessee Department of Library, Archives, and History, by A. P. Foster, assistant secretary; and a reprint, from the St. Louis *Republic* of February 28, 1913, of a Yankee Schoolmaster's Reminiscences of Tennessee (1866–1869), by Marshall S. Snow.

Among the articles in the *Michigan History Magazine,* vol. VI., no. 1 (1922), are: the Trial and Execution of the Lincoln Conspirators, by Judge R. A. Watts; Some Marriages in Old Detroit, by Hon. William R. Riddell; and an account of the career of William Austin Burt, Inventor, by Horace E. Burt. In the section of Notes and Comment is found a report upon the condition of the national records of the World War, with emphasis upon the need of an archive building in Washington.

The Detroit Public Library inaugurated in January the publication of the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet,* which makes its appearance monthly. The first number is devoted to Henry R. Schoolcraft, and consists of selections from his *Personal Memoirs* and from his correspondence. The February number pertains to Colonel John F. Hamtramck, and includes an address by Richard S. Willis, delivered in October, 1897, and some letters (1802–1803) to Hamtramck from Henry Dearborn, sec-

retary of war. The third number contains brief documents on Fort Lernoult, extracts from a commissary's cash-book, 1802–1807, illustrating local tastes and activities, and a general order of Hull, April 29, 1812.

The contents of the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include Memories of Early Wisconsin and the Gold Mines, by John B. Parkinson; a discussion of the subject of Documenting Local History, by Dr. Joseph Schafer; an account of St. Nazianz, a Unique Religious Colony, by W. A. Titus; and a series of thirteen letters of Eldon J. Canright, a soldier in the "Rainbow" Division of the American Expeditionary Force, written from France between November, 1917, and August, 1918.

The papers of the late James A. Tawney, member of Congress from Minnesota from 1893 to 1911, and member of the International Joint Commission from that date to his death in 1919, have been placed in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The pages of the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are largely occupied with an analysis, by John E. Briggs, of the Legislation of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of Iowa (January 10–April 8, 1921). In the January number are found some letters of Stephen H. Hayes, a young minister from Maine, relating his experiences and observations on a journey through the West (Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan) in May and June, 1845, and the third of Mr. Louis B. Schmidt's papers on the Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1860–1890.

In the July (1921) number of the *Annals of Iowa* are two contributions by William H. Fleming, one entitled How Twenty-one and Twenty-nine have been made Halves of Fifty in Iowa, a history of that provision of the state constitution which provides for the election of one-half the senate every two years, the other a sketch of Tilghman A. Howard (1797–1844), member of the Twenty-sixth Congress from Indiana, and chargé d'affaires to the Republic of Texas at the time of his death. Among the other articles are an account, by Mary D. Taylor, of a Farmers' Wives' Society in Pioneer Days, and a brief paper, by E. R. Harlan, concerning Transportation in Iowa before the Railroads.

The January number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by Mildred J. Sharp, of the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, and some Letters of a Railroad Builder, Isaac L. Usher, 1853–1855. In the February number is an account, by Bruce E. Mahan, of Moving the Winnebago (1848).

The contents of the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include, besides continuations, an account, by Walter B. Stevens, of How Missouri Commemorated; the first installment of a study, by Wiley Britton, of Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri (illustrated); and the concluding paper in E. M. Violette's study of the Missouri and Mississippi Railroad Debt. The January number includes a study of Constitutions

and Constitutional Conventions in Missouri, by Isidor Loeb; a brief paper on the Constitution of 1820, by F. W. Lehmann; and one on Traditions concerning the Missouri Question, by Floyd C. Shoemaker.

The January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by W. P. Webb on the Last Treaty of the Republic of Texas; one by William E. Dunn on the Founding of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, the Last Spanish Mission in Texas; the second installment of the correspondence (1850–1857) between Rutherford B. Hayes and Guy M. Bryan, edited by E. W. Winkler; and the third and concluding installment of the Journal of Lewis B. Harris, 1836–1842.

In Dr. Hodge's *Indian Notes and Monographs,* published by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the latest issue is *A Report from Natchitoches in 1807,* by Dr. John Sibley, found in the Indian Office at Washington, supplementing those descriptive notes by Sibley which were printed in 1806, at the end of President Jefferson's message on the explorations of Lewis and Clark; the *Report* is edited by Miss Annie H. Abel.

Governors who have been, and other Public Men of Texas, is the title of a volume by Norman G. Kittrell, brought out in Houston by the Dealey-Adey-Elgin Company.

In the April–June (1921) number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* is found a brief description of some papers of Major Hannibal Day, U. S. A., recently acquired by the Nebraska State Historical Society. They include a military map of the road between Fort Laramie and Fort Randall, and a journal of the march between these places in 1860.

The principal new article in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is the Cowlitz Convention: Inception of Washington Territory, by Professor Edmond S. Meany.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* reprints in the December number (from the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. LIII.) John Boit's Log of the *Columbia,* with an introduction by Professor F. G. Young and annotations by Judge F. W. Howay and T. C. Elliott; also (from Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California,* edition of 1848) the brief remnant of the Official Log of the *Columbia,* with annotations by T. C. Elliott. Mr. Elliott further contributes a memorandum of "Information given personally by Dr. Whitman in Boston, 1843", taken from the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in Boston.

The Century Company has brought out *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence: a Narrative of Seven Years,* by Francis Burton Harrison, former governor-general of the Philippines.

CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March has a substantial article, partly historical, by Sir Clifford Sifton, on Some Canadian Constitutional Problems; a review of Lady Gwendolyn Cecil's *Life of the Marquis of Salisbury,* by Professor J. L. Morison; a paper by Mr. A. R. M. Lower of the Board of Historical Publications, Ottawa, on Immigration and Settlement in Canada, 1812–1820; and one by Mr. Fred Landon on the Trent Affair. In connection with Sir Clifford Sifton's article one may mention Sir Robert Borden's Marfleet Lectures at the University of Toronto on *Canadian Constitutional Studies* (Toronto, University Press, pp. 163). The December number of the *Review* had an article on the Gold Colony of British Columbia, by Walter N. Sage.

Mr. P. G. Roy, the new archivist of the province of Quebec, has published an important and voluminous *Rapport* for 1920–1921 (pp. vii, 437).

McGill and its Story, 1821–1921 (London, John Lane), by Cyrus Macmillan, recounts fitly a century of scholastic achievement.

Bulletin No. 41 (November) of the Departments of History and Political Science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, is a paper, by M. Eleanor Herrington, on Captain John Deserontyou and the Mohawk Settlement at Deseronto.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Articles in the November *Hispanic American Historical Review* are: the Dutch and Cuba, by Miss Irene A. Wright; the Monroe Doctrine and Hispanic America, by Samuel G. Inman; French Views of the Monroe Doctrine and the Mexican Expedition, by Halford L. Hoskins; the Liberation and the Liberators of Spanish America, by Webster E. Browning; and the Boundary of Mexico and the Gadsden Treaty, by J. Fred Rippy. In the section of Documents appear some Royal Ordinances concerning the Laying Out of New Towns, contributed, with an introduction, by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall.

Problems in Pan Americanism, by Samuel G. Inman, includes an account of early efforts toward Pan Americanism, a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine and Latin America, etc. (New York, Doran).

Messrs. Appleton and Company will shortly publish a *History of Latin America from the Age of Tiahuanaco to the Present Day,* in one volume, by Professor W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois. The book is intended for the general reader and for use as a text in college and university courses in Latin-American history.

The contents of the January–June (triple number) of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* include a discourse, by Don Silvestre de Abarca, engineer director, upon the defense of Havana (1763); a memoir, by Juan Pio de la Cruz, concerning Guantánamo (1819); two documents pertain-

ing to the López affair at Cárdenas (1850), one of them a vivid account of the fight, by an eye-witness; an *expediente* of documents relative to the filibustering projects of the brothers Julio and Manuel Sanguily (1877); another *expediente* concerning the American schooner *Venus* (1877–1878); and a third, pertaining to the case of General Antonio Macéo (1880).

The life of the Cuban abolitionist and historian of slavery, Saco, and his exile in Europe is made available through the publication of documents by D. Figarola-Caneda under the title, *José Antonio Saco: Documentos para su Vida* (pp. 420). The material is of great interest for the study of the history of Cuba during the colonial period.

The long history of canal diplomacy is reviewed afresh by K. E. Imberg in *Der Nikaragua-Kanal: eine Historisch-Diplomatische Studie* (Berlin, Lissner, 1920).

The Instituto Histórico y Geográfico of Uruguay, founded in 1843 and reorganized in 1915, has lately begun the issue of an annual *Revista* which is evidently destined to give worthy expression to the best of historical scholarship in that republic. The volume for 1920 has a long article of much value on the Spanish Constitution of 1812 in Montevideo, based on solid archival research, by Dr. Gustavo Gallinal, and a careful history, by Don Horacio Arredondo, of Fort Santa Teresa, on the coast near the Brazilian frontier. Continuations of these monographs are presented in the volume for 1921; also an interesting architectural report on Colonia, a city founded by the Portuguese in 1680, and later destroyed by the Spaniards.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. S. Rowe, *The Development of Democracy on the American Continent* (American Political Science Review, February); Rev. Dr. D. Plooij, *Earliest Relations between Leyden and Harvard* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, December); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Story of the Purple Heart: the Medal of Honor of the Revolution* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); W. S. Carpenter, *The United States and the League of Neutrals of 1780* (American Journal of International Law, October); O. P. Field, *Ex Post Facto in the Constitution* (Michigan Law Review, January); J. R. Tandy, *Pro-Slavery Propaganda in American Fiction of the Fifties* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Allen Johnson, *The Constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Acts* (Yale Law Journal, December); F. D. Graham, *International Trade under Depreciated Paper: the United States, 1862–1879* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); F. H. Hankins, *De Quelques Transformations Politiques Récents aux États-Unis* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); *Letters of a High-Minded Man: Franklin K. Lane* (World's Work, March); B. J. Hendrick, *Chapters from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, cont. (*ibid.*, January, February, March); Mark Sullivan, *A Year of the Government* (North American Review,

March); F. L. Schoell, *Colonies Alsaciennes dans la Prairie Américaine* (Revue de Paris, January 1); McCune Gill, *The Beginnings of Title in St. Louis* (St. Louis Law Review, February); W. H. Ellison, *The California Indian Frontier* (Grizzly Bear, February, March); Alexander Fraser, *Nova Scotia's Charter* (Dalhousie Review, January); Chanoine Gosselin, *La Paroisse du Canada* (Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, XXVII. 12); L. A. Prud'homme, *L'Abbé Joseph-Sévère-Nicolas Dumoulin, Missionnaire à la Rivière-Rouge (1818–1823)*, concl. (Revue Canadienne, January); P. Jacinto Martínez, *Páginas Notables sobre la Revolución Hispano-Americana* (España y América, January 1, 15); J. Conangla Fontanilles, *Pi y Margall y la Independencia Cubana*, IV. (Cuba Contemporánea, December); J. P. Renaut, *L'Organisation Constitutionelle du Brésil*, III. *La Guerre Civile du Sud contre le Nord, 1824* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXV. 2); Ricardo Rojas, *Bartolomé Mitre: his Intellectual Personality*, concl. (Inter-America, English, February).

Volume XXVII] *July, 1922* [*Number 4*

The

American Historical Review

SCIENCE AT THE COURT OF THE EMPEROR FREDERICK II.

THE Emperor Frederick II. is a subject of perennial interest to the historian. The riddle of his many-sided personality, his place at the centre of one of the great struggles of European politics, the striking anticipation of more modern ideas and practices in his administration, the brilliant and precocious culture of his Sicilian kingdom, have attracted the attention of two generations of scholars without definitive results. We still lack a satisfactory biography and a survey of the governmental system, as well as annals for the later years of the reign,[1] while for its intellectual history nothing has superseded what was written by Amari[2] and Huillard-Bréholles[3] more than half a century ago. As regards vernacular literature, the limited body of extant material has so circumscribed the problem that we now understand fairly well the importance of the *magna curia* as the cradle of Italian poetry and the origin of particular forms like the sonnet.[4] The Latin literature of the South has been partially explored by Hampe and others, though its relations to intellectual movements in

[1] The best sketch is that of Karl Hampe, "Kaiser Friedrich II.", in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 1–42 (1899). The newer materials for the study of the reign are noted in his *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte* (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 219 ff. E. Winkelmann's fundamental annals, *Kaiser Friedrich II.* (Leipzig, 1889–1897), stop with 1233.

[2] *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (Florence, 1854–1872), III. 655 ff.

[3] *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (Paris, 1859–1861), introduction, especially pp. dxix-dlv.

[4] See particularly E. F. Langley, "The Extant Repertory of the Sicilian Poets", in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVIII. 454–520 (1913); and the important studies of Ernest H. Wilkins on the origin of the *canzone* and the sonnet, *Modern Philology*, XII. 135–166, XIII. 79–110 (1915). For Frederick's relations with Provençal poets, see the studies of De Bartholomaeis, in *Memorie* of the Bologna Academy, I. 69–124 (1911–1912); and Bertoni, *I Trovatori d'Italia* (Modena, 1915), pp. 25–27.

northern Italy and elsewhere require further investigation.[5] On the scientific side, while much remains to be done with the fragmentary materials, investigation has advanced to a point where it may be worth while to supplement and correct the older writers by a general survey of the present state of our knowledge. If the results do not greatly enlarge our acquaintance with the content of thirteenth-century science, they at least illustrate more fully its methods and the workings of one of the most remarkable minds of the later Middle Ages.

The intellectual life of Frederick's court cannot be regarded as an isolated or merely personal phenomenon. Lying between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it must be seen against the cosmopolitan background of Norman Sicily, the meeting-point of Greek, Arabic, and Latin culture, central in the history as in the geography of the Mediterranean lands. Frederick was not the first but the second of the "two baptized sultans" on the Sicilian throne,[6] and in intellectual matters as in legislation he followed in the direction of his grandfather Roger. King Roger's chief scientific interest was geography, pursued assiduously throughout the fifteen years of his reign. Finding the Arabian geographies and translations insufficient for his purpose, he called to his court famous travellers from many lands and subjected them to a close examination, accepting only the facts on which they were agreed, and recording the results upon a great silver map and in a volume of descriptive text in Arabic which Edrisi completed in 1154.[7] This method is not unlike that followed by Frederick in consulting experts on falconry, among whom he cites King Roger's falconer, William, who passed as one of the earliest writers on this subject.[8] Under Roger's immediate successors, William I. and William II., scientific activity took the form particularly of the translation of Greek works on mathematics and astronomy: the *Data, Optica,* and *Catoptrica* of Euclid, the *Pneumatica* of Hero of Alexandria, the *De Motu* of Proclus, even the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. Scientific observation, fed by the *Meteorology* of Aristotle, concerned itself with the phenomena of Etna.[9] At the same time Ptolemy's *Optics* was trans-

[5] This is the freshest part of the notable article of the late H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des Geistigen Lebens am Hofe Kaiser Friedrichs II.", in *Historische Zeitschrift,* CVIII. 473–540 (1912). There are noteworthy essays by F. Novati in his *Freschi e Minii del Dugento* (Milan, 1908), especially pp. 103–142.

[6] The phrase is Amari's, *Musulmani,* III. 365.

[7] *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero"*, translated by Amari and Schiaparelli (Rome, 1883), pp. 4–8; Edrisi, translated by Reinaud (Paris, 1836), I. xviii–xxii. Pardi has recently argued that the final form of the work must be subsequent to 1154; *Rivista Geografica Italiana,* XXIV. 380 (1917).

[8] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 341, 347.

[9] See my article on "The Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth

lated from the Arabic, and the household of William II., as portrayed in the scenes of his death, comprised an Arab physician and an Arab astrologer.[10]

At the court of Frederick II. the Greek element is of little significance. Greek versions of his laws were issued, and Calabrian poets sang his praises in Greek verse, but the influence of Byzantium had declined with the fall of the Greek empire, and we hear little of Greek scholars or Greek translations in this period in the South.[11] On the other hand, Arabic influence was, if anything, stronger under Frederick, especially after his visit to the East, and was maintained by the political and commercial relations with Mohammedan countries, while his imperial interests fostered intercourse with northern Italy, Germany, and Provence. The chronicler who passes by the name of Nicholas of Iamsilla tells us that at Frederick's accession there were few or no scholars in the Sicilian kingdom, and that it was one of his principal tasks by means of liberal rewards to attract masters from various parts of the earth.[12] What scholars were thus drawn to the Sicilian court we know but imperfectly. The loss of the imperial registers, save for a fragment of 1239–1240,[13] makes it impossible to reconstruct in detail the organization and personnel of the household, and the scattered documents of the reign tell us almost nothing of the men who aided the emperor in his scientific inquiries. That they were chiefly officials of the *curia* seems altogether likely. Several of the Sicilian school of poets held official positions as notaries, judges, or falconers,[14] and we are not surprised to find Frederick's astrologer, Theodore, engaged in the same year in casting horoscopes, going on missions, making confectionery, drafting letters, and translating an Arabic work on falconry. In this busy court science, like literature, would seem to have been a matter for leisure hours, and its votaries could be no narrow specialists!

Two of Frederick's courtiers seem to have borne the official title of "philosopher", and in an age when philosophy and science were

Century", in *American Historical Review,* XXV. 603–615 (1920), and the earlier articles there cited.

[10] Petrus de Ebulo, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti,* plate 3.

[11] Niese, in *Historische Zeitschrift,* CVIII. 490 ff.; *cf.* Bresslau, *Urkundenlehre,* edition of 1915, II. 380 ff. Further investigation is needed respecting Greek in the South in the thirteenth century.

[12] Muratori, VIII. 496.

[13] On which see the recent studies of Niese, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung,* V. 1–20 (1913); and Sthamer, in Berlin *Sitzungsberichte,* 1920, pp. 584 ff.

[14] See Langley's list in *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* XXVIII. 468 ff., and the references there cited, especially the researches of Scandone in *Studî di Letteratura Italiana,* V., VI.

inseparable these two were naturally the chief advisers of the emperor in scientific matters. The more famous of them, Michael Scot,[15] who hailed originally from Scotland, came to Sicily with a reputation gained chiefly in the schools of Spain. Appearing at Toledo as early as 1217, Michael there distinguished himself by translating al-Bitrogi *On the Sphere* and Aristotle *On Animals*, as well as the *De Caelo* and the *De Anima* with the commentaries of Averroes thereon. By 1220 he is in Italy, and from 1224 to 1227 he enjoys the favor of the pope and the grant of benefices in England and Scotland; but soon thereafter he is found in the emperor's service, in which, though not mentioned in any surviving official documents, he remained until his death, which occurred before 1236. His official position was that of court astrologer, but he made for the emperor a Latin summary of Avicenna's *De Animalibus* and busied himself with a series of writings on astrology, meteorology, and physiognomy, all dedicated to Frederick. These show acquaintance with medicine, music, and alchemy, as well as with the Aristotelian philosophy in general. We are told that he knew Hebrew as well as Arabic, but his linguistic attainments are the occasion of unfavorable comment on the part of Roger Bacon. Scot had a respectable knowledge of the Arabian astronomy and its applications, and prided himself on the accuracy of his observations and calculations. His faith in astrology does not, in his age, militate against his standing as a scientist, but his own writings show him to have been pretentious and boastful, with no clear sense of the limits of his knowledge, as well as tending to overstep the line, if line there be, between astrology and necromancy. At the same time he had an experimental habit of mind, and a final judgment as to his scientific attainments must await the more careful sifting of his extensive treatises on astrology, the *Liber Introductorius* and the *Liber Particularis*.

If Michael Scot represented the learning of Moorish Spain and Western Christendom, Master Theodore "the philosopher" seems to have maintained relations particularly with the East.[16] Greek, or perhaps Jewish,[17] by name, he is said to have been sent to Frederick by the Great Calif, probably the Sultan of Egypt, some time before

[15] Current statements concerning him are derived from the highly conjectural book of J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897). I have tried to fix the few facts we really know in an article on "Michael Scot and Frederick II.", to appear in *Isis*, IV., in 1922.

[16] See, in general, Amari, *Musulmani*, III. 692–695; Steinschneider, in Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX. 4, p. 79; Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 1–9 (1915).

[17] Renan, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXI. 290.

1236.[18] If we may believe the prologue to the French romance of *Sidrach,* Theodore, here called "Todre li phylosophes", came from Antioch and remained in relations with its Latin patriarch.[19] In the autumn of 1238, at the siege of Brescia, he appears in the Dominican annals as silencing the friars in philosophical disputes until, challenged to public debate on any subject of philosophy with the doughty Roland of Cremona, he is triumphantly confuted, to the great glory of the order.[20] Probably succeeding Scot as court astrologer, Theodore casts the imperial horoscope at Padua in 1239, where he is ridiculed by the local chronicler for seeking a favorable conjunction impossible at the time and failing to search in Scorpio for the impending failure of the expedition.[21] In the register of 1239–1240 he is found drafting the emperor's Arabic letters to the King of Tunis and acting as his trusty messenger. In this same year he is busy compounding syrups and sugar of violet for the emperor and his household, with free credit in money and costly sugar for this purpose, and a box of the violet sugar is sent to Piero della Vigna during his recovery from an illness.[22] In 1240–1241 the emperor corrects his translation from the Arabic.[23] No further dates are known in Theodore's career, but he continued to enjoy imperial favor until his death not long before November, 1250, when Frederick regranted the extensive domains which "the late Theodore our philosopher held so long as he lived".[24]

[18] "Explicit liber novem iudicum quem missit soldanus Babilonie imperatori Federico tempore quo et magnus chalif misit magistrum Theodorum eidem imperatori Federico." British Museum, Royal MS. 12 G. VIII; *cf.* French version in Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature au Moyen Age* (1911), p. 191; Amari, III. 694. The *Liber Novem Iudicum* is cited by Michael Scot in his *Liber Introductorius* (Munich, cod. lat. 10268, f. 128), and must thus have reached Sicily before 1236. The phrase "magnus chalif" does not strengthen our faith in this colophon.

The references to Theodore in the writings of Leonard of Pisa may well be earlier, but the answers to Theodore's questions look like later additions to the original text of Leonard's *Flos* and *Liber Quadratorum,* so that they cannot be dated with certainty.

[19] H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum,* I. 904 ff.; *Histoire Littéraire,* XXXI. 288–290; Langlois, p. 204.

[20] Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum,* I. 126, col. 2.

[21] Rolandini, in Muratori, VIII. 228 (new edition, VIII. 66); and in *Monumenta, Scriptores,* XIX. 73.

[22] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica,* V. 556, 630, 727, 745, 750 ff.; *id., Pierre de la Vigne,* p. 347.

[23] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 348.

[24] Original charter published by Schneider in *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven,* XVI. 51 (1913); *cf.* the inquest of the Angevin period published by Scandone in *Studî di Letteratura Italiana,* V. 308 (1903). Theodore may well have been one of the astrologers lost in the defeat before Parma in 1248. Hartwig, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* III. 183.

While the biographical data are somewhat fuller in the case of Theodore than in that of Michael Scot, the evidence of his literary activity is much less. Apart from a doubtful connection with the transmission of the philosophical romance of *Sidrach,* Theodore is known only as the author of a treatise on hygiene extracted for the emperor's benefit from the *Secretum Secretorum* of the Pseudo-Aristotle,[25] and a Latin version of the work of Moamyn on the care of falcons and dogs.[26] His preface to this shows acquaintance with Aristotle, including the *Ethics* and the *Rhetoric,* such as a court philosopher should have, while he also exhibits medical knowledge. Mathematician as well as astrologer, he puts problems to Leonard of Pisa, and is addressed by him as "the supreme philosopher of the imperial court", whose cosmopolitan culture he well represents.[27]

Another court philosopher, John of Palermo, mentioned by Leonard of Pisa in 1225, is probably identical with the Master John the notary who acts as confidential agent of the emperor in 1240, but we know nothing of his scientific tastes beyond his interest in mathematics.[28] A Master Dominicus, perhaps a Spaniard, appears in the same connection.[29] The Sicilian Moslem who tutored Frederick in logic during his crusade remains anonymous,[30] with many other scholars who must have attended the court. One of these, for example, appears in correspondence on mathematical subjects with a learned Jew of Spain.[31]

The more literary members of the *magna curia,* such as Piero della Vigna, are silent respecting their scientific associates, save for such an exchange of compliments and sugar plums as has been cited. The interests of Piero, as of the other members of the Capuan school, were primarily literary, and his letters would not have become models of Latin style for the thirteenth century[32] had he not been first and foremost a phrasemaker who spoke "obscurely and in the grand manner".[33] The extant collections of correspondence which pass

[25] Ed. Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin,* IX. 4 (1915).

[26] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 348 ff.

[27] *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano,* ed. Boncompagni (Rome, 1857–1862), II. 247, 279.

[28] *Ib.,* II. 227, 253; Huillard-Bréholles, II. 185, V. 726 ff., 745, 928.

[29] Leonardo, *Scritti,* II. 1, 253; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, 1900), II. 35 ff., 41.

[30] Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula,* II. 254.

[31] Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen,* p. 3.

[32] Critical edition lacking. See Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne,* pp. 249 ff.; Hanauer, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung,* XXI. 527–536 (1900).

[33] So Odofredus characterizes him, *Mitteilungen des Instituts,* XXX. 653, n. 1.

under his name were preserved for rhetorical rather than historical purposes, and there was no occasion for retaining in them whatever of the scientific life of the court the originals might have reflected. Nevertheless, some of his phrases suggest the other intellectual interests of the court, as when he borrows the language of the current cosmogony in the preface to the emperor's *Constitutions,*[34] or refers to the preoccupation of the friars with the form of the globe, the course of the sun in the zodiac, the squaring of the circle, or the conversion of triangles into quadrangles.[35] Piero's correspondence with the masters of Bologna and Naples and the *dictatores* of his native Campania runs parallel to the scientific correspondence of Frederick and his philosophers with scholars in Italy and Mohammedan lands.

So far as Italy is concerned, the outstanding scientific genius of the thirteenth century is undoubtedly the mathematician Leonard of Pisa.[36] Beyond the fact of his African education, and his "sovereign possession of the whole mathematical knowledge of his own and every preceding generation",[37] his personal history is unknown; but though he resided at Pisa, he was well known to Frederick and the philosophers of his court, to whom his extant works are in large measure dedicated. It is Michael Scot who in 1228 receives from Leonard's hands the revised edition of his epoch-making treatise on the *Abacus,* first issued in 1202.[38] Already Master John of Palermo had accompanied Leonard into the emperor's presence and proposed questions involving quadratic and cubic equations, the answers to which are found in the *Flos* and *Liber Quadratorum.*[39] Like the solutions of various problems submitted to Leonard by Master Theodore, these are designed to illustrate method rather than to form a systematic treatise. The *Liber Quadratorum* is directed to the emperor, who has himself deigned to read the treatise on the *Abacus* and to hear the discussion of subtle problems of arithmetic and geometry, such as those once propounded in his presence by Master John.[40] Relations

[34] Niese, in *Historische Zeitschrift,* CVIII. 501, 523. Those who doubt Piero's authorship of the original constitutions admit his influence on their style as we have them: *e.g.,* Garufi, in *Studî Medioevali,* II. 105, note.

[35] Poem printed by Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne,* p. 414.

[36] M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen,* II. cc. 41, 42; S. Günther, *Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, 1908), I. c. 15.

[37] Günther, p. 258.

[38] *Scritti,* I. 1.

[39] *Scritti,* II. 227–283. The date 1225 which heads the *Liber Quadratorum* has perplexed historians, since Frederick first visited Pisa in the following year. Enestrom has tried to reconcile the difficulties by placing the first meeting elsewhere. *Bibliotheca Mathematica,* IX. 72 (1908).

[40] *Scritti,* II. 253.

with other scholars of northern Italy seem to have concerned chiefly matters of law or literature, as Niese has well brought out,[41] but we should not overlook the treatise on the hygiene of a crusading army dedicated to Frederick by Adam, chanter of Cremona, in 1227 and recently brought to light by Sudhoff.[42]

It is characteristic of Frederick's strongly personal policy that the intellectual life of his kingdom centres in his court rather than in universities, and that the southern universities in his reign show little vigor of life and leadership. His absolute and paternal ideas of government left no place for independent corporations of masters and students living the free and turbulent life of the northern *studia*. So Salerno, which had grown to eminence as a school of medicine without the aid of prince or pope, found itself tied down by royal statute in 1231 as part of a comprehensive regulation of the practice of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy throughout the kingdom of Sicily, issued in the interests of bureaucratic administration rather than of university development. The course of study is laid down by law, and royal officers are to be present at the examinations.[43] A similar bureaucratic purpose runs through the statutes establishing the University of Naples in 1224 and refprming it in 1234 and 1239. Frederick needed trained public servants, and he preferred to have them brought up in his own kingdom rather than in Bologna and other Guelfic cities of the North. Although the new university was to comprise all the fields of study then current, its strength lay in law and rhetorical composition, and it is no accident that the masters whose names have reached us are chiefly jurists and grammarians, closely connected with the judges and clerks of the royal *curia*.[44] Nevertheless we read of a

[41] *Historische Zeitschrift*, CVIII. 513 ff.

[42] F. Hönger, *Aertzliche Verhaltungsmassregeln auf dem Heerzug ins Heilige Land für Kaiser Friedrich II. geschrieben von Adam von Cremona* (Leipzig diss., 1913).

[43] Constitutions in Huillard-Bréholles, IV. 150 ff., 235; Greek text, ed. Sudhoff, in *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin*, XIII. 180 (1914). See Rashdall, *Universities*, I. 83 ff.; and the commentary of A. Bäumer, *Die Aertztegesetzgebung Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (Leipzig, 1911).

[44] See the principal documents concerning the beginnings of the university in Huillard-Bréholles, II. 450, IV. 497, V. 493–496; and the discussion in Denifle, *Die Universitäten*, I. 452–456. A much-needed study of its early history is promised by E. Sthamer. Two masters connected with the university in this period are the subjects of recent monographs: G. Ferretti, "Roffredo Epifanio da Benevento", in *Studi Medioevali*, III. 230–275 (1909); and F. Torraca, "Maestro Terrisio di Atina", in *Archivio Storico Napoletano*, XXXVI. 231–253 (1911). Another professor of grammar, Walter of Ascoli, has left an etymological cyclopaedia entitled *Dedignomion*, or *Summa Derivationum*, or *Speculum Artis Grammatice*, based on Isidore and Hugutio. I have used MS. 449 at Laon

professor of natural philosophy, Master Arnold the Catalan, who taught the courses of the stars and the nature of the elements but was unable to predict his own sudden death, which occurred "as he was lecturing on the soul", very likely in the midst of a commentary on the *De Anima* of Aristotle.[45] No less a person than Thomas Aquinas began his study of natural philosophy at Naples, under an Irish master, one Petrus de Hibernia, who is later found holding a disputation at King Manfred's court.[46]

Frederick's patronage of learning was not limited to Christian scholars. The Jewish translator of the logical commentary of Averroes and Ptolemy's *Almagest,* Jacob Anatoli, praises this "friend of wisdom and its votaries" for pecuniary support, and even hopes the Messiah may come in this reign; his versions into Hebrew, begun in Provence, were continued at Naples in 1232 and brought him into relations with Michael Scot as well as the emperor.[47] A Spanish Jew, the encyclopedist Jehuda ben Solomon Cohen, was in correspondence with one of the court philosophers at the age of eighteen, coming later to Italy, where he met the emperor and is found in Tuscany in 1247.[48] Through these or others Frederick had some knowledge of Maimonides.[49]

Whether eminent Mohammedan scholars actually resided at Fred-

and MS. Vat. lat. 1500 of the Vatican, both *ca.* 1300; there is a later copy at the University of Bologna, MS. 1515 (2832). The Laon manuscript was ascribed to Walter, archbishop of Palermo in the twelfth century (*Catalogue,* p. 238), but "Gualterius Hesculanus" appears clearly in the preface, and a further sentence printed by Morelli, *Codices MSS. Latini Bibliothecae Nanianae* (Venice, 1726), p. 160, states that the book was begun at Bologna in 1229 and afterward completed at Naples. Walter is probably the "Magister G[ualterius] grammaticus", professor at Naples, whose death is lamented in a letter of Piero della Vigna (*Epp.,* IV., no. 8; Huillard-Bréholles, *Pierre de la Vigne,* p. 394). In the Laon MS. the *Dedignomion* is followed by the notes of another southern grammarian, Anellus de Gaieta.

[45] See the letter of condolence of Master Terrisio, published by Paolucci in the *Atti* of the Palermo Academy, IV. 44 (1896); and by Torraca in the article just cited, p. 247.

[46] Denifle, *Universitäten,* I. 456 ff.; Baeumker, "Petrus de Hibernia", in Munich *Sitzungsberichte,* 1920; *infra,* n. 138.

[47] Renan, in *Histoire Littéraire,* XXVII. 580–589; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen,* pp. 58–61, 523; Huillard-Bréholles, IV. 382, n.

[48] Steinschneider, *op. cit.,* pp. 1–3, 164, 507; *id., Verzeichniss der Hebräischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,* II. 121–126; and in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik,* XXXI., part 2, pp. 106 ff. On Jewish culture under Frederick, see M. Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens der Juden in Italien* (Vienna, 1884), pp. 101–107, 268 ff.; R. Straus, *Die Juden im Königreich Sizilien* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 79–91.

[49] Amari, III. 705 ff.; Steinschneider, in *Hebräische Bibliographie,* VII. 62–66 (1864); *id., Hebräische Uebersetzungen,* p. 433.

erick's court, is a question which cannot be answered from the information at our disposal. His colony of Saracens at Lucera[50] and his well-known tolerance of the infidel combined with the environment of his youth and his semi-oriental habits of life to spread stories that he preferred to surround himself with Moslem rather than Christian influences, in learning as in everything else.[51] That he was friendly to the learning of Islam appears from the various questionnaires which, as we shall see, he sent out to Mohammedan rulers, partly as puzzles, partly in a real search for knowledge. His crusade led to political and commercial relations with the Sultan of Egypt which lasted throughout his reign, while the commercial treaty of 1231 with the ruler of Tunis was followed by the establishment of a Sicilian consulate at Tunis and a series of diplomatic missions of various sorts.[52] Such missions were regularly the occasion of an exchange of presents, and it was well understood that the emperor valued a book, a rare bird, or a cunning piece of workmanship more highly than mere objects of luxury. Thus in 1232 al-Ashraf, sultan of Damascus, sent him a wonderful *planetarium*, with figures of the sun and moon marking the hours on their appointed rounds; valued at 20,000 marks, this was kept with the royal treasure at Venosa.[53] Frederick gave in return a white bear and a white peacock which astonished the Oriental chroniclers, as their western contemporaries were impressed by "the marvellous beasts, such as the West had not seen or known", which Frederick had earlier received from Egypt.[54]

At the end of a series of such costly exchanges, Frederick, his treasury exhausted, propounded to the sultan problems of mathematics and philosophy, the solutions of which, due to a famous scholar of Egypt,[55] came back in the sultan's own hand. While in the East Frederick asked an interview with some one learned in astronomy,

[50] On which see now Egidi, in *Archivio Storico Napoletano*, XXXVI.–XXXIX.

[51] Current views of Frederick's relations with the Saracen world are illustrated by Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III. 520; IV. 268, 526, 567 ff., 635; V. 60 ff., 217.

[52] See, in general, Amari, *Musulmani*, III. 621–655; A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker*, pp. 185, 302–304; Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, ch. 5; Mas Latrie, *Traités de Paix avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, introduction, pp. 82 ff., 122–124; Blochet, "Les Relations Diplomatiques des Hohenstaufen avec les Sultans d'Égypte", in *Revue Historique*, LXXX. 51–64 (1902); and, under the several Mohammedan rulers, the indexes to the *Regesta Imperii* and Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*

[53] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* (ed. Waitz, 1880), p. 263; Huillard-Bréholles, IV. 369; *cf.* Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, II. 399 ff.; Wiedemann, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XI. 485 (1914).

[54] *Scriptores*, XXVIII. 61.

[55] *Revue Historique*, LXXX. 60.

and in response Sultan Malek-Kamil sent him a most learned astronomer and mathematician surnamed al-Hanifi.[56] It will be recalled that Theodore the philosopher is said to have been first sent to the emperor by the "caliph", and it is he who drafts the Arabic letters to the ruler of Tunis.[57] There can be no doubt of the impression which Frederick made on the scholars of the East as one well versed in philosophy, mathematics, and the natural sciences in general;[58] but such reports, transmitted through later Arabic compilers, are too vague to throw much light on his relation to specific fields of science.

The list of scholars with whom Frederick was in contact fades into a penumbra of mythical attributions and romantic tales, interesting at least as showing the reputation which the emperor and his court acquired in the field of learning and literature.[59] Thus *Le Régime du Corps* of Aldebrandino of Siena, written in 1256 for Countess Beatrice of Provence, appears in certain later manuscripts as translated in 1234 "from Greek into Latin and from Latin into French" at the request of "Frederick formerly emperor of Rome".[60] The famous letter of Prester John concerning the marvels of the East, which in the Latin original is sent to the Greek emperor Manuel, is in its French form addressed to "Fedri l'empereour de Rome",[61] as the mythical account of Alexander's conquests in Central Asia is directed to his philosopher Theodore.[62] The French prophecies of Merlin profess to have been compiled at the desire of Frederick and then turned into Arabic as a present to the Sultan of Egypt,[63] while the romance of *Sidrach* purports to have been brought from Tunis for Frederick and turned into Latin by Friar Roger of Palermo.[64] A medical treatise is said to have been translated for the emperor in 1212 with the aid of Gerard of Cremona, who died twenty-five years earlier.[65]

[56] Tarih Mansuri, in *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, IX. 119.

[57] See note 22, above.

[58] See the passages cited by Röhricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1874), I. 73 ff.; Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*, II. 137, n. 3.

[59] *Cf.* Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature au Moyen Age*, p. 191.

[60] *Le Régime du Corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Sienne*, ed. L. Landouzy and R. Pépin (Paris, 1911), pp. xxxii, lv.

[61] See, for the Latin text, the various studies of E. Zarncke; and, for the French version, Ruteboeuf, ed. Jubinal (1875), III. 355; P. Meyer, in *Romania*, XV. 177. The reference may be to Frederick Barbarossa (R. Köhler, *Romania*, V. 76).

[62] Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin*, IX. 9; Steinschneider, in *Hebräische Bibliographie*, VIII. 41.

[63] H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, I. 371 ff., 905.

[64] *Ib.*, I. 904; *Histoire Littéraire*, XXXI. 288; Langlois, p. 204.

[65] Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 793.

The nature of the scientific interests of Frederick's court has by this time become in some measure apparent. For one thing, he was deeply interested in all kinds of animals, collecting a menagerie which followed him about Italy and even into Germany. In November, 1231, he came to Ravenna "with many animals unknown to Italy: elephants, dromedaries, camels, panthers, gerfalcons, lions, leopards, white falcons, and bearded owls".[66] Five years later a similar procession passed through Parma, to the delight of a boy of fifteen later known as Salimbene.[67] The elephant, a present from the sultan, stayed in Ghibelline Cremona, where he was put through his paces for the Earl of Cornwall[68] and died thirteen years later "full of humors", amid the popular expectation that his bones would ultimately turn into ivory.[69] In 1245 the monks of Santo Zeno at Verona, in extending their hospitality to the emperor, had to entertain with him an elephant, five leopards, and twenty-four camels.[70] The camels were used for transport and were even taken over the Alps, with monkeys and leopards, to the wonder of the untravelled Germans.[71] Another marvel of the collection was a giraffe from the sultan, the first to appear in medieval Europe.[72] Throughout runs the motif of ivory, apes, and peacocks from the East, as old as Nineveh and Tyre and as new as the modern "Zoo", with the touch of the thirteenth century seen in the elephant which Matthew Paris thought rare enough to preserve in a special drawing in his history,[73] and the lion which Villard de Honnecourt saw on his travels and carefully labelled in his sketchbook, "drawn from life"![74]

Frederick's menagerie illustrates various sides of his nature—his delight in magnificence and display, his fondness for the unusual and the exotic, his joy in hunting, for which he used coursing leopards[75] and panthers as well as hawks and falcons and the humbler compan-

[66] Scheffer-Boichorst, *Zur Geschichte des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 282, 286.

[67] *Cronica*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 92 ff.

[68] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV. 166 ff.

[69] *Chronicon Placentinum*, ed. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1856), p. 215.

[70] *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, VI. 129.

[71] Annals of Colmar, *Scriptores*, XVII. 189; Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 2098a, 2973, 3475a.

[72] Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus*, ed. Stadler, p. 1417; Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, IV. 436.

[73] *Chronica Majora*, IV. 166, V. 489.

[74] "Et bien sacies que cis lions fu contrefais al vif." *Album de Villard de Honnecourt*, plates 47, 48; *cf.* 52, 53 (facsimile edition published by the Bibliothèque Nationale).

[75] Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 2661, 2783, 2883, 3029. *Cf.* the three leopards sent to Henry III., Matthew Paris, *Scriptores*, XXVIII. 131, 407, 409.

ions of the chase—but it also fed a genuine scientific interest in animals and their habits. His *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus,* of which more will be said below, not only deals comprehensively with all the practical phases of the art, but begins with a systematic and careful discussion of the species, structure, and habits of birds, for which the author utilizes the *De Animalibus* of Aristotle, such previous treatises as he could find on the subject, and the results of his own observation and inquiry.[76] A similar interest appears in the case of horses, to whose breeding the emperor gave special attention and concerning whose diseases he ordered one of his marshals, the Calabrian knight, Giordano Ruffo, to prepare under imperial supervision a treatise, which was not completed until after Frederick's death. The first western manual of the veterinary art, this was widely popular, especially in Italy, being translated into many languages and imitated by the writers of the next generation.[77] Frederick's reputation as a hunter, if not his personal inspiration to authorship, may also be seen in the little treatise on hunting of a certain Guicennas, "master in every kind of hunting by the testimony of the hunters of Lord Frederick, emperor of the Romans".[78]

[76] Frederick's collections of works on falconry are known from the manuscripts of those which he had translated from the Arabic (*English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 347–350), and from the mention of two large illustrated volumes on falcons and dogs and the art of hunting, adorned with gold and silver and "imperatorie maiestatis effigie decoratus", which Guillelmus Bottatus of Milan offered to Charles of Anjou before 1265 (Papon, *Histoire de Provence,* Paris, 1778, II., preuves, no. 74; on the date *cf.* R. Sternfeld, *Karl von Anjou,* p. 218). From the description it is plain that this *édition de luxe* included more than Frederick's *De Arte* in the form which has reached us, but the marginal illustrations must have resembled those in the Vatican codex of the emperor's work. Possibly the two volumes were acquired in the loot of the emperor's treasury in 1248, and their disappearance might explain the incompleteness of the *De Arte* as worked over in the South. This copy may thus be the source of the citations which cannot be found in the known manuscripts of the *De Arte.*

[77] Edited by Molin (Padua, 1818). For manuscripts and translations, see L. Moulé, *Histoire de la Médecine Vétérinaire* (Paris, 1898), II. 25–30, where some account will be found of the later Italian treatises. See further Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, p. dxxxvi; *Romania,* XXIII. 350, XL. 353; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen,* p. 985. This author is probably the Jordanus de Calabria who was made castellan of Ceseno in 1239 (Richard of San Germano, *ad annum*).

[78] "*Incipit liber Guicennatis de arte bersandi.* Si quis scire desideret de arte bersandi, in hoc tractatu cognoscere poterit magistratum. Huius autem artis liber vocatur Guicennas et rationabiliter vocatur Guicennas nomine cuiusdam militis Teotonici qui appellabatur Guicennas qui huius artis et libri prebuit materiam. Iste vero dominus Guicennas Teotonicus fuit magister in omni venatione et insuper summus omnium venatorum et specialiter in arte bersandi, sicut testificabantur magni barones et principes de Allemannia et maxime venatores excel-

The medical interests of the court are well attested, though they are not known to have produced notable additions to medical knowledge. Thus Pietro da Eboli, early in the reign, dedicated to Frederick his poem on the baths of Pozzuoli,[79] whose healing qualities the emperor was to put to proof after his illness in 1227.[80] The treatise of Adam of Cremona on the hygiene of the crusading army has already been mentioned, as has also the series of hygienic precepts formulated for the emperor by Master Theodore.[81] Frederick seems to have shown some anxiety concerning paralysis, and a marvellous powder was current in his name, efficacious against many "chronic ailments of the head and the stomach".[82] An incantation for the healing of wounds was also ascribed to him.[83] Frederick gave careful attention to personal hygiene in such matters as blood-letting,[84] diet, and bathing; indeed his Sunday bath was a cause of much scandal to good Christians.[85] One is reminded of the slander on the Middle Ages as a thousand years without a bath!

Without astrologers Frederick's court would not have been an Italian court of the thirteenth century, when even the universities had their professors of astrology.[86] Guido of Montefeltro kept in his employ one of the most distinguished and successful of medieval astrologers, Guido Bonatti, who is said to have directed his master's military expeditions from a campanile with the precision of a fire alarm: first bell, to arms; second, to horse; third, off to battle.[87]

lentis viri domini Frederici Romanorum imperatoris. . . ." Vatican, MS. Vat. lat. 5366, ff. 75v–78v (*ca.* 1300); MS. Reg. lat. 1227, ff. 66v–70 (fifteenth century). Guicennas, who is cited by writers on falconry, is identified with Avicenna by Werth but without any reasons given (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie,* XIII. 10).

[79] For a discussion of the questions concerning this poem, see Ries, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung,* XXXII. 576–593 (1911), and the works there cited.

[80] Winkelmann, I. 333.

[81] See notes 25 and 42, above. In the Rossi MSS. recently acquired by the Vatican there are (MS. XI. 7) a series of 953 prescriptions in the name of "Maestro Bene medico dellomperadore Federigo"; and a *Libro de Consegli de Poveri Infermi* ascribed to Michael Scot (MS. XI. 144).

[82] Ed. Sudhoff, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin,* IX. 6, note.

[83] Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, p. dxxxviii.

[84] Michael Scot, Munich, cod. lat. 10268, f. 114v (*Isis,* IV.).

[85] John of Winterthur, ed. Wyss (Zurich, 1856), p. 8.

[86] *Cf.* T. O. Wedel, "The Mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology", *Yale Studies in English,* LX., ch. 5; Novati, *Freschi e Minii,* pp. 129–134. Gerard of Sabionetta has left a register of his consultations, 1256–1260; B. Boncompagni, in *Atti dell' Accademia Pontificia,* IV. 458 ff. (1851).

[87] Boncompagni, *Della Vita e delle Opere di Guido Bonatti* (Rome, 1851), pp. 6 ff.

Ezzelino da Romano also had Bonatti among his many astrologers, along with Master Salio, canon of Padua, Riprandino of Verona, and "a long-bearded Saracen named Paul, who came from Baldach on the confines of the far East, and by his origin, appearance, and actions deserved the name of a second Balaam".[88] There is no certain evidence that Guido Bonatti resided at Frederick's court, but he tells us that he discovered the conspiracy of 1247 by the stars at Forlì and sent timely word to the emperor at Grosseto.[89] Of the emperor's astrologers we know by name only Michael Scot and Theodore, but his enemies exulted over the troop of astrologers and magicians which this devotee of Beelzebub, Ashtaroth, and other demons lost in the great defeat before Parma.[90] It is plain that much reliance was placed on such advice, even in quite personal matters.[91] Scot prided himself on his successful predictions of campaigns and the avoidance of unfavorable seasons;[92] another astrologer guided the emperor through a breach in the wall at Vicenza in 1236;[93] and Theodore stood on the tower of Padua in 1239 seeking a fortunate conjunction for an expedition which was ultimately turned back by an eclipse.[94] Indeed the story ran that Frederick avoided Florence because of an astrologer's prediction, and recognized when it was too late that the obscure Fiorentino would be the scene of his death.[95] The literary output of the *magna curia* in this field is represented by Scot's three treatises, the *Physiognomy, Liber Introductorius,* and *Liber Particularis,* all dedicated to the emperor, the *Physiognomy* being designed to aid him directly in his judgment of men. Indeed Scot speaks of "the new astrology" as proudly as writers now speak of the new chemistry or the new history.[96]

With astrology there naturally went a considerable amount of

[88] *Ib.*, pp. 29–32; Muratori, VIII. 344, 705, XIV. 930.

[89] Boncompagni, *Guido,* p. 24; Guido Bonatti, *Decem Libri de Astronomia,* tractatus IV., cons. 58. I have used the Venice edition of 1506 in the Boston Public Library. The Augsburg edition of 1491 (Hain, 3461*), listed as at Brown University in the *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America,* seems to be an error. On the conspiracy of 1246, see Böhmer-Ficker, no. 3547a.

[90] Albert of Behaim, ed. Höfler, pp. 126, 128. On Frederick's devotion to astrology, see also Saba Malaspina, in Muratori, VIII. 788.

[91] Matthew Paris, in *Scriptores,* XXVIII. 131; *cf.* Scot's *Physiognomy.*

[92] Munich, cod. lat. 10648, ff. 114v, 118; MS. n. a. lat. 1401, f. 99v (in *Isis,* 1922). *Cf.* Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 353, 360, 512, 530; *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte,* XVIII. 486.

[93] Antonio Godi, in Muratori, VIII. 83.

[94] *Ib.*, VIII. 228 ff.

[95] *Ib.*, VIII. 788.

[96] "Qui vero hos duos libros plene noverit ac sciverit operari nomen novi astrologi optinebit." *Liber Particularis,* Bodleian, MS. Canon. Misc. 555, f. 1v.

astronomy, for astrology is only applied astronomy, wrongly applied as we now believe, but a thoroughly practical subject in the eyes of the later Middle Ages. The works of Michael Scot show familiarity with Ptolemy and the principal Arabic writers on astronomy, already translated in the twelfth century; and the Hebrew versions of Ptolemy and his abbreviators by Jacob Anatoli are further evidence of attention to this science. The mathematical interests of the court reach their highest expression in the relations with Leonard of Pisa, in which, it will be remembered, the emperor himself took an active part. Frederick's own work shows an acquaintance with the fundamentals of geometry,[97] and while in the East he sought out the company of mathematicians and astronomers.[98] His castles show much interest in architecture, the towers at Capua being designed with his own hand;[99] indeed we are told that he was "skilled in all mechanical arts to which he gave himself".[100] No direct contributions to mathematical literature have, however, been connected with the Sicilian court.

The philosophical interests of the court were strongly marked. Frederick was well trained in logic, even taking a master of dialectic with him on the crusade, and his *De Arte* shows familiarity with scholastic terminology and classification. His mind, however, was in no sense formal but actively questioning, and the range of his inquiries touched far-reaching problems of the universe and the human soul, as we shall see from his questionnaires. The doctrines of Averroes were well known and often discussed at his court, so that Mohammedan writers considered him no Christian at heart;[101] and many European contemporaries shook their heads over the current stories of his scepticism and unbelief.[102]

How far the scientific life of Frederick's court was fed by new versions of the works of Aristotle and his commentators, it is not easy to say. By 1215 western Europe knew not only the logical treatises, but the *Metaphysics,* the *Ethics,* and the principal writings on natural philosophy. New versions, often with the commentaries of Averroes and Avicenna, continued to appear in the course of the thirteenth century, but few of these can be specifically connected with

[97] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 346.

[98] *Archivio Storico Siciliano,* IX. 119.

[99] Richard of San Germano, *Scriptores,* XIX. 372.

[100] Muratori, IX. 132, 661.

[101] Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula,* II. 254; Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades,* VII. 810; Röhricht, *Beiträge,* I. 73 ff.

[102] *E.g.,* Matthew Paris, *Scriptores,* XXVIII. 147, 230, 416; Salimbene, p. 349.

Sicily.[103] Roger Bacon, it is true, speaks of the appearance of Michael Scot *ca.* 1230, hearing "certain parts of the natural philosophy and metaphysics with the authentic commentaries", as constituting a turning-point in Aristotelian studies;[104] but this seems to be one of the occasions when the friar is speaking loosely. The only work of Aristotle first translated by Scot was the *De Animalibus,* in a version made before he joined the Sicilian court, and the only new versions of texts already known which are certainly by him are the *De Caelo* and *De Anima,* with the commentary of Averroes.[105] To these should be added Scot's Latin abbreviation of Avicenna's commentary on the *De Animalibus,* which is dedicated to the emperor before 1232,[106] and the Hebrew versions of Averroes's commentary on the *Logic* made by Jacob Anatoli for Frederick in or about that year.[107] At the same time other works of the Stagyrite were freely used at the court. Thus Scot quotes the *Ethics* and draws largely on the *Meteorology,*[108] while Theodore the philosopher cites the *Rhetoric* and *Ethics,* as well as the *Secretum Secretorum.*[109] The emperor himself, in the *De Arte Venandi,* draws on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mechanics* as well as on the *De Animalibus.*[110] Nevertheless what was new in all this was Averroes rather than Aristotle, nor can we be certain, as investigation now stands, that the Sicilian school did more than give wider currency to treatises and doctrines of Averroes which had already begun to spread from Spain.

Frederick has been called "an unrestrained admirer of Aristotle",[111] but his own writings are far from bearing this out. We

[103] See, in general, A. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843); and M. Grabmann, *Forschungen über die Lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1916). For the *Logic,* see Haskins, "Mediaeval Versions of the Posterior Analytics", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* XXV. 87–105 (1914); and for the *Ethics,* A. Pelzer, "Les Versions Latines des Ouvrages de Morale conservés sous le Nom d'Aristote", in *Revue Néo-scolastique,* XXIII. 316–341, 378–400 (1921).

[104] *Opus Majus,* ed. Bridges, I. 55, III. 66; *Monumenta, Scriptores,* XXVIII. 571.

[105] Besides Grabmann, see my article on "Michael Scot", in *Isis,* IV. (1922).

[106] J. Wood Brown, *Michael Scot,* pp. 53 ff., corrected in *Isis,* 1922. The University of Michigan has a copy of the printed text of this version.

[107] See note 47, above.

[108] *Isis,* 1922; *Revue Néo-scolastique,* XXIII. 326, n. 2.

[109] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 349; *Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin,* IX. 4–8. On the new version of the *Secretum Secretorum* attributed to Philip of Tripoli, see now Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi,* V. xviii–xxii.

[110] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 345–347.

[111] Biehringer, *Kaiser Friedrich II.* (Berlin, 1912), p. 244. Frederick's devo-

have, he says in the preface to the *De Arte,* followed the prince of philosophers where required, but not in all things, for we have learned by experience that at several points he deviates from the truth. Aristotle relies too much on hearsay, and has evidently "rarely or never had experience of falconry, which we have loved and practised all our life". More than once he must be directly corrected from the emperor's observation—*non sic se habet.*

It is this experimental habit of mind, the emperor's restless desire to see and know for himself, which lies behind those *superstitiones et curiositates* at which the good Salimbene holds up his hands.[112] There is the story of the man whom Frederick shut up in a wine-cask to prove that the soul died with the body, and the two men whom he disembowelled in order to show the respective effects of sleep and exercise on digestion. There were the children whom he caused to be brought up in silence in order to settle the question "whether they would speak Hebrew, which was the first language, or Greek or Latin or Arabic or at least the language of their parents; but he labored in vain, for the children all died". There was the diver, Nicholas, surnamed the Fish, hero of Schiller's *Der Taucher,* whom he sent repeatedly to explore the watery fastnesses of Scylla and Charybdis, and the memory of whose exploits was handed on by the Friars Minor of Messina,[113] not to mention the "other superstitions and curiosities and maledictions and incredulities and perversities and abuses" which the friar of Parma had set down in another chronicle now lost.[114] Such again was the story of the great pike brought to the Elector Palatine in 1497, in its gills a copper ring placed there by Frederick to test the longevity of fish, and still bearing the inscription in Greek, "I am that fish which Emperor Frederick II. placed in this lake with

tion to Aristotle has been argued from a letter ascribed to him which transmits new versions of Aristotle's work to some university, but I agree with most recent scholars in assigning this letter to Manfred and connecting it with the translations of the *Magna Moralia* and various pseudo-Aristotelian treatises made by his direction. See Jourdain, *Recherches,* p. 156, with French translation; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica,* IV. 383; Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis,* I., no. 394; Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta,* no. 4750; Schirrmacher, *Die Letzten Hohenstaufen* (Göttingen, 1871), p. 624; Grabmann, *Aristotelesübersetzungen,* pp. 200–204, 237 ff.; Helene M. Arndt, *Studien zur Inneren Regierungsgeschichte Manfreds* (Heidelberg. 1911), p. 149; Pelzer, in *Revue Néoscolastique,* XXIII. 319 ff.

112 Ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 350–353.

113 The story appears also in Francesco Pippini (Muratori, IX. 669), Riccobaldo of Ferrara (*ib.,* IX. 248), and Jacopo d'Acqui (*Neues Archiv,* XVII. 500).

114 Salimbene, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 351. On Frederick's insatiable curiosity, see also Malaspina, in Muratori, VIII. 788.

his own hand the fifth day of October, 1230".[115] On another occasion Frederick is said to have sent messengers to Norway in order to verify the existence of a spring which turned to stone garments and other objects immersed therein.[116]

Whatever value these tales may have, the emperor's scientific habit of mind is seen best of all in his own writings. His treatise on falconry, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*,[117] is compact of personal observation of the habits of birds, especially falcons, carried on throughout a busy life of sport and study, and verified by birds and falconers brought from distant lands. Indeed, his systematic use for such inquiries of the resources of his royal administration constitutes an interesting example of the pursuit of research by governmental agencies. "Not without great expense", he tells us, "did we call to ourselves from afar those who were expert in this art, extracting from them whatever they knew best and committing to memory their sayings and practices." "When we crossed the sea we saw the Arabs using a hood in falconry, and their kings sent us those most skilled in this art, with many species of falcons." The emperor not only tested the artificial incubation of hens' eggs,[118] but, on hearing that ostrich eggs were hatched by the sun in Egypt, he had eggs and experts brought to Apulia that he might test the matter for himself. The fable that barnacle geese were hatched from barnacles he exploded by sending north for such barnacles, concluding that the story arose from ignorance of the actual nesting-places of the geese. Whether vultures find their food by sight or by smell he ascertained by seeling their eyes while their nostrils remained open. Nests, eggs, and birds were repeatedly brought to him for observation and note, and the minute accuracy of his descriptions attests the fidelity with which his observations were made. The whole of the practical portion of his *De Arte* is a setting down in systematic form of the results of actual practice of the art. The author's statements are supported by facts rather than by authority or mere personal opinion, and if information is lacking no conclusion is drawn. One who reads the *De Arte* through gets inevitably the impression of the work of a first-rate mind, open,

[115] A. Hauber, "Kaiser Friedrich der Staufer und der Langlebige Fisch", in *Archiv für Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, III. 315–329 (1911), brings together the various reports but shows that the date 1230 is impossible.

[116] The original has "in regione Armenie Norwegie". Extract from mediæval encyclopaedia published by Delisle, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXXII., part I., p. 48; *Monumenta, Scriptores*, XXVIII. 571.

[117] See my article in the *English Historical Review*, XXXVI. 334–355 (July, 1921). I have used the copy of Schneider's edition in the library of Columbia University.

[118] Michael Scot, Munich, cod. lat. 10268, f. 117 (*Isis*, IV.).

inquiring, realistic, trying to see things as they are without *parti pris*, and working throughout on the basis of systematized experience. To follow this up by a course of reading in the confused and pretentious astrology of Michael Scot is to realize how far the emperor was intellectually superior to those about him.

Observation and experiment on a large scale Frederick supplemented by the questionnaire, applied not only to the scholars of his court and the experts who came at his summons, but to savants of other lands whom he could not interrogate personally. The method seems to have been to draw up a list of questions upon which the emperor could get no final or satisfactory response at home, and to send them to other rulers, most naturally the Mohammedan princes, requesting that they be submitted to the leading local scholars for answer, a procedure which assumes autocratic governments like that which Frederick himself utilized to satisfy intellectual curiosity. Such was the practice followed in the most famous instance, the so-called Sicilian questions published by Amari many years ago.[119] According to the response which has reached us, Frederick, not long before 1242, sent a series of questions to be answered by Mohammedan philosophers in Egypt, Syria, Irak, Asia Minor, and Yemen, and later to the Almohad caliph of Morocco, ar-Rashid, by whom they were forwarded, with a sum of money as the emperor's reward, to Ibn Sabin, a Spanish philosopher then living at Ceuta. Refusing the money, Ibn Sabin answers at some length in terms of Mohammedan orthodoxy, expressing some contempt for Frederick's attainments as seen in his untechnical phraseology, and offering to set him right in a personal interview. The emperor's questions, as they are here cited in refutation, cover the eternity of matter and the immortality of the soul, the end and foundations of theology, and the number and nature of the categories—demanding always the proofs of the opinions advanced in reply. Thus: "Aristotle the sage in all his writings declares clearly the existence of the world from all eternity. If he demonstrates this, what are his arguments, and if not, what is the nature of his reasoning on this matter?" Plainly Frederick was familiar with the Aristotelian doctrines which agitated the Christian and Mohammedan worlds in the thirteenth century, indeed there was a legend that Averroes had lived at his court.[120] The very suggestion

[119] M. Amari, "Questions Philosophiques adressées aux Savants Musulmans par l'Empereur Frédéric II.", in *Journal Asiatique*, fifth ser., I. 240–274 (1853); *id.*, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, II. 414–419; more fully by A. F. Mehren, in *Journal Asiatique*, seventh ser., XIV. 341–454 (1879). *Cf.* the problems proposed by Chosroes, published by Quicherat, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XIV. 248–263 (1853).

[120] Renan, *Averroès* (1869), pp. 254, 291.

of doubt respecting immortality was enough to justify the current belief that Frederick was one of those Epicurean heretics "who make the soul die with the body".

We hear also of geometrical and astronomical problems sent by the emperor as far as Mosul, and we have another series of geometrical questions sent by one of Frederick's philosophers, in Arabic, to the young Jehuda ben Solomon Cohen in Toledo, together with the replies, at which the emperor expressed much satisfaction.[121] Again we learn that in the time of al-Malik al-Kamil, sultan of Egypt (1218–1238), the emperor set seven hard problems in order to test Moslem scholars. Three of these, which concern optics, have been preserved with their answers: Why do objects partly covered by water appear bent? Why does Canopus appear bigger when near the horizon, whereas the absence of moisture in the southern deserts precludes that as an explanation? What is the cause of the illusion of spots before the eyes?[122]

Another and a less technical questionnaire has been handed down to us by Michael Scot; and as it does not appear to have been hitherto published or even cited by others, it may not be uninteresting to translate it as it stands in the manuscripts:[123]

When Frederick, emperor of Rome and always enlarger of the empire, had long meditated according to the order which he had established concerning the various things which are and appear to be on the earth, above, within, and beneath it, on a certain occasion he privately summoned me, Michael Scot, faithful to him among all astrologers, and secretly put to me at his pleasure a series of questions concerning the foundations of the earth and the marvels within it, as follows:

"My dearest master, we have often and in divers ways listened to questions and solutions from one and another concerning the heavenly bodies, that is the sun, moon, and fixed stars, the elements, the soul of the world, peoples pagan and Christian, and other creatures above and on the earth, such as plants and metals; yet we have heard nothing respecting those secrets which pertain to the delight of the spirit and the wisdom thereof, such as paradise, purgatory, hell, and the foundations and marvels of the earth. Wherefore we pray you, by your love of knowledge and the reverence you bear our crown, explain to us the foundations of the earth, that is to say how it is established over the abyss and how the abyss

121 Steinschneider, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik,* XXXI., part II., 106 ff. (1886); *id., Hebräische Uebersetzungen,* p. 3; *id., Verzeichniss der Hebräischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,* II. 126 (1897).

122 E. Wiedemann, "Fragen aus dem Gebiet der Naturwissenschaften, gestellt von Friedrich II.", in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* XI. 483–485 (1914).

123 *Liber Particularis,* in the Bodleian, MS. Canon. Misc. 555, f. 44v; the Ambrosian, MS. L. sup. 92, f. 69; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. n. a. 1401, f. 156v, the only manuscript to give the portions in brackets. I have edited the Latin text from these manuscripts in the forthcoming number of *Isis* (1922). See also MS. Rossi IX. 111 in the Vatican, f. 37 (of the year 1308).

stands beneath the earth, and whether there is anything else than air and water which supports the earth, and whether it stands of itself or rests on the heavens beneath it. Also how many heavens there are and who are their rulers and principal inhabitants, and exactly how far one heaven is from another, and by how much one is greater than another, and what is beyond the last heaven if there are several; and in which heaven God is in the person of His divine majesty and how He sits on His throne, and how He is accompanied by angels and saints, and what these continually do before God. Tell us also how many abysses there are and the names of the spirits that dwell therein, and just where are hell, purgatory, and the heavenly paradise, whether under or on or above the earth [or above or in the abysses, and what is the difference between the souls who are daily borne thither and the spirits which fell from heaven; and whether one soul in the next world knows another and whether one can return to this life to speak and show one's self; and how many are the pains of hell.] Tell us also the measure of this earth by thickness and length, and the distance from the earth to the highest heaven and to the abyss, and whether there is one abyss or several; and if several how far one is from another; and whether the earth has empty spaces or is a solid body like a living stone; and how far it is from the surface of the earth down to the lower heaven.

"Likewise tell us how it happens that the waters of the sea are so bitter and the waters are salt in many places and some waters away from the sea are sweet although they all come from the living sea. Tell us too concerning the sweet waters how they continually gush forth from the earth and sometimes from stones and trees, as from vines when they are pruned in the springtime, where they have their source and how it is that certain waters come forth sweet and fresh, some clear, others turbid, others thick and gummy; for we greatly wonder at these things, knowing already that all waters come from the sea and passing through divers lands and cavities return to the sea, which is the bed and receptacle of all running waters. Hence we should like to know whether there is one place by itself which has sweet water only and one with salt water only, or if there is one place for both kinds, and in this case how the two kinds of water are so unlike, since by reason of difference of color, taste, and movement there would seem to be two places. So, if there are two places for these waters, we wish to be informed which is the greater and which the smaller, and how the running waters in all parts of the world seem to pour forth of their superabundance continually from their source, and although their flow is copious yet they do not increase as if more were added beyond the common measure but remain constant at a flow which is uniform or nearly so. We should like to know further whence come the salt and bitter waters which gush forth in some places, and the fetid waters in many baths and pools, whether they come of themselves or from elsewhere; likewise concerning those waters which come forth warm or hot or boiling as if in a caldron on a blazing fire, whence they come and how it is that some of them are always muddy and some always clear. Also we should like to know concerning the wind which issues from many parts of the earth, and the fire which bursts from plains as well as from mountains, and likewise what produces the smoke which appears now in one place and now in another, and what causes its blasts, as is seen in parts of Sicily and Messina, as Etna, Vulcano, Lipari, and Stromboli.

How comes it that a flaming fire appears not only from the earth but also in certain parts of the sea of India?

["And how is it that the soul of a living man which has passed away to another life than ours cannot be induced to return by first love or even by hate, just as if it had been nothing, nor does it seem to care at all for what it has left behind whether it be saved or lost?"]

A notable series of questions this, in spite of a certain amount of confusion and repetition which may be due to the less clear medium of Michael Scot through which they have been transmitted. Besides the previous discussions which they assume respecting astronomy, geography, and natural history, they cut to the heart of the current cosmology, which readers of Dante will recognize, with an insistent demand for exact and definite information. Just where are heaven and hell and purgatory; exactly how far is one heaven or one abyss from another; what is the structure of the earth and the explanation of its fires and waters—questions that might easily have cost Michael Scot his reputation, in spite of his boastful promise to answer them all, and may well have led him to seek to measure the distance to heaven by means of a church tower with an apparent exactness which seems to have imposed on the emperor.[124] Astronomy and cosmology cannot avoid theology: In which heaven is God to be found, and where are the souls of the departed, and why do they not communicate with us for love or even hate? "Or even hate"—a very human touch which shows us Frederick's own passion in the midst of the eternal riddles and reminds us of that hatred for Viterbo which he would come back from Paradise to assuage.[125] And here as in the stories of Moslem writers we recognize the note of scepticism, the trace of that Epicurean heretic whose lurid figure haunts one of the thousand fiery tombs of the tenth canto of the *Inferno*.

The nature of Frederick's ultimate religious opinions lies beyond the ken of the historian, for we have no direct statements of his own beyond his general assertions of orthodoxy, against many highly colored stories from his enemies. When, however, Gregory IX. accuses him of declaring that one should believe only in what is proved by the force and reason of nature,[126] the assertion falls in entirely with what we know of Frederick's habit of mind. Profoundly rationalistic, he applied the test of reason and experience to affairs of state

[124] See the passage printed in *Isis*, IV.

[125] *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 30.

[126] Encyclical of July 1, 1239, in Huillard-Bréholles, V. 340; Böhmer-Ficker, no. 7245; Potthast, no. 10766. Frederick's reply is in Huillard-Bréholles, V. 348 (Böhmer-Ficker, nos. 2454, 2455); see also the examination of his orthodoxy in 1246, *ib.*, VI. 426, 615 (Böhmer-Ficker, no. 3543).

as well as to matters of science, as the body of his Sicilian legislation abundantly testifies. When he abolishes the ordeal, his reason is that it is not in accord with nature and does not lead to truth.[127] In matters of commercial policy, "he was the first medieval ruler to use consistent economic principles as his standards".[128] *Immutator mirabilis,* he has none of the medieval horror of change. Yet it is scarcely historical to call him a modern, for he looks in both directions. He harks back to King Roger and the Mohammedan East, while in his many-sided patronage of learning and his free and critical spirit of inquiry he belongs rather to the Italian Renaissance. Only in part does he belong to the thirteenth century, and he was in no sense its type. He was above all an individual, *stupor mundi* to his own age, and a marvel still to ours.

Frederick's favorite son, Manfred, appears linked with his father in Dante's mention of the two illustrious heroes who, while fortune lasted, despised the merely brutal and followed humane pursuits.[129] Certainly Manfred inherited many of his father's tastes and something of the same habit of mind, and his court continued much of the scientific activity of the earlier reign.[130] He tells us that the masters of his father's court[131] taught him the nature of the world and the properties of both the transient and the eternal. At the age of twenty-five he fortified himself during a severe illness with the teachings of the treatise *De Pomo,*[132] then ascribed to Aristotle, and on his recovery had it translated from Hebrew into Latin. Latin versions of the *Magna Moralia* and pseudo-Aristotelian works, apparently those sent by the king to the students of Paris, were made directly from the Greek by an official translator, Bartholomew of Messina,[133] who also translated at Manfred's command the veterinary

127 Hampe, in *Historische Zeitschrift,* LXXXIII. 14.

128 Jastrow-Winter, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen,* II. 549.

129 *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* I. c. 12.

130 See, in general, Schirrmacher, *Die Letzten Hohenstaufen,* pp. 209–216; Capasso, *Historia Diplomatica Regni Siciliae,* p. 324 ff.; Helene M. Arndt, *Studien zur Inneren Regierungsgeschichte Manfreds,* c. 4; O. Cartellieri, "König Manfred", in *Centenario Michele Amari* (Palermo, 1910), I. 116–138.

131 The arguments of Hampe, *Neues Archiv,* XXXVI. 231 ff., and Arndt, pp. 146 ff., that Manfred was a student at Bologna and Paris, are to me unconvincing.

132 Preface in Huillard-Bréholles, *Monuments de la Maison de Souabe,* p. 169; Schirrmacher, p. 622; Capasso, p. 112, note; Böhmer-Ficker, no. 4653. *Cf.* Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen,* p. 268, who thinks it unlikely that the king himself was the translator.

133 *Supra,* note 111. Another translator, Nicholas of Sicily, may belong to this same group. Grabmann, p. 203.

treatise of Hierocles.[134] Translation from the Arabic is represented by an astrological treatise turned into Latin by Stephen of Messina and also dedicated to the king,[135] and by a set of astronomical and astrological tables translated by John "de Dumpno" and preserved in a fine codex at Madrid.[136] Manfred's knowledge of philosophy and mathematics, especially Euclid, as well as of languages, is praised by an Egyptian visitor, who dedicated to him a work on logic,[137] and a further illustration of his philosophical tastes is found in a disputation in which he asks whether members exist because of their functions or functions because of their members, the final "determination" of this scholastic dispute being made by that *gemma magistrorum et laurea morum,* Master Petrus de Hibernia.[138]

Like his father, Manfred had his menagerie, including a giraffe from the East,[139] and he also shared his father's devotion to astrology[140] and to sportsmanship. The *De Arte Venandi,* originally dedicated to Manfred, has come down to us as he revised it, with certain additions from his own observations but primarily with the aim of filling blanks in the original by the aid of his father's notes, reading and rereading the book with filial piety that he might obtain the full fruits of its science and that no scribal errors might be left to frustrate the author's purpose.[141] This was only one of the numerous books by many hands which filled the presses of the royal library,[142] including philosophical and mathematical works in Greek and Arabic, certain of which are believed to have gone as a present to the pope from the victorious Charles of Anjou,[143] and thus served to hand on

[134] MSS. at Pisa and Bologna: *Studî Italiani di Filologia Classica,* VIII. 395, XVII. 76; *Rheinisches Museum,* n.s., XLVI. 377 (1891).

[135] Steinschneider, in Vienna *Sitzungsberichte,* CXLIX. 4, p. 78; also in MS. Madrid 10009, f. 225.

[136] Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 10023, ff. 1–23: "Perfectus est interpretatio et translatio istarum portarum de arabico in latinum per Iohannem de Dumpno filium Philippi de Dumpno in civitate Panormi anno a nativitate domini nostri Ieso Christi 1262, sub laude et gloria omnipotentis Dei feliciter amen".

[137] Djemal-Edin, in Michaud, *Bibliothèque des Croisades,* VII. 367; *Revue Historique,* LXXX. 64.

[138] Text published by Baeumker, "Petrus de Hibernia", in Munich *Sitzungsberichte,* 1920.

[139] Röhricht, *Beiträge,* I. 74.

[140] Huillard-Bréholles, introduction, p. dxxxii; Arndt, p. 151.

[141] *English Historical Review,* XXXVI. 338.

[142] "Librorum ergo volumina, quorum multifarie multisque modis distincta cyrographa diviciarum nostrarum armaria locupletant." *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis,* I., no. 394.

[143] Heiberg, in *Oversigt* of the Danish Academy, 1891, pp. 305–318; Ehrle, in *Festgabe Anton de Waal* (Rome, 1913), pp. 348–351.

something of the scientific interests of Manfred and of Frederick to a later age. At best, however, Manfred's court is but an echo of that of Frederick, and under the Angevins the intellectual history of Sicilian royalty enters upon a new and different period.[144]

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

[144] On translations under Charles of Anjou, see Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, edition of 1886, III. 483–489; Hartwig, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III. 185–188.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF METROPOLITAN ECONOMY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA[1]

THERE are three questions raised by this paper: firstly, whether national economy has any real validity as a unit or organization in production; secondly, whether metropolitan economy, or the dominance of the large commercial city, should be put in its place; and thirdly, what evidence concerning metropolitan development is to be found in European and American history. From the framing of these questions, it is, of course, to be inferred that the thesis of this paper is that metropolitan economy should be substituted for national economy as the latest stage in general economic development.

The reality of the nation as a political unit has been so great for so long a time that no one, liking or disliking nationalism, could have any doubts about it. With the political side of the nation we have, however, little or nothing to do. It is rather the economic aspects of the national unit with which we are immediately concerned.

One of the various meanings of national economy is an organization for administering the economic affairs of the nation. The state administers in at least two important ways. First, it passes laws aiding business (*inter alia*), some of which set up standards such as weights and measures and quality of goods, while others establish limitations, for example, on prices and wages. Secondly, the state also administers directly by setting up a system of coinage, a judicial service, a post-office, and so on. An examination of such helps to business shows that they are not unlike the services performed by the state at various times for other human activities. The nation has enacted laws concerning the family, the health of cattle that can be marketed, and the practice of medicine. But who is there to say that for this reason we have a national family, national cattle, and a national medicine? And likewise who will maintain that, because the state performs important services for economic life, we have national economy in the sense of national production?

In time of war the nation's control of production may become complete. In a socialistic state, as in Russia to-day, state ownership may prevail. In Germany Hugo Stinnes may become more powerful than the Kaiser ever was, may conceivably own the whole nation or

[1] A paper read at the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1921.

hold it in pawn. And yet none of these things would of necessity materially change the organization of production. The same principles of economy and efficiency would ultimately prevail.

National economy as an organization in economic administration has existed in peace and in war, for centuries in Western Europe and for generations in Eastern Europe. It prevailed while village economy was the unit of production and when town economy took its place. And if we should suddenly create a world state with powers of economic administration, we should not see much, if any, change in the public unit or organization of production.

The national economic administration has been carried on in accordance with certain policies, good or bad, but of course acceptable to the day and generation. During the stages of village and town economy, the state policy was generally fiscal. In some advanced countries of Europe, this gave way in the sixteenth century to mercantilism, which, as we all know, was as restrictive as the fiscal policy had been liberal. In time, mercantilism was weakened by, and in some countries gave way to, *laissez-faire,* which in a sense was a return to the old-time fiscal policy. And within the last generation or two we see a tendency to return to a policy somewhat akin to mercantilism in its directive influence and its concentration of power in the hands of the government; but while mercantilism aimed at national material strength, the new policy aims at social well-being.

It is an interesting and important fact that the study of economics, significantly called "political economy", which has influenced us most began with mercantilism, usually dated from the sixteenth century. And this mercantilism was but little more than the old town policy "writ large" in the affairs of the state. In all probability this led to the practice of making the nation follow the town as the town had followed the village in the history of production.

I accept national economy as a unit or organization in economic control and administration. I accept it as having a secondary meaning, national policy, found frequently in America not long ago. But I cannot find any excuse for regarding it as a unit in production on a par with village and town economy. By a unit of production is, of course, meant an organization of producers based on a division of labor, wherein, for example, the villagers performed special services chiefly in agriculture and the townsmen chiefly in the retail trade. Thus it is quite different from ownership, policy, or administration, though in the village stage, it is true, the administrative and the productive units coincided, but not in the town or subsequent stages.

Over a generation ago Schmoller rightly, as I think, emphasized

the element of politics and administration when beginning his articles on mercantilism and national economy. But as he sped along, he extended the idea of national economy from a unit in administration to a unit in actual production. He thought he saw a national agriculture, a national industry, national shipping and fisheries, a national division of labor, and a national trade, first conceived and then developed like the national currency and the national banking system.[2]

Shortly afterwards, Bücher, reacting from Schmoller's declared intention of emphasizing political forces, arrived at a similar conclusion. He, too, spoke of a national industry, a national market, and national commercial institutions.[3] His main idea is that just as the household of yore and the later town had been self-sufficing, so was the nation "an exceedingly complex and ingenious system" for meeting its own needs.[4] And accordingly, to him economic liberalism, free trade, and world-wide exchange of goods are ephemeral phenomena. Bücher began by emphasizing production and ended by proclaiming a national market. He set out to emphasize the exchange relationships of producer and consumer and finished by discovering that the nation was the present and ultimate unit in production. Brilliant as Bücher's essays are and great as has been their influence on teaching and research, they are nevertheless, as I think, untenable. Bücher himself has recanted in respect to his first stage of household economy, at any rate as applied to Greece, Carthaginia, and Rome. German critics have proved his concept of an exclusive town economy incorrect. It seems that his theory of national economy as a unit or organization of production is also unacceptable. Bücher maintained that "Each portion of the country, each section of the population, must in the service of the whole take over those duties that its natural endowments best fitted it to perform."[5] This was supposed to begin in the sixteenth century when town economy was declining, but I find such geographical specialization at a much earlier date, in fact in part inevitable from the beginning. Long before the sixteenth century, Englishmen obtained their tin from one section, their coal and iron each from two sections, certain fine cloths from another, and their novelties largely from a very few towns.

More serious is the idea that the nation exists unto itself. The national boundaries may deflect but they do not bind. And indeed the whole tendency of progressive countries is to increase their for-

[2] *Mercantile System*, p. 59.
[3] *Industrial Evolution*, p. 138.
[4] P. 126.
[5] P. 135.

eign trade. Just now we in the United States are suffering from a set-back to this development. Moreover, some parts of a state may be economically more closely connected with parts of nearby states than with other parts of the same state. This is notably true of Nova Scotia, which trades so largely with New England. And it promises to be true of Strasbourg, which can hardly find as ready an outlet through Paris as it has in the past down the Rhine. A national trade is as much a fiction as a national industry or a national agriculture. The nation as such does not trade, nor is it economically a unit. Of course, I am considering organization in production, not in administration, fact not policy, accomplishment not ambition.

Although Bücher's quest for an *organization* in production was laudable, his choice of a *national* organization was unfortunate. This leads us to a consideration of the second of the three questions announced at the beginning: shall we substitute metropolitan economy for national economy, as the latest stage in the development of production?

By metropolitan economy is meant the concentration of the trade of a wide area in one great city. While the radius of the area dominated commercially by the medieval town had rarely been more than a score of miles, the radius of the area dominated by a metropolis is roughly a hundred miles or more in length. The metropolis itself is the centre not only for the area of the local trade but also for the trade between metropolitan units. Or, concretely stated, trade from the provinces centred in London and in Paris, and the provinces around both capitals ordinarily traded and still trade with one another largely through their metropolitan centres. It is unfortunate for purposes of illustration that each of these cities is a political as well as an economic metropolis, and yet these very instances point to the fact that often political and economic forces work in the same direction. In both cities were centralized not only the political but also the economic life of wide areas.

The structure of the metropolitan economic unit is made up, firstly, of the metropolis itself with its merchants, bankers, warehousemen, transport officials, and other specialized men of business; and secondly, of the district or hinterland with its towns and villages, its countryside of farms, forests, streams, and mines. The metropolis and its hinterland are integral parts of the metropolitan unit, but they are not constant in the areas which they occupy. While the metropolis itself widens its confines with general economic development, the hinterland decreases in size. The area occupied by greater London increases year by year, while the hinterland diminishes as Manchester-

Liverpool grows in strength and influence. Greater Chicago grows while its hinterland is being nibbled away by Cleveland, St. Louis, Kansas City, and the Twin Cities.

The essential part of metropolitan economy is not size or structure but function. The metropolis concentrates the trade of a wide district. It is the gathering-place for the products of that district. It is also the place from which wares already concentrated from many lands and sections radiate to the whole hinterland. Moreover, it is, as has been said, the point through which the hinterland normally trades with other metropolitan units. It is more economical for a few dealers in a metropolis to specialize in the inter-metropolitan trade, which is usually wholesale, than for traders located in small towns in the hinterland to maintain connections and credits with distant parts. If we wish to visualize the whole metropolitan mechanism we have only to think of a web with the master spider in the centre. The concentration and radiation of such a pattern are in marked contrast to the duplication and parallelism of the alternative checkerboard. The saving in materials, labor, and management is enormous; otherwise the spider would not have so constructed its net. Metropolitan economy likewise exists because of its efficiency as a unit in production. Public policy, national administration, even socialism would hardly long continue an attempt to alter so economical an organization.

It is the metropolitan unit that supplants the town unit of former times. If we cast our thought no farther back than the permanent settlement of clans and tribes, we see that there are three general stages which sum up much of the economic life of the times: village economy, town economy, and metropolitan economy. Each is a unit of production. Each has a centre of trade, though the importance of trade is, of course, not so great at first as later. It should be pointed out that recent studies show that village or manorial self-sufficiency is a very questionable matter. I go farther still in regarding the village, like the town, as a centre for trade, though the trade of the town was specialized while that of the village was not. In the progression from one stage to another we see not only a greater specialization, but a greater general division of labor, a larger surplus and store of goods, and more immunity from distress and famine.

The second question has now been answered. Metropolitan economy, it seems, should be put in the place of national economy. The reason for this is partly that there is no national organization of production, while there is a metropolitan organization, and partly that metropolitan economy is on a par with the other and older economic

units. Structurally the village (generally) and the town and the metropolitan units always had each a nucleus with an area round about. Functionally town and metropolitan economy had a division of labor between the centre and the area that constituted the basis of economic efficiency and progress. On the other hand, in the national economic unit, assuming for the moment that such exists, there is no one centre holding all the rest of the state in economic subordination. At one time, to be sure, London was the only great commercial centre in England, but its dominance over the farthermost parts of England was doubtful and, as has been implied, its relative importance has been diminishing. In England there are London and Liverpool-Manchester that are nuclei of important hinterlands. In France there are Paris, and perhaps Lyons-Marseilles, and Bordeaux; and in America at least eleven such nuclei of commerce. Of course it is true that there is one centre in each nation that is more prominent than the rest, for example, London, Paris, and New York. The position of such centres, however, is due in part to the advantage of a head-start. And already we find economic life developing more rapidly in rival cities than in the older centres. In other words, while once there may have been some excuse for thinking that there might be a national marketing centre, there is none now.

Although it may be true, and I believe it is true, that we should substitute metropolitan economy for national economy as a unit in production, nevertheless it would be a grave error to divorce metropolitan economy as a unit in production from national economy as a unit in administration. Just as the tribal and later the feudal state reflected the village, as the early national state reflected the town, so does the state to-day reflect the metropolis. The village mobilized labor, the town mobilized skill in trade and manufacture, and now the metropolis mobilizes capital and management in support of the state. And the state in its turn reacts on the smaller unit. The tribal and feudal state concerned itself with the business of the village in order to provide justice and protection; the early national state concerned itself with the economic affairs of the town in order to prevent excess of localism and to provide a system of coinage, standard weights and measures, and reforms in trading practices; and the present national state turns to the metropolis not only in order to correct the abuses of its large firms but also to help metropolitan business at home and abroad. And indeed nowhere could this be more clearly illustrated than in America during the last seven years. In short, the relationship between village, town, and metropolitan organization on the one hand and the national organization on the other is close and

reciprocal. For national economy as an organization in production we should substitute metropolitan economy, but there is as yet no substitute for national economy as an administrative organization.

The evidence for metropolitan development, the third topic of this paper, is found in the history of *modern* Europe and America, but the earlier period deserves at least brief consideration. In ancient days there were flourishing towns with a brisk local and extended trade. Most of these, such as Tyre, Sidon, Athens, Corinth, and Delos, had but limited areas near at hand. They were indeed remarkable plants to be growing in such shallow soil. They sent their branches far and wide, but there was no metropolitan subsoil. None of those mentioned had the wide hinterland necessary for metropolitan growth. Nearest to it, came Alexandria with its extended trade by land route to the east and by water east and west, and its hinterland trade up and down the rich Nile valley.

In the Middle Ages Genoa, Florence, and Venice showed metropolitan promise, as did Bruges and Antwerp for a short time. Circumstances largely political prevented these cities from completely developing out of the stage of town economy into that of metropolitan economy.

London is the best illustration, because it developed early and because it has slowly gone through all the phases of metropolitan growth anywhere to be observed. The first of these phases, covering the period from about 1550 to about 1750, was occupied with the general organization of the metropolitan market. Although there had been wholesalers in the medieval town, they traded chiefly in commodities that entered into extended trade and were not normally allowed by the urban magistrates to dominate their own fields. But in the first phase of metropolitan economy wholesalers came to organize not only extended but also local trade, or, as we had better now call it, "hinterland" rather than "local" trade.

Exchanges or bourses, which had been both for retail and wholesale trade in the Middle Ages, became exclusively identified with wholesale trade in the metropolitan stage, though retail shops continued to nestle close to the exchange in spite of the fact that their owners were actually excluded from the "floor". In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief articles traded on the exchange were such commodities as gold, silver, spices, dyes, and other goods which were standardized and could be sold by grade or sample. By the close of the seventeenth century the buying and selling of securities as distinct from commodities attained considerable importance. Speculation in these securities became so noisy in London and stock-

jobbers so bold that a separation had to be made. The old Royal Exchange remained the seat of the wholesale trade in commodities, while the stock-brokers and jobbers departed for the streets and coffee-houses, where they operated until the London Stock Exchange was established in 1773.

The great trading companies, concerned almost wholly with extended trade, were essentially metropolitan enterprises. The stock-owners were found chiefly though by no means exclusively in the metropolis, the directors were there and also their offices and warehouses. Paris was at a great disadvantage in one respect, that, although much of the management might be centred there and although the owners might live there, the actual unloading and storing had to take place almost wholly in ports nearer to the coast than was the metropolis.

Warehousing had been connected with manufacture and commerce in town economy. In the first phase of metropolitan economy there came into existence specialized warehouses and warehousemen who stored for anyone having goods to store. This was, of course, very economical, for available storage space would be more occupied when it could be made to serve all. Merchants and manufacturers henceforth put relatively less capital into storage plants of their own.

With specialized wholesalers and warehousemen, and with trading companies venturing far afield, the metropolis came to contain an unprecedentedly large variety of wares, much beyond the possibilities of a medieval town. They could be economically stored in one metropolitan centre and shipped to the hinterland or to another metropolitan unit when needed. Staples and luxuries, goods from east and west, textiles and hardware, articles of personal adornment and building wares, were all found in the metropolis. The nearest approach to this in the Middle Ages had been the great annual fairs.

The second phase of metropolitan development, in the case of London from about 1750 to about 1830, saw considerable changes in manufacture. Industries such as the manufactures of silk and hosiery, introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, moved out into the hinterland, where rent and food were lower and where there was little or no interference by municipal or gild authorities. Some of the very old industries of the metropolis, such as the manufacture of cutlery, were threatened and finally undermined by new establishments set up in the hinterland, notably in and about Sheffield. Factories using power machinery were started in the hinterland near waterpower, near coal and iron, or in a district with a favorable climate and good shipping facilities. Lancashire and Yorkshire were

the seats of the industrial revolution. London had few large factories. It held its own in the manufacture of luxuries and especially of articles of clothing and adornment, but saw itself by decentralization of industry threatened with the possibility of being reduced to purely commercial functions.

Following hard upon the phase of the industrial revolution came that of the revolution in transportation, which we may place roughly at about the period from 1830 to 1890. Although much earlier than this there had been efforts at highway regeneration, and although the post-office had been established, first for government service and later for public use, in both cases centring in London, although stage-coaches ran from London to all the important towns, and although there had been real improvement in transportation by means of canals and better constructed highways, nevertheless the real beginning of the third phase came with the railroad era. At first built in the north, the railroads really supplemented the trade with the metropolis in so far as they connected inland points with the coast trade centring in London. Soon practically all the important railroad lines focussed on the metropolis. This meant that the hinterland was truly bound to the metropolis by bands of steel, the rails of the new roads.

Contemporaneous with railroad construction came the building up of oversea traffic on a new and regular basis by means of the steamer. What was done for London's hinterland trade by the railroad was done for its extended trade by the steamship. The two, of course, are but parts of the same mechanism. With Sheffield cutlery, Lancashire cottons, and Yorkshire woolens, London could buy American tobacco, Canadian furs, East Indian spices, and China tea.

The fourth and latest phase of metropolitan development sees a remarkable concentration of financial power in the metropolis. To some extent it synchronizes with the other developments, but it comes to a head as the dominant tendency after the revolution in transportation. As far back as the sixteenth century, provincials, especially the nobles, had invested in the joint-stock trading companies of the metropolis. In the seventeenth century the people of the hinterland were depositing their hard cash with the London goldsmiths and private bankers. In the eighteenth century London private banks were establishing branches in the country, and country banks were forming connections with the metropolis. Early in the nineteenth century the Bank of England came to be concerned directly with the hinterland trade when it opened branch banks in the provinces. Following this apace, came the formation of joint-stock banks in the metropolis and elsewhere. In recent years they have consolidated so that there are

only a few large banks left. Generally with their headquarters in London, these great banks have branches widely scattered in England and Wales, and since 1918 in Scotland and Ireland as well. One bank has 1500 and another 1600 such branches. All this means that London manages the banking business of a wide area. Capital is concentrated in it and radiates out from it. The surplus of an agricultural district at one season goes to a manufacturing district where it is sorely needed. At another season the process is reversed. It would seem at first thought as if it were in banking that London is growing functionally, and that in due time, neglecting its warehousing, transportation, and manufacture, it will become distinctively a financial centre. The situation in this case is complicated by the fact that London is not only the economic centre of a vast extended and hinterland trade but the political centre of an empire and as such has a financial rôle to play. A very plausible view of the situation, however, is that this movement of financial concentration may really not continue when other English centres reach the financial stage of their development; that national financial concentration will give way to local concentration in England, just as it has in America, first in the reserve and central reserve cities and now in the Federal Reserve centres. Indeed one of the best sources for studying metropolitan economy is the collection of briefs prepared by numerous cities in the United States, seeking the location of a Federal Reserve bank in their midst. Some of the claims for a bank were based on real metropolitan organization and were accordingly acted upon, while others were disallowed. In the case of the undeveloped South, somewhat arbitrary measures were required, or rather it was necessary to choose towns that showed metropolitan promise instead of achievement. The meaning of this new American banking system is the concentration of banking reserves not simply in New York but in metropolitan cities throughout the United States.

The growth of metropolitan organization has now been sketched in outline. It is not to be implied that all peoples have entered or gone far into the metropolitan stage. Some are still in village economy, some in town economy, and some have just begun to enter metropolitan economy. Although the different phases of growth as here presented hold true for the older metropolitan centres, nevertheless in the newer countries and parts of the world, where the revolution in manufacture and in transportation is inherited rather than experienced, the order of development is somewhat different.

If we wish to visualize metropolitan growth we have only to examine the metropolis itself. The retail section may represent the old

town economy. The wholesale district is the prosaic memorial of the first phase of metropolitan economy. The industrial suburb contains most of what is left of metropolitan manufacture after the period of decentralization. The wharves and the railroad terminals show where extended and hinterland trade meet within the metropolis. And the financial district with its mint, stock exchange, banks, insurance offices, and brokers, constitutes the most sensitive spot in the metropolitan nerve-centre.

Such is the fully developed metropolitan organization. It is not an organization in the sense that it has a constitution, or that there is an agreement whereby transactions are made. It is just a unit of public economy that has grown up gradually to perform cheaply and efficiently the business of managing production. Goods enter the metropolis and leave it. The metropolis performs one set of tasks, the hinterland another. Both are industrial, financial, and commercial, but the metropolis is pre-eminently commercial and financial.

It is a matter of regret that the hinterland can not be adequately dealt with here. It is not an unleavened mass of struggling economic workers, but a set of highly specialized communities producing in close relation to the metropolis. A detailed study of the metropolitan district of the Twin Cities has been made at the University of Minnesota. It shows a hierarchy of towns, some commercial and some industrial, and, of course, a great many small country towns collecting raw material for shipment to the metropolis and receiving for distribution manufactures and other wares from the metropolis.

The growth of metropolitan centres, like the growth of states, has been the occasion of competition and rivalry. At times this rivalry has been between metropolitan centres in different political units. London's rivalry with Amsterdam is a part of history. Her rivalry with Paris on a much smaller scale is generally overclouded by the political struggle between England and France. Often metropolitan rivalry is between centres in the same state. A city ambitious of becoming a metropolis has to struggle against one already established. Manchester-Liverpool is perhaps the only reasonably successful English rival of London, and it has not gone much beyond the third phase of development. Leeds and Glasgow seem to show little more than promise.

Nowhere can metropolitan rivalry be more profitably studied than in America with its vast expanse of territory and its wide areas of free trade. There have been four main lines along which metropolitan cities have developed in competition with one another. Three run east and west and one north and south. The least important up

to date passes through Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. The most important at the present time runs through New York, Cleveland, Chicago, the Twin Cities, and Seattle. The third starts from Philadelphia and Baltimore and passing through Cincinnati extends to St. Louis, whence, joining a line from New Orleans, it goes on through Kansas City to San Francisco. The fourth is the coast line of cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The outstanding illustration of metropolitan rivalry sufficiently old to be well known is to be found in the competition of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, for the products of western New York state, especially for the flour of the Genesee Valley. Largely by means of the Erie Canal, New York City won, but, though its victory was marked, it was not complete nor is it to-day, for a struggle still continues. Interesting as are the details of such struggles, the main lines are clear and tolerably well known.

A detailed analysis of the metropolitan organization in America obviously goes beyond the limits of this paper. It may be noted that while some centres show considerable promise, others seem to be declining relatively, notably Baltimore and Cincinnati. Two great agglomerations of population, Pittsburgh and Detroit, each with about a million inhabitants if we include the contiguous urban territory, are not metropolitan at all, but industrial satellites. Each is based largely on a single industry, Pittsburgh on iron and steel and Detroit on the automobile. While Pittsburgh is subordinate to New York and Philadelphia, and more and more to Cleveland, Detroit is subordinate to Chicago, although each has a measure of (temporary) independence due to the unusual extent of the localization of industries in its midst.

Washington is another large city which is not metropolitan in an economic sense, though it has some financial importance due to its being the seat of government. In this same category are several German capitals which are essentially political centres. Indeed Germany as a whole shows the indelible impression of its former political localism. Berlin is the only well-developed German metropolis that has passed through all four phases of growth, though there are, of course, other notable commercial centres of promise and attainment, such as Hamburg, Mannheim, Leipzig, and Düsseldorf. Germany's greatest metropolis would be near the mouth of the Rhine or the Scheldt, if economic considerations alone prevailed. It is not entirely firing a rocket into the air to say that Germany fought the late war partly to obtain a basis for a metropolitan unit in the west.

The significance of metropolitan economy has been in part set

forth above. Its economic bearing is clear. It has other aspects, however, of a far-reaching nature. Our cultural institutions spring from four principal sources, the church, the old town of town economy, the nation or some integral part of it, and the metropolis. The wealth piled up in the great centre is used to found institutions to relieve pain, to discover the secrets of nature, and to instruct in the ways of art and science. The great metropolitan builders like Rockefeller and Morgan are but the best known of many such public benefactors.

In our day, as in the Middle Ages, there is a large group of thinking men who are reacting from the national emphasis that leads to artificial industries and disastrous wars. In the Middle Ages it was the churchmen who were un-national; to-day it is socialists and syndicalists. Both emphasize society organized on a non-national basis. And at the present time also there is a body of liberals who are more than ever convinced that a world organization is better than a national state. Metropolitan economy has some points of contact with both socialism and liberalism. It has been generally held that the state is not simply a political but an economic unit as well; and that it is something more than a national sentiment and an administrative convenience. The theory of metropolitan economy cuts up the state economically and emphasizes intra-metropolitan and inter-metropolitan trade instead of national policies and international commerce. If the state comes to be recognized as something far short of economic unity, and if it ceases to be an administrative convenience, then its foundation is not so strong as we sometimes believe.

When the empire of the Church was a reality, the metropolitan ecclesiastical unit of the archbishopric, generally speaking, was the unit of organization. In the new order of human affairs, about which unpractical people now dream, an order in which society and not the state is emphasized, the unit may be economic. If so, it would probably be the metropolitan economic organization. But the establishment and maintenance of such an administrative unit would create difficulties. The boundaries, being "natural" or economic, are shifting from day to day and on the outskirts of the area there is at all times a zone of debatable territory that belongs to two metropolitan organizations, to both London and Manchester-Liverpool, to both Boston and New York, to both Chicago and St. Louis. Everything points to great difficulty not only in reorganizing society but in maintaining the *status quo*. The boundaries of the future would be as unsatisfactory as those of to-day, unless changed so often as to be a nuisance. At the present time a large part of our trouble arises out

of the extension of frontiers. Where to stop is the great difficulty in both political and economic alignment.

Though metropolitan economy may offer no panacea for human troubles, it is nevertheless an economic institution of far-reaching importance. It has not been discovered, or isolated as a phenomenon, partly because of the lack of definiteness and fixity of the unit and partly because of our political obsession. Born at about the same time as our strong modern states, it has quite naturally grown up unnoticed, but it has not been entirely missed, for nearly a century ago Thünen wrote about the central city. A few years back Dr. E. F. Gay of Harvard, emphasizing the marketing of goods in economic history, came to appreciate the function of the large commercial city. Dr. A. P. Usher has made a study of the influence of the metropolitan market on the French grain trade. In another place I have traced the growth of the metropolitan corn market of London, and here add the concept of an "economy", or general organization of economic life, centring in the great commercial city. I have now sketched in a very inadequate way the phases through which metropolitan growth has progressed, indicating some of the consequences of that development.

N. S. B. Gras.

SLIDELL AND BUCHANAN[1]

ONE of the most significant friendships in American history grew out of the official relations between John Slidell, the commissioner to Mexico on the eve of the Mexican War, and James Buchanan, the secretary of state to whom his reports were made. The mission itself was a failure. But the conviction on Slidell's part that he had earned the approval and friendship of Buchanan did much from that time to influence the careers of both. For from the summer of 1846 Slidell seems to have regarded Buchanan as presidential timber, and in advising Buchanan to refuse the ermine of the Supreme Bench, he hints at greater things to come, striking for the first time a note of leadership and guidance, almost of dominance, and constituting himself a political manager for Buchanan. His own less exalted ambition receives a more open statement. "Were I so disposed, I think that I might play the Senator for a few weeks to fill Barrow's vacancy, but the position would be a false one and would not advance my prospects for the only object of my ambition, a seat in that body of a more permanent tenure." The question arises whether to accept a practically certain election to the Lower House or to play for the more alluring but more problematical opening in the Senate. On this point, Buchanan's own advice is solicited.[2]

Buchanan apparently dwelt on the hostility felt toward Slidell by certain senators. For the latter replied in dismay at the thought of there being several such. Upon reflection, he could think of "that miserable imbecile Henry Johnson" and Thomas Hart Benton as his only imaginable enemies, the latter because of some remarks made at the time when Slidell withdrew his support from Van Buren. He entreated Buchanan to name these enemies,[3] and then went on to assure him that neither he nor his friends would feel resentment if the appointment to Mexico should be given to another.

Reminiscent of Mexico, Slidell passed on a choice morsel concerning Calhoun, to the effect that the great Nullifier, who had denounced the Slidell mission when it was first projected as "ill-advised and premature", was himself so eager to undertake the mission that he delegated a friend to make overtures for it to Polk, only to learn that Slidell had been previously appointed.

[1] With one exception the letters upon which this article is based are among the Buchanan Papers in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[2] New Orleans, Jan. 6, 1847.

[3] New Orleans, Jan. 29, 1847.

The letter containing this Calhoun anecdote further expresses a hope that Buchanan himself will hold the next mission to Mexico, mentions General Cass respectfully, and intimates that if Pennsylvania could only be brought to relinquish her tariff heresies, Buchanan would be the logical choice of the party in 1848.[4]

In November, Slidell is even more specific. He declares that Louisiana Democrats favor a Northern man who opposes the Wilmot Proviso, and that "a vast majority of our leading politicians look to you as the man of their choice". If Buchanan is to be available in the fullest sense, however, opposition in Pennsylvania must be overcome, and the friendship of Robert J. Walker must be conciliated, the more so as Walker is by no means friendly to the aspirations of Dallas.[5]

But 1848 was not to realize the hope of either manager or candidate. It was for Slidell a troubled year, as his grip on Louisiana itself seemed to be weakening. He failed by a rather narrow margin of obtaining the coveted seat in the Senate, his refusal to support Taylor being assigned as the cause. He felt, nevertheless, that even at the cost of defeat the effort to avert a Democratic fusion with Whigs was well worth while. He and his friends voted for Soulé, for Slidell was not the man to split his party, whatever might be his eventual attitude toward splitting the Union. But henceforth he was the determined and implacable foeman of Soulé for control in Louisiana.

Baltimore was no more encouraging than Baton Rouge, for the Louisiana vote was divided between Buchanan and Cass, and Slidell, though invited to do so, refused to cast the ballot for the state. He sorrowfully wrote Buchanan, "I need not tell you how much I feel this, but must bear it with the best grace I may".[6]

The Buchanan papers contain no further communication from Slidell for over a year, though there seems no reason to suppose that the correspondence lapsed for any such length of time. It reopens with a social rather than political letter from Tarrytown on the Hudson, mentioning that Slidell and his family are guests of the former's brother-in-law, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, previous to their departure for Saratoga, and urging Buchanan to pay a promised visit to New Orleans in the coming winter.[7]

One of the qualities which distinguished Slidell as a shrewd and able politician was his keen perception that under the increasing strain

[4] New Orleans, Mar. 21, 1847.
[5] New Orleans, Nov. 13, 1847.
[6] Baltimore, May 22, 1848.
[7] Tarrytown, N. Y., June 23, 1849.

between the North and the South that candidate stood the best chance of victory who, beyond making it plain that he was "safe", least committed himself on debatable subjects. For that reason Slidell's attempt to dissuade Buchanan from all thought of the governorship in Pennsylvania deserves quotation at length. It is a searching criticism of American politics at the period, and a revelation of the clear mind of the writer.

I think there are many reasons why for the present you should not voluntarily place yourself in a position where you will be called upon to express your opinions on the subject of slavery in the territories. They are sufficiently well known in the South to make your name acceptable there, and if you abstain from any active participation in the question now, the Free Soilers, who, I am sorry to see, comprise the immense majority of the non-slaveholding states, will when the matter is disposed of entertain no hostility towards anyone, who has not come immediately into conflict with them in the final struggle. You see I have not lost my hopes of yet seeing you in the White House. There is not a man of our party whose chances are as good as yours and I cannot believe that the Whig party will hold together after the first session of Congress.[8]

Slidell's attitude toward Calhoun has already been indicated. Toward Clay, Whig though he was, he felt a kindlier sentiment, and in August, 1849, he confided to Buchanan that, popular impressions to the contrary notwithstanding, Clay no longer held any presidential aspirations, but that if opportunity arose he would come out against Taylor, whom he unquestionably had in mind in his "constantly speaking of the incompatibility of statesmanship and soldiership".[9] In Slidell's opinion, the day of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun was nearing its end. The future belonged not with the "Elder Statesmen" but with rising stars who could see the manifest destiny of slavery and the necessity of its fulfilment. Thus, almost three years before such a prediction could be put to the test, Slidell informs Buchanan that "The next democratic candidate cannot be Cass neither can he be a free soiler. I do not find with either section any objection to you and I now consider it as certain as any event can be that you are to be our standard bearer."[10] The opportunity to promote the interests of Buchanan is welcomed by Slidell as a selfish gain for himself. By so doing, he may be able to slough off an apathy felt for two years past, and through the excitements of the contest return to "a tone of mind which I thought I had lost forever".[11]

To elect Buchanan would mean to render doubly certain the attain-

[8] Saratoga Springs, July 25, 1849.
[9] Saratoga Springs, Aug. 11, 1849.
[10] New York, Oct. 14, 1849.
[11] *Ibid.*

ment of Cuba. Late in 1849, Slidell accordingly visited the island in order to gain impressions at first hand. To this he made at the time, however, only a passing allusion, the immediate occasion of a letter being Buchanan's forthcoming visit to New Orleans. And with the most cautious forethought, he raises the question whether Buchanan will desire a public reception: "you must decide how far it will be advisable to accept or decline any public invitations which might perhaps render it embarrassing to avoid touching upon slave[ry]."[12]

The slavery question was pushing on to its temporary solution in the Compromise of 1850. In view of his present influence in Louisiana and growing weight in national affairs, the attitude of Slidell toward the crisis has a distinct importance. In February, 1850, he informs Buchanan that when they meet he will have much to say on the subject of Cuba. For the present, however, and "until the present excitement respecting slavery shall have subsided"—he has no hope that it will ever be entirely abated—Cuba had better remain in the background. He then turns to a denunciation of third parties and their dupes, Taylor Democrats in particular, and, while hoping to reclaim the misguided followers, contends that their leaders should be inexorably read out of the party. "They will be much more harmless acting openly with our adversaries than in pretended affiliation with the democracy."[13] He requests of Buchanan information as to political currents at Washington, and declares his own hostility to a Southern convention. An attack on slavery in the District of Columbia would warrant a firm stand, but:

> I have not considered the passage of the Wilmot Proviso as sufficient provocation for the extreme and disastrous remedy of separation and it has never been my habit to make declarations which I have not fully intended to carry out to the letter. Pray let me have your advice on the subject. Perhaps the time has already arrived when it becomes necessary for Southern men to pass the true line of resistance to secure themselves from further aggression.[14]

In the afterlight of history, an inquiry from Slidell to Buchanan as to the timeliness of secession in 1850 has a peculiar interest. Buchanan apparently confirmed Slidell's own views that the *ultima ratio* was uncalled for, and the death of Taylor further encouraged Slidell to hope that "the chances of the settlement of our sectional differences will be improved by Filmores accession".[15] Accordingly in the autumn Slidell continued his labors in Buchanan's behalf.

[12] Havana, Dec. 7, 1849.
[13] New Orleans, Feb. 5, 1850.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Saratoga Springs, July 13, 1850.

After visiting Buchanan at Lancaster, Slidell urges him to spend some time in New York, where he is frequently mentioned as a more available candidate than General Cass.[16] He emphasizes the importance of establishing a New York paper pledged to the Buchanan candidacy, for "taking it for granted that you are sure of Pennsylvania, with New York every thing is safe" — this notwithstanding the party dissension in Louisiana created by Mr. Soulé and likely to drive that state into the hands of the Whigs.[17]

With 1851, the national campaign was assuming more definite outlines, and Slidell adopted a distinctly managerial tone. He assures Buchanan of almost unanimous support from the South, but emphasizes the New York vote as pivotal. He entreats him to overcome the "dread of locomotion" and visit Saratoga, the rendezvous of politicians. An understanding with Marcy is of prime importance. The electoral vote of New York will probably go to the Whigs, but they must be kept so busy at home that their power for mischief elsewhere will be shorn. Louisiana is now safe; so, too, the rest of the Southwest. "You are the only man who can unite the conflicting divisions of the Southern democracy. The Whigs will, I think, carry the State elections this year, but we will be all right in November '52." The communication closes with a renewed entreaty to Buchanan to be up and stirring. With a guile not easy to resist, he reminds Buchanan that "Some men under similar circumstances would do better to remain at home, but you (you will not suspect *me* of flattering) can only gain by being seen and known".[18]

Illness in his family almost prevented Slidell's trip North in the summer of 1851, but he did come to Saratoga, and from there outlined the state of politics as he estimated it. New York, he felt, would cast a Whig ballot, "but thank God we can do without it".[19] Marcy could be counted as a friend, though the precise extent of assistance to be expected from him might be subject to doubt. Robert J. Walker professed the friendliest sentiments, "and yet in spite of myself and with a feeling that I am doing him injustice, I cannot divest myself of a certain degree of distrust". Walker's help is really as important as Marcy's, and Slidell strongly recommends that Buchanan exchange views with him. "I consider his advocacy of your nomination all important." Buchanan, it seems, had felt that any attempt by himself as an outsider to influence New York politics

[16] New York, Oct. 9, 1850.
[17] New Orleans, Dec. 16, 1850.
[18] New Orleans, May 9, 1851.
[19] Saratoga Springs, Aug. 8, 1851.

might do more harm than good. To Slidell, however, this hands-off policy seemed just about to have outlived its usefulness. New York being the keystone of the situation, he almost wishes himself once more a New Yorker, not that he is so vain as to think his influence so far-reaching, "but as things are and possibly will be for several months, a strong will with some tact and discretion could effect a great deal". In this wholly justified and even modest statement, Slidell has left us one of the few self-estimates which we have. His was, indeed, a strong will. And if the clearness of his vision and the definiteness of his aims and goals create the impression of a personality controlled more by head than by heart, it can not be denied that he possessed both tact and discretion.[20]

The project of establishing a Buchanan newspaper in New York took shape more definitely on Slidell's arrival in the city. He inquires if Buchanan will approve General Cushing as editor, admits that his integrity is dubious, but asserts that his talents are beyond dispute and that self-interest will hold him in line. As to financing the paper, Slidell's nephew, August Belmont, is warmly interested, and "he has already received assurances from a number of the wealthiest merchants of coöperation".[21] Thus "international bankers" and the money power were early espousing the candidacy of the conservative Buchanan. But Slidell draws a sharp distinction between the wealth which he is able to control, and the predatory wealth enlisted in the Douglas interest. "It is confined to one clique not very numerous, but active and unscrupulous, the Ocean mail contractors", at whose head stood the sinister figure of George Law.[22]

Slidell concluded this summary of the situation in New York by hoping that Buchanan had on no account failed to write to Marcy.[23] Buchanan for once did arouse himself to the "dreaded locomotion" and interviewed Marcy in person. Slidell, who had meanwhile returned to New Orleans, first learned of this through the newspapers, and wrote Buchanan in some alarm at his failure to learn the details of the interview from their friend Belmont. It was greatly to be feared that Marcy might decide to enter the race himself. As for Louisiana, the Whigs, as anticipated, were in control of the legislature, but all would be well when it came to the choosing of delegates for the Baltimore Convention.[24]

20 Saratoga Springs, Aug. 8, 1851.
21 New York, Sept. 29, 1851.
22 *Ibid.*
23 *Ibid.*
24 New Orleans, Nov. 17, 1851.

But the highwater mark of hope for the 1852 nomination had been already reached. New York was pivotal and New York depended upon Marcy. Marcy, it seemed more and more clear, would be his own candidate, and Slidell indulged in one of the few complaints he ever addressed to Buchanan:

> I fear that the favorable moment for action in New York has been irretrievably lost. Marcy was in such a mood last summer that if you had met you would in all probability have secured his active co-operation. He *may* yet have it in his power by a strong effort to turn the scale in your favor. But the chances are that he will not be convinced of the impossibility of his own nomination until too late. If you have, however, a strong willed and unanimous delegation from Pennsylvania, you can do without New York.[25]

Among the rivals for the honors, Slidell made much the same distinction between Cass and Douglas that Sumner later drew between them.[26] He found an unexpected strength lined up for Cass, and drawn from "sound, reliable men who have only at heart the triumph of their principles", whereas the advocates of Douglas were for the most part "trading politicians and adventurers, with a very slight sprinkling of well meaning men who think it for the interest of the party to cast off old leaders and select a chief from the young democracy". To Slidell it was no recommendation for Douglas that Soulé should have enlisted under his banner.[27] The purchase by Douglas partizans of the New Orleans *Delta* and four country papers in Louisiana alone indicated to Slidell a strong campaign chest in the North. "If such men as have originated the Douglas movement could succeed in imposing him upon us as the nominee of the great democratic party, I should despair of the republic and although I shall be *cautious* in expressing such an opinion, no consideration could induce me to support him." Toward Cass, on the contrary, in spite of serious doubts whether he could be elected, Slidell would extend an "honest support". He would do as much for Butler, Marcy, or others, "but I still entertain the hope, which indeed all my letters from Washington warrant, that you will obtain the nomination, when I can go into the camp con amore". In Virginia, Douglas seemed to be the only serious competitor; and in Georgia, by Cobb's account, Buchanan was the strongest candidate, though Cobb's own good-will was subject to doubt.[28]

The next mention of Douglas is more friendly, because of a grow-

[25] New Orleans, Dec. 27, 1851.
[26] A. C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, pp. 319–320.
[27] New Orleans, Feb. 26, 1852.
[28] New Orleans, Mar. 19, 1852.

ing conviction on Slidell's part that his following in Louisiana was less menacing than had been at first supposed, the Douglas men preferring Buchanan to Cass, and being likely after the first ballot to vote accordingly unless overruled by Douglas himself. Meanwhile Buchanan occupied a similar position with the followers of Cass, who were grateful for his moral support against Douglas. But predictions were idle until it should be known who were to be the delegates at Baltimore. If Buchanan approved, Slidell would himself go to Baltimore, as Belmont wished it decidedly, and he really might be able to bring some final pressure on the wavering Marcy.[29]

He reminds Buchanan that the Whigs are attacking his slavery record by accusing him of opposing, previous to the Compromise of 1820, the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Slidell considers this a venial sin, even if committed, and one long since atoned for by Buchanan's priority over all other Northern men, Democrats or Whigs, in the defense of Southern rights. But he is under an impression that somewhere he has seen the Missouri story denied, and if the facts warrant it, he thinks it would be advisable for Buchanan to refute it officially. He repeats his alarm for Louisiana if Fillmore should be the Whig nominee.[30]

A month later and the high hopes built on years of planning were dashed. Their obituary may be quoted in full, for the intimate picture it gives of the aims, motives, and scruples of Slidell as a politician.[31]

New Orleans, 23 June, 1852.

My dear Mr. Buchanan,

I will not attempt to express to you all the annoyances and mortification I have felt at your not having obtained the nomination at Baltimore. It is the only political question in which for several years I have felt any warm interest. My faith in our political principles has never for a moment been shaken, but various reasons had combined to make any active interposition in party struggles irksome and distasteful to me. I believe that had it not been for the hope that I might in some feeble degree contribute to your nomination my retirement from the political arena would have been permanent and complete. I should have confined myself to depositing an unmixed democratic vote at every important election. If Cass had been nominated he could have had my vote and pecuniary contribution, with little anxiety and still less hope for his success. As to Douglas, Houston, Lane, or any man of that stamp, as I should have considered success with such men as more disastrous to the permanent interests of the party than their defeat, I should not have voted at all. At one time, I could have cordially supported Marcy, as my second choice,

[29] New Orleans, Apr. 15, 1852.
[30] New Orleans, May 22, 1852.
[31] New Orleans, June 23, 1852.

but his weakness in yielding to the spurious and artificial excitement gotten up in favor of Kossuth and intervention shook my faith entirely in his judgement, but his political integrity and the course of his friends at Baltimore, who by well timed interposition could have secured your nomination, has entirely changed my feelings towards him. As it is, I am as well satisfied with the choice of the convention as I could possibly be with any result short of your nomination and I shall heartily support Pierce and King without feeling any particular enthusiasm. I shall do everything in my power to aid in carrying the vote of Louisiana which I think we have more than equal chance of doing. With Filmore opposed to us, I should have hoped for success, without counting on it very confidently.

Mrs. Slidell has written you a note which I enclose. I trust that we shall meet at Saratoga or some where this summer. We leave here for New York by the river about 3 or 4 July. Our journey will probably not be longer than 10 days. Pray let us hear from you care of Belmont, who, I believe, is almost as much annoyed at your defeat as any of us.

Believe me ever faithfully and respy
Your friend etc.
JOHN SLIDELL.

Honl. James Buchanan,
Wheatland.

Events were to demonstrate that the optimistic calculations thus temporarily set back were based on a sound analysis of political trends, and with an energy no whit abated, Slidell laid his plans for the next convention and the next election. His correspondence for the next year or two reveals the same keen and incisive estimate of men and events, and as the Cincinnati Convention drew near, it becomes a definite source for the history of the times.

The summer following his disappointment at Baltimore, Slidell spent at Saratoga, carefully avoiding Newport with its temperance legislation because of his "horror of despotism in every shape" and reluctance, in spite of his belief that the law was a dead letter, to place himself "within the jurisdiction of a state where so tyrannical a system exists".[32] Contact with Northern politics confirmed his impression that the Whig party was moribund. "It may be galvanised for the moment into a show of activity, but after a few short convulsive struggles it will be definitely numbered among the things that were." But with a blindness to the implications of his own prophecy, rare in this astute observer, he declares that "It will of course be revived under some other organization and probably with a new name, when we shall I hope slough off some of our own rottenness to be absorbed by the force of natural affinities into the Seward and Hale faction".[33]

[32] Saratoga Springs, July 28, 1852.

[33] New York, Sept. 15, 1852.

While in New York, Slidell learned that many Democrats, including General Cass, considered him as strong timber for Pierce's cabinet. He expressed as much surprise as pleasure at this, and attributed it to anxiety "to prevent the secessionists with Soulé at their head from acquiring supremacy", and to a conviction that Slidell was the most available Union man in the states south of Virginia.[34]

If this Cabinet appointment did awaken any hopes and subsequent disappointments, these were nothing to the surprise which Slidell felt at Pierce's failure to offer the State Department to Buchanan. While the Cabinet decisions were pending, Buchanan apparently suggested the advisability of Slidell's going to Washington. To this he demurred, on the ground that a Cabinet post, now very unlikely to be offered, would be undesirable if it meant close social and political relations with such men as Hunter and Nicholson, who, it was understood, would be members, and on whom Slidell placed a very low estimate. "If the rest of the cabinet be proportionately weak, I should have little hope of its duration or of its being long enabled to command majorities in Congress." Under such circumstances, a foreign mission would be more desirable than a Cabinet appointment. But if men like Buchanan were being ignored in the framing of the new government, there was scant likelihood that those in control of events would view Slidell's pretensions with favor. On the whole, Slidell's chief causes for satisfaction lay close at home, where his wing of the Democracy was strongly in the ascendant over Soulé.[35]

Discussion of Cabinet possibilities continued until the results were finally known. But by January 21, 1853, Slidell had pretty well made up his mind not to accept what would probably not be offered, on the basis that "If the Department of State is to be offered to and refused by men of Mr. Hunter's calibre and questionable political orthodoxy, I do not feel very ambitious for a post in the cabinet"; [36] and in February he professed the utmost chagrin that Buchanan should have exposed himself to discourtesy and rebuff on his behalf. "But I look upon this incident in a still more serious light. It is to my mind a very pregnant indication that sudden and unexpected elevation to so dizzy a height has had its usual bewildering effect." [37]

It was in truth no more than natural that Pierce should hold at arm's length his most formidable rival and that rival's lieutenant, but to ignore them entirely was not feasible, and even as Buchanan was

[34] New York, Sept. 27, 1852.
[35] New Orleans, Dec. 31, 1852.
[36] New Orleans, Jan. 21, 1853.
[37] New Orleans, Feb. 13, 1853.

eventually offered the mission to the Court of St. James, so Slidell was nominated for that to Central America, a compliment which he professed to appreciate, but which he did not accept, preferring an economic mission to London for the sale of railroad bonds to a diplomatic mission in Central America.[38] On the eve of sailing, Slidell drafted a short letter to Buchanan which reveals a rather curious insensibility to the proper relations between public and private business. Buchanan could not be in London at the same time with Slidell, who laments: "I had anticipated great satisfaction from meeting you in London not altogether unmixed with a selfish feeling that your presence might aid Mr. Robb and me in conducting our negotiation for the sale of Rail Road bonds." [39]

A hard-won victory over Soulé assured the realization of the aim long ago announced by Slidell as his goal, and when he returned from Europe, it was to take the coveted place in the United States Senate. No better vantage-point could have been selected for securing information, and Slidell's letters from this time gain in interest from the authority with which they were penned.

The happiness felt by Slidell at this fruition of his hopes found expression in a number of witticisms, rare for him, at Buchanan's adventures in going to Buckingham Palace in the costume of a plain American citizen. Secretary Marcy's attempt to advertise American simplicity complicated the situation of American diplomatic agents. Slidell took the occasion to congratulate Buchanan on his single blessedness.

> To what unheard of contumelies and injuries might you not have been exposed had the additional responsibility of Mrs. Buchanan's costume been thrown upon you, and then although we Louisianians may fight strangers with impunity what would have become of you from the Quaker State if you had attempted to avenge in the blood of the critic any commentary upon the taste in dress of your better half.[40]

Turning to more serious aspects of the political scene, Slidell finds much dissatisfaction at the course pursued by the Administration toward the rival factions, Hunkers and Barnburners, in New York. An intervention regrettable under any circumstances was particularly inept when directed on behalf of the wrong side, and betrayed a gross ignorance of the state of public opinion. More serious even than this was Pierce's failure to win dignity and strength for his administration through the selection of a strong cabinet. "This

[38] New Orleans, Mar. 30 and May 27, 1853.

[39] New York, June 28, 1853.

[40] Washington, Jan. 14, 1854.

is a much more important element of success than is generally supposed and Pierce will yet in all probability feel the want of it." In fact, lacking the personal support of the leaders of his party, Pierce could count upon merely a formal allegiance to a titular head, for "there is probably not a member of the Senate, who does not consider his own individual opinion in every other respect entitled to quite as much consideration as that of the President. In other words he is the 'de jure' not the 'de facto' head of the party". On top of it all, Pierce is a weak man ruled by two members of his Cabinet, or rather one, now, for Slidell thinks that Jefferson Davis has fallen into some disfavor because of his announced desire to abandon the President and return to the Senate. With such a heavy budget on his part, Slidell begs in return that Buchanan will inform him how the diplomatic corps at London regards Soulé and his duels.[41]

In view of the political intimacy which this correspondence reveals, it would be surprising if Slidell had taken no part in the movement leading to the Ostend Manifesto. His interest in Cuba has already been noted, and soon after Buchanan entered upon his duties at London the Cuban situation entered upon a phase peculiarly alarming to Southerners and annexationists. Slidell, with many others, was convinced that Great Britain and France were in a plot to "Africanize" Cuba, even converting it into a black republic rather than see it fall into American hands; this, of course, presupposing Spain's own inability to retain possession. He suggests that Belmont, then minister at the Hague, through his powerful connections at Madrid, might be in a position to secure for Buchanan authentic information as to the existence and nature of these engagements; and when he hints that the $15,000,000 designed for Santa Anna in Mexico may be required "in expenditures of more urgent necessity", he has in mind possible contingencies in Cuba.[42]

Before writing again, Slidell delivered one of his few formal addresses in the Senate, taking as his text the necessity of action respecting Cuba. In transmitting to Buchanan a corrected copy of his speech, he asks, subject to "all proper reservations", for additional information on the subject, as well as for a more precise statement of what Buchanan meant in his Elgin dinner speech by saying that "if we were engaged in war we should abstain from commissioning private armed vessels unless national vessels of the enemy were inhibited from capturing our merchant vessels".[43]

41 Washington, Jan. 14, 1854.
42 Washington, Mar. 25, 1854.
43 Washington, May 4, 1854.

So long as Cuba remained the focus of diplomatic interest, Slidell kept in close touch with the State Department, urging upon Marcy the need of frequent reports from and to the ministers at London and Paris. When Marcy admitted the wisdom of such a course, Slidell remarked that this change of policy might be due to the secretary's own reflections, or again that it might have been suggested by the President, "on whom I have more than once urged the absolute necessity of bringing your [Buchanan's] influence and that of Mason and Belmont to bear upon our negotiations at Madrid. Things may yet take such a turn as to render the Russian legation at Madrid a very useful auxiliary".[44]

Eager as Slidell was to advance the cause, he felt no inclination to be a catspaw for the Pierce administration. He participated with Mason, Douglas, Davis, and two others in a White House conference held early in June at which he urged upon Pierce a message to Congress so worded "as to satisfy our people in New Orleans that he was prepared to pursue an energetic policy and thus induce them to abstain from any hostile expedition". When Pierce attempted to evade personal responsibility for such a course by suggesting that Slidell himself telegraph the district attorney at New Orleans that "immediate and decisive measures would be taken in relation to Cuba", he peremptorily refused, on the very proper ground that such a notice must be on all accounts an official act of the State Department. Marcy was accordingly instructed. But a recess afforded excuse for delay, and Slidell was increasingly convinced that the President would never take the promised action, the more so as his habitual vacillation was a subject of general comment in both houses of Congress.[45]

However shifting or shifty the administration, Slidell was not the man to cease pressing a point so near to his heart. A passage in his next letter to Buchanan strongly suggests that he was a moving force behind the Manifesto. "The idea now is to have you, Soulé, and Mason to meet for the purpose of consultation. I have suggested that on account of the Rothschild influence at Madrid and Paris it would be well that Belmont be brought either personally or by correspondence into your counsels." Such activity on the part of a senator who was scarcely of the President's immediate household of faith may well have seemed officious, and relations between Slidell and Marcy became somewhat tense.[46]

[44] Washington, June 17, 1854.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Aug. 6, 1854.

Familiarity with the Pierce administration bred no respect in the mind of Slidell. He unburdened himself to Buchanan in numerous complaints at the government's failure to command the respect of its own partizans. For the failure of negotiations for Cuba and the futility of the Ostend Manifesto, he blamed neither Spain nor Buchanan but Pierce. He asks for "such details about your conference with Mason and Soulé as you may choose to communicate confidentially, although I have not now the least hope of acquiring Cuba under this administration".[47] This being the case, all that remained was to plan so carefully for the next administration that the Baltimore disappointment should not be repeated. He warned Buchanan, who had grown weary of his mission, not to resign prematurely and by a return to America surrender the advantage of silence on critical issues. "The political atmosphere is malarious (if there be no such word there should be) and those who are not compelled to inhale it had better keep away."[48] Credit is due to the sagacity which could thus condense all the essentials for success.

Meanwhile Slidell looked to his own fences, returning to the Senate with little difficulty,[49] where he remained loyal to Buchanan,[50] to whom he directed in June, 1855, a most entertaining survey of events. To begin with, he was "for the present at least and possibly forever" at outs with Pierce and Marcy. Pierce would probably be quite willing to accept Buchanan's resignation; Marcy might like the post; but to take it would seem like retiring under fire. Soulé, back from a ridiculous failure in Spain, was out for Marcy's scalp, and the secretary must stand his ground. Rumor had it that Soulé meant to challenge Marcy. "Will not this be a capital farce? I look forward to the denouement as a rich treat." Marcy was probably leading him on and at the proper moment would pounce on him "a la Scott", for, given time and preparation, Marcy with pen in hand was a dangerous customer. Slidell has not time to explain in detail his own break with Pierce, but in substance it was due to "repeated violations of his word which can only be explained by the most reckless indifference to truth or deliberate treachery".[51]

In the more general field of politics, Slidell thought it surprising that the people at Newport, where he was sojourning, felt far more interest in Sebastopol and the Crimea than in Kansas and Know-nothingism. But in so far as the parties were lining up for the con-

[47] New York, Oct. 18, 1854.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] Washington, Mar. 5, 1855.

[50] New Orleans, Apr. 3, 1855, quoted in Moore's *Works of Buchanan,* IX. 332.

[51] Washington, June 17, 1855.

test, the Democracy could count on the more intelligent and wealthy Whigs, whom disgust at "the results of their truckling to negrophilism and the other cants of the day" was driving into "the true conservative party of the country". Even so, it may be too late to remedy the situation, and Slidell, intent upon nominating his friend to the presidency of á united country, already sounds the note of dissolution. Almost the key-note of Buchanan's term of office is Slidell's prophetic declaration that "trustful as I have hitherto been of the perpetuity of the Union I begin to look forward to a dissolution as a not very remote possibility. The question will be solved one way or the other during the next Presidential term. How different would have been our position had you received the nomination at Baltimore!"[52]

A Democratic triumph in Pennsylvania with "every issue fairly met and the glove thrown down to all the isms combined" served notice that victory would be certain in 1856.[53] And Buchanan might rest assured that absence was not injuring his cause. "The old adage that 'les absents ont toujours tort' will not be verified in your case. The *people* are taking care of you and the almost universal admission by *politicians* here from every part of the country that you are the only man for the crisis, is an unmistakeable indication of the force and depth of the popular current." The time was come, however, when Buchanan must express his obedience to the will of the sovereign people. Too rigid insistence that he was not a candidate would work to his detriment; he had better convey his willingness to accept by a letter "to some *discreet* friend or friends". As for Slidell himself, nothing was to be gained by a reconciliation with Pierce. He was in good company as it was, "for the feeling of contempt for Pierce in the Senate is general. Indeed, with the exception *perhaps* of General Dodge, not a man there is in favor of his renomination". Pierce's own expectation of a second term was, therefore, utterly absurd. "But I am writing treason and my letter is to go through the State Department. I must not further expose my head."[54]

Buchanan wrote the desired letter, and with 1856 the preconvention campaign was under way. The support of General Cass, announced in February, was particularly welcome. Slidell attributed it in part to Cass's antipathy toward Douglas, who was believed to be an intending candidate, and whose competition would be more formidable than that of Pierce.[55] Douglas, however, might himself

[52] Newport, R. I., Sept. 2, 1855.
[53] Washington, Oct. 11, 1855.
[54] Washington, Dec. 9, 1855.
[55] Washington, Feb. 7, 1856.

come into the Buchanan camp. Even without Douglas, the Northwest, save Illinois, was safe. And on closer examination, Douglas himself was seen to possess some virtues. "I thought at first", wrote Slidell, "that he would give us a great deal of trouble. But his tone is now entirely changed and with his present feeling I would prefer that he should not formally retire." The real enemy was Pierce. Slidell would watch his every move. But Buchanan need not fear. His ground was impregnable. It might be debatable at this time whether Buchanan should return. Firm friends held different views regarding this. But Slidell would still counsel absence.[56]

In May, Slidell thought it advisable that Buchanan, who had meanwhile returned to America, and was at his estate of Wheatland, should take a positive stand on the Kansas-Nebraska question. "This you can do in perfect harmony with your whole record. I believe that it will reconcile Douglas and if it do not it will at least spike his guns." It would be opportune, also, if Buchanan should seize upon the forthcoming visit of the Pennsylvania state delegation announcing his nomination at Harrisburg, to deny categorically the possibility of his ever accepting a second term in the presidency; it would appear much better in that form than by letter to individuals.[57] Both of these points Slidell deemed sufficiently important to emphasize soon afterward in a second letter to the rather slow-moving Buchanan. Particularly must he indicate the vote he would have cast on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had he been in Congress at the time.[58]

A rumor that Douglas and Hunter were combining to support Pierce determined Slidell to go at once to Cincinnati to marshal his forces in person.[59] Douglas was definitely won over at the price of naming John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky as the vice-presidential candidate, to whom Slidell himself wrote, "I was induced to urge your nomination on the Louisiana delegation by the earnest appeal of Richardson of Illinois [a Douglas leader] whose bearing and conduct during the convention had been most manly and straightforward. I considered your selection for the Vice Presidency as a graceful and merited compliment to the friends of Douglas."[60]

Success had finally crowned the efforts of Slidell, marking, indeed, the apex of his career. Too often, as in Mexico and France, his great abilities were pitted against hopeless odds. Here in a fair field

[56] Washington, Mar. 11, 1856.

[57] Washington, May, 1856.

[58] Washington, May 24, 1856.

[59] Washington, May 26, 1856.

[60] From a letter kindly called to my attention by Mr. Roy F. Nichols of Columbia University.

they attained a most difficult objective, pursued for the past eight years with intelligence and faith.

In communicating the result to Buchanan, Slidell pointed out that the first opportunity should be utilized to pay a deserved compliment to the Old Line Whigs, many of whom, as Slidell had foreseen, were coming into the Democratic fold.[61]

In furthering Buchanan's prospects, Slidell left little to the chance that Buchanan himself might think of the right thing to say and do. He reminds him to thank Pierce for his endorsement. He warns him that Pierce, who at heart desires his defeat, can accomplish this only by prolonging the troubles in Kansas. He recites the sinister plan of Davis to withdraw United States troops, leaving the territory to anarchy, and concludes that if Pierce accepts this advice it will be necessary to denounce him, even at the cost of some Southern votes, for the sake of holding the North in line. If the worst comes to the worst, he hopes that Douglas can be persuaded to take the initiative in such a move. Meanwhile, has Buchanan remembered to write to Cass and Douglas? Cass has gone to Pierce to remonstrate against the proposed removal of troops. Douglas has refrained from doing so on the ground of a breach with the President, with whom he had no influence.[62]

A few days later, Slidell is warning Buchanan to keep close watch of the Lancaster papers, any indiscretion on the part of whose editors would be attributed to him. Already Phelps of Missouri is complaining of one such editorial, very friendly to Benton. And Benton, Slidell reminds the candidate, has not the confidence of any of Buchanan's friends. For himself, he says, "I confess that I have strong prejudices against Benton which may biass my judgment and I hope but do not expect that my apprehensions of his treachery may not be realised". Another uncertain quantity is Soulé. Nothing will be gained by his support, yet his open hostility should not be courted.[63]

Ranging the entire political horizon, Slidell could not ignore the German element in the Northwest, and he counselled Buchanan to conciliate their spokesman, Grund.[64] A far greater force than Grund, however, is Robert J. Walker, and despite a natural predilection for Buchanan, he too must be won over. For Walker is governed by his antagonisms rather than by his friendships. "Walker is ardently your friend, but he is more ardently the enemy of Benton." That

[61] Washington, June 14, 1856.
[62] Washington, June 17, 1856.
[63] Washington, July 4, 1856.
[64] Washington, July 17, 1856.

unlucky article in the Lancaster *Intelligencer* favoring Benton had cost Buchanan the establishment by Walker, whose resources for such a venture were more than ample, of a newspaper in New York devoted to the Buchanan interest. But even now it may not be too late. He will soon be in New York. "Now pray write him at once and invite him to visit Wheatland and when he shall have talked with you an hour everything will be right. He is proud and sensitive and should be conciliated." Slidell himself is taking care of Grund, whose objections are to Buchanan's friends, not to the candidate himself. He is gifted and a power among the Germans. But the real issue is Walker. On no account must Buchanan fail to write him.[65]

Two days later, Grund is Slidell's chief theme. Buchanan has only to give the word and he will enter the lists with enthusiasm as a correspondent for the Philadelphia *Ledger* and other papers. In reaching such a decision, Buchanan must remember that the matter is near to the hearts of both Senators Bright and Douglas.[66]

In the midsummer of 1856, Slidell was far from well, but his reports lose nothing in vigor from their writer's infirmities. Kentucky will be the cynosure of the doubtful states to the south. Maryland is already safe, Cass and Toombs never having seen greater enthusiasm than at Frederick. Congress will soon adjourn. The Black Republicans will not dare to defeat the appropriation bills. "If they do, the Senate will not yield an inch. For myself I should not regret to see them taking that course. We should have a foretaste of the consequences of disunion. I believe that it would produce a general panic and bankruptcy in the Northern States. We at the South have so little for the money expended among us that we should comparatively suffer but little embarrassment."[67] But even Black Republicans are evidently forgotten when "Everything looks bright and even the croakers are silent".[68]

At the end of September, with the national election but a few weeks away, Slidell emphasizes the importance of carrying the state election in Pennsylvania for its sentimental effect elsewhere. "In this view we have said that every dollar contributed for Pennsylvania would economise ten in New York." He encloses a letter from Stuart of Michigan putting the case with even less reserve. "In my opinion it [Pennsylvania] is the great battle of the campaign. And if any amount of labor and money will secure it, they should be ex-

[65] Washington, July 18, 1856.
[66] Washington, July 20, 1856.
[67] Senate Chamber, Aug. 9, 1856.
[68] Washington, Aug. 12, 1856.

pended."[69] On Pennsylvania hung the decision of Kentucky and Tennessee, whereas success in Pennsylvania would insure large majorities in the fifteen Southern states and in all the doubtful free states. With so much at stake, Slidell was none too sure of Pennsylvania prospects; "for the first time since your nomination, I have felt alarmed".[70]

This was on the fourth of October. By the seventeenth he had seen the shadows flee away. With Pennsylvania and Indiana secure, "The Union is now safe, but we must endeavor to make your majority overwhelming". To that end, everything possible must be done to heal the party dissensions in New York. Slidell will go there in person. Has Buchanan any instructions?[71] Once arrived, he found that prospects exceeded anticipations. In only one congressional district was friction still serious, and with the tide so favorable, victory was beyond doubt, "but I shall be only half satisfied if your triumph be not overwhelming". In a postscript, courteously, as an afterthought, is the added cheer that "The financial question has been attended to".[72] It only remains to congratulate the victor, and this Slidell does in a note both of encouragement and of warning.

> You are not to lie in a bed of roses for the next four years, but I feel the most entire confidence that you will be able to build up and consolidate a sound homogeneous national democracy that can defy the attacks of fanatics north and south. I have almost as little sympathy with the Rhett school of politicians as with the Know Nothing ruffians of Baltimore and New Orleans.[73]

Success in the campaign raised new problems, upon which Slidell expressed decided opinions. In foreign relations, he opposed "any extension to the novel and false principle introduced into our foreign policy by the Clayton and Bulwer treaty and I could only be induced with extreme reluctance to give my vote for its ratification by the desire to relieve your administration from embarrassment".[74] In domestic concerns, he asserted that any rumors to the effect that he was busying himself as to Cabinet appointments were utterly without foundation.[75] But he entreated Buchanan to come to Washington no later than early February. "You will of course be immensely an-

[69] Stuart to Slidell, Kalamazoo, Sept. 18, 1856, forwarded in Slidell to Buchanan, New York, Sept. 29, 1856.

[70] Slidell to Buchanan, Oct. 4, 1856, enclosing a letter from Ward to Slidell, Louisville, Sept. 30, 1856.

[71] Washington, Oct. 17, 1856.

[72] New York, Oct. 31, 1856.

[73] Washington, Nov. 13, 1856.

[74] Washington, Dec. 27, 1856.

[75] Senate Chamber, Jan. 5, 1857.

noyed, but I feel that you cannot correctly feel the public pulse any where else."[76]

Despite assurances to the contrary, Slidell cannot really ignore Cabinet appointments. It is fortunate that Bright of Indiana, by returning to the Senate, relieves Buchanan of the embarrassment of breaking with Douglas on that issue. But on the other hand, there must be no appointment of a Douglas partizan, for Douglas is altogether too high and mighty, setting up to control not merely Illinois, but the whole Northwest. The old animosity, laid aside for the campaign only, was developing into a bitter feud. As Slidell interpreted it, Douglas behaved "like a Malay maddened", who, in his frenzy against Bright, included Slidell for defending him in his absence. "I have had to be very cool to prevent an open rupture with him and was obliged at last to tell him that when I ceased to be his friend and became his enemy it would not be necessary for him to have recourse to third parties, but would discover it by my altered bearing." Nevertheless the Northwest cannot be ignored in Buchanan's Cabinet, and in view of Douglas and his rivals, General Cass is its only available statesman. Any objections to Cass can be overcome by the appointment of a capable assistant, and he is the undoubted man for the State Department. His appointment, moreover, to that post, will relieve Buchanan of an embarrassing alternative between Cobb and Walker. Walker has great talents, but his friends control him. They are dangerous men. Of the two, Cobb is the safer, but Buchanan knows them as well as Slidell. One place should go to an Old Line Whig. Here Benjamin of Louisiana would be Slidell's nominee. One more appointment, and Slidell is done. The navy, if it is to escape utter ruin, requires, during the next four years, a "firm, prompt, severe man". In conclusion, Slidell apologizes for intruding on the Cabinet question, but pleads that his suggestions have the rare merit of unselfishness.[77]

Buchanan having decided to visit Washington, the question arose where to lodge the President-elect. The National Hotel was unsafe because of an epidemic; Brown's, in the neighborhood, might have been contaminated; and Willard's savored too much of abolitionism.[78] Buchanan decided for himself on the National, and Slidell could only warn him not to eat or sleep there.[79] More thrilling, even if not more important, was the still vexed question of the Cabinet. Cass had

[76] A second letter of Jan. 5, 1857.
[77] Washington, Feb. 14, 1857.
[78] Washington, Feb. 18, 1857.
[79] Washington, Feb. 23, 1857.

consented to serve, agreeing very handsomely to leave the naming of his assistant to Buchanan. The candidate under discussion for the attorney-generalship was, by very reliable accounts, unfit.[80] Some appointment, Slidell positively insisted, must go to Toucey.[81] "Allow me to say that the regret and disappointment at the omission of Mr. Toucey's name would be greater than you can well imagine and that it will be most sensibly felt by Your faithful friend etc, John Slidell." [82]

Notwithstanding his many claims to Buchanan's favor, Slidell was modest in his requests. The patronage of Louisiana was his for the asking, but outside the state he made few recommendations. Governor Pratt of Maryland, an Old Line Whig, seemed to him the logical appointee as naval officer at Baltimore.[83] In fact, recognition of Maryland Whigs constituted a conscious policy with Slidell as the best hope of winning their state to the true faith.[84] Those who already walked in the light were mainly gathered at White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, and the President was urged to mingle with these Southern admirers. On his failure to do so, however, Slidell put in writing what Buchanan would have gathered for himself, had he come, namely, the unanimity of Southern disapproval of Walker's course in Kansas during the summer of 1857, and of Southern confidence that Buchanan would at the first opportunity signify his own dissatisfaction with his emissary.[85]

Buchanan and Slidell now being together in Washington, the necessity for written communication became slight, and their letters were few. But in August, 1858, on his arrival at Saratoga after a trip through the Northwest, Slidell addressed to the President a memorandum on conditions in the Douglas camp, the more interesting because of the widespread rumor that Slidell had circulated false stories in Chicago on purpose to discredit Douglas among his own constituents. Slidell makes no specific allusion to this charge, but recommends the removal at once of Douglas partizans from Federal office, and by requesting an appointment for Dr. Daniel Brainard as surgeon of the Marine Hospital, he strengthens a conviction, which denial will not silence, that it really was he who gave Brainard the mendacious account, promptly communicated by him to the press, of

[80] Senate Chamber, Feb. 19, 1857.
[81] Telegram of Feb. 25, 1857.
[82] Senate Chamber, Feb. 25, 1857.
[83] Mar. 11, 1857.
[84] White Sulphur Springs, Va., July 26, 1857.
[85] White Sulphur Springs, Va., Aug. 12, 1857.

the barbarous treatment of slaves on the Mississippi plantation administered by Douglas in the interest of his children.[86]

Slidell himself, according to all the canons of precedent, was entitled to a great place in the Buchanan administration, and he was repeatedly offered the mission to Paris. He refused it on the ground of political necessity in Louisiana, and of his indisposition, with world affairs running smoothly, to accept "a mere mission of parade". But, unless Belmont would accept, he did feel impelled to recommend for the mission at Madrid his colleague Benjamin, whose appointment "will not only be satisfactory but gratifying to me in every way".[87]

Slidell received no credit from Belmont for a solicitude which brought no results. Uncle and nephew soon parted company, with no small loss to the Buchanan organization. As for Slidell himself, a final and complete triumph over Soulé, by freeing him from anxiety in Louisiana, caused him to waver for a moment with regard to the French mission. But the Senate had a stronger claim, and there he remained, a loyal adherent of Buchanan, until the advent of secession terminated their ancient friendship. To the last it was a genuine personal affection, far deeper than a mere political alliance, and it is pleasant to know that it ended without bitterness or recrimination. The career of Buchanan had nearly run its course. For Slidell, Fate held in store strange experiences, at the very post which he refused from Buchanan only to accept from Jefferson Davis.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

[86] Saratoga Springs, Aug. 8, 1858; see also James W. Sheahan, *Douglas*, pp. 439–441.

[87] Atlantic City, Aug. 22, 1858.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

Did the Emperor Alexius I. ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?

According to Bernold of St. Blasien, Pope Urban II. summoned bishops from Italy, Burgundy, France, Alemannia, Bavaria, and other provinces to the Council of Piacenza held in March, 1095. "Item legatio Constantinopolitani imperatoris ad hanc sinodum pervenit, qui domnum papam omnesque Christi fideles suppliciter imploravit, ut aliquod auxilium sibi contra paganos pro defensione sanctae aeclesiae conferrent, quam pagani iam pene in illis partibus deleverant, qui partes illas usque ad muros Constantinopolitanae civitatis obtinuerant. Ad hoc ergo auxilium domnus papa multos incitavit, ut etiam jurejurando promitterent, se illuc Deo annuente ituros, et eidem imperatori contra paganos pro posse suo fidelissimum adiutorium collaturos. . . . In hac sinodo quatuor fere milia clericorum et plus quam triginta milia laicorum fuisse perhibentur."[1]

Bernold began his chronicle in 1074; he died in 1100. He probably was present at the council, as he says in telling about it, "Missas quoque nonnunquam extra aeclesiam satis probabiliter, necessitate quidem cogente, celebramus."[1] At all events his bishop was present,[2] and Bernold had a good opportunity to learn what was done at the council.

Bernold's statement has been accepted by Gibbon, Röhricht, Hagenmeyer, Hertzog, Giesebrecht, and many others. Sybel asserts that the appeal of Alexius was "the final impulse"[3] which caused the First Crusade. Riant, Chalandon, Luchaire, and others,[4] on the contrary, have been unwilling to admit that the Emperor Alexius made an appeal for aid at Piacenza. Their most important argument for not accepting Bernold's statement has been that he was the only contemporary author who mentioned the preaching of the crusade at Piacenza. Those who have accepted Bernold's statement have known of no other contemporary source.[5]

[1] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores,* V. 462.

[2] Hagenmeyer, *Chron. de Zimmern,* p. 51; also in *Archives de l'Orient Latin,* II. 66 and note.

[3] *Gesch. d. Erst. Kreuzzugs,* first ed., p. 223; second and third ed., p. 182.

[4] *Cf.* Tuthill, "The Appeal of Alexis for Aid in 1095", in *University of Colorado Studies,* vol. IV., no. 3.

[5] The *Annals of Jumièges* (*M.G.SS.,* XXVI. 508) have however sometimes been cited as confirmatory evidence. The passage reads, "Eodem anno Urbanus

But there is another. In the *Historia Monasterii Novi Pictaviensis*,[6] written by the monk Martin, we find: "Divino instinctu admonitus, [Urbanus] gentes Christianorumque populos coepit commonere atque ad sepulchrum Domini locaque sancta de manu iniquorum auferenda piorum animas coepit invitare: contigit eundem Papam ejusmodi gratia ad Galliarum regna transitum facere. Nam celebrato quadragesimali tempore concilio apud Placentiam Italiae urbem in quo huius sancti praecinctus prima verba prolata sunt idem praedictus venerabilis Papa Alpes transcendit Julias; perveniens autem Arveniam Urbem, quae alio nomine Clarus-Mons dicitur. . . . Et sic illa verba quae quasi praeoccupando in Placentino concilio prolata sunt, in evidentiam et ostentationem sanctae militiae." . . .

This statement is very important, as it confirms Bernold's statement that Urban preached the crusade at Piacenza, although the council had been called "contra schismaticos". Baldric of Dol's statement may also be cited: "Publicae praedicationis causa, papa Romanus, Urbanus nomine, venit in Gallias. . . . Sane Placentiae concilio generali celebrato, praelibatus pontifex paulo post Arvernis advenit."[7]

The probable explanation of the introduction of this new subject into the agenda of the Council of Piacenza is the appeal of the Emperor as recorded by Bernold. Confirmations of his statement are to be found in the references to Constantinople and the Greek Empire in Urban's speech at Clermont as reported by Robert the Monk and Fulk of Chartres; and in Guibert's statement as to the causes of Urban's action.

Robert reports the pope as saying: "Ab Iherosolimorum finibus et urbe Constantinopolitana relatio gravis emersit et saepissime jam

papa, qui prius in Italia concilium tenuerat pro exortatione Yerosolimitani itineris, iterum apud Clarum-montem concilium tenuit et constituit, ut christiani fixis crucibus in vestibus Ierusalem pergerent." The author of this part of the *Annals* and the date when it was written are not known. Consequently this notice has little, if any, value.

The so-called *Epistola Spuria* has also been much discussed in this connection. It is certainly not genuine in its present form, and its date is uncertain, so that it can have no value as evidence for Piacenza. *Cf.* Hagenmeyer, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, VI. 1 ff.; Chalandon, *Alexis I.*; Pirenne, in *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, L. (1907) 217–227; see also Köhler, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VIII. 564.

[6] Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum . . . Vitae*, I. 598; previously printed in Martène, *Thesaurus Anecd.*, II. The author was a contemporary (see Bouquet, XI. 118, note *a*). The fragment of this work stops at Jan., 1096. *Cf.* Molinier, *Sources*, no. 1435.

[7] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Hist. Occid.*, IV. 12.

ad aures nostras pervenit. . . . Regnum Graecorum jam ab eis ita emutilatum est."[8]

Fulk, in his brief summary of Urban's speech, also records reference to the Greek Empire and the need of aid for it. "Necesse est enim, quatinus confratribus vestris in Orientali plaga conversantibus, auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato indigis, accelerato itinere succurratis. Invaserunt enim eos, sicuti plerisque vestrum jam dictum est, usque mare Mediterraneum, ad illud scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii, Turci, gens Persica, qui, apud Romaniae fines, terras Christianorum magis magisque occupando, lite bellica jam septuplicata victos superaverunt, multos occidendo vel captivando, ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando."[9]

Guibert says: "Is itaque vir eximius [Urbanus], quum ab Alexi Graecorum principe magnis honoraretur exeniis [exequiis], et precibus quidem, sed multo propensius generali Christianitatis periculo pulsaretur". . . .[10]

Further corroboration for the connection of the Greek emperor with the inception of the crusade is to be found in the fact that Constantinople was made the official rendezvous for all the bands, and in the relations between the emperor and the Western leaders, especially Bohemond. But the account of these cannot be compressed into a brief note, intended merely to call attention to a new item of evidence and to indicate how this supplements, and is supplemented by, other information.[11]

D. C. Munro.

The First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent

On the 17th of May, 1622, at the Convocation of the University of Oxford, formal announcement was made of a gift by William Camden, Clarenceux King at Arms, establishing what has been known as the Camden (Ancient) History Professorship. It is probable that some fitting commemoration of this foundation will be held at Oxford next October.

[8] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, III. 727–728.

[9] *Ibid.*, III. 323–324.

[10] *Ibid.*, IV. 135.

[11] The fact that Alexius had frequently asked for aid before the Council of Piacenza is universally admitted. Consequently I have not cited any of the sources which prove this fact, *e.g.*, Ekkehard's statement, "per legationes tamen frequentissimas et epistolas" (Hagenmeyer, *Hierosolymita*, p. 80), which has often been used in connection with the emperor's appeal at Piacenza, but may refer to the earlier appeals.

Camden's benefaction finds its historical place in a series of liberal gifts in the interest of advanced scholarship, of which the one most intimately connected with his is Sir Henry Savile's establishment of a chair of mathematics and astronomy in 1619. In the closing paragraph of Camden's *Britannia,* antedating the Savile donation by over a score of years, we read:

> Nothing now remains but that after a safe passage among so many blind shallows of the ocean and rough rocks of antiquity, as the ancient seamen used to consecrate to Neptune their tattered sails, or a votive tablet, I should in like manner dedicate to the Almighty some deposit of venerable antiquity, which I now vow with the greatest chearfulness and gratitude, and will perform, God willing, in due time.

This early general purpose to make a thank-offering has been interpreted as his intention to found the history lectureship. The earliest documentary evidence of this specific purpose, however, is found in the following letter from Sir Henry Savile to Camden.

Sir,

I have half a quarrel to you, that being lately so long together, and in so good leisure, you did not impart to me that, which it seems you have declared at large to my good Lord Paget, concerning your worthy purpose of founding an Humanity-Lecture in Oxford. Surely if you had, as he said, *aut re aut consilio aut opera juvero*: I have trod the path before you, and know the rubbs in such a business to my great pains and charge, I mean, in the means of setling it upon the University in a perpetuity. I know it well to my cost, and can give you good direction how to dispatch it with small ado, if you need my counsel. If not, I can do no more but wish a happy end to your honourable endeavour, and rest always, as I have, and for ever will be,

Your assured Friend to dispose of, and admirer of your rare virtues,

Eton 25 Octob. 1621 — Henry Savile.

The allusion to the legal difficulties which he had encountered in establishing the Mathematical Professorship is amplified in a letter bearing date nine days later; its human quality of sympathetic interest is as entrancing as the information is important.

Sir,

I send you by this Bearer, my servant, the Original of the Covenants between the University and me under both our Seals. I think I showed you a first draught of them before, and even in these there is nothing worthy of your imitation; of something perchance it may put you in remembrance, further not.

I think not amiss to advertise you, that by plain Will without a Deed executed in life-time, no land will pass to a College or Corporation, as I have heard by my Counsel. I am sure Merton College hath felt it: for Doctor Huicke, Queen Elizabeth's Physician, whom you may have heard

on, or peradventure known, by Will left all his land of good value to his two daughters and their heirs; and for lack of heirs (as we understood they died without any children both) all his said lands to Merton College, whereof he was Fellow: but Doctor Bickley laboured, as I have heard, much in it, and could recover nothing. So that you must fly to some such course, as I advertised you in my last, or leave it upon Feoffees, men of sincerity and judgment, that your death do not frustrate your good intention. . . .

The deed of gift was duly signed on March 5, 1621/2, and formally registered by the master in chancery on April 14. The financial basis of the endowment was revenues from the manor of Bexley in Kent, which after ninety-nine years were to revert to the university. The estimated income was upwards of £400 per annum. In the meantime, the manor was to be held by William Heather and his heirs, who were to pay the incumbent of the professorship £20 the first year, £40 the next year, and £140 thereafter. Heather, who was organist in the Chapel Royal, made a home for Camden during his latter years and this prolongation of the reward is characteristic of Camden's liberality and humanity. Heather himself in 1626 founded the lectureship which became the music professorship at Oxford.

No sooner did the rumor of the plan to establish a praelectorship of history at the university reach Oxford than a "laudable ambition" to receive the appointment sprang up in many breasts. As early as December 19, 1621, the warden and scholars of New College recommended their colleague Daniel Gardiner. Already, however, just one month earlier, Thomas Allen, the eminent mathematician and antiquarian of Gloucester Hall, had written to Camden recommending

an acquaintance of mine, one Mr. Whear, sometimes Fellow of Exeter College, and now resident in Glocester-hall, a Master of Arts of twenty years standing, and a man who, besides his abilities of learning sufficient for such a place, is known to be of good experience, (having sometimes travelled) and of very honest and discreet conversation.

In his own letters to Camden, Whear reveals almost to the extent of obtrusiveness his own desire to receive the appointment. Camden did not know Whear personally up to the time when he had virtually decided to name him for the lectureship he was founding. Whear's chief eminence came later, from his headship of Gloucester Hall, where he became principal in 1626. There he showed a vigor of administration which brought that house perhaps its highest degree of prosperity. He seems ever to have kept well within the academic proprieties in his attitude toward the ruling powers. When the loyalty of the university sought expression on special occasions through poetical effusions, Degory Whear was usually among the contributors,

with a manifest tendency toward anagram. In 1603, he was one of 320 writers in the *Academiae Oxoniensis Pietas* upon the accession of James I. In 1623, he contributed as "prim. Hist. Prael. Camdenianus" to the *Carolus Redux*, celebrating that prince's journey to Spain and return thence. Upon the death of James I., he contributed to the *Oxoniensis Academiae Parentalia*, and in 1633, when Charles I. was attacked by sickness, he provided one of the 108 poems in the *Musarum Oxoniensium pro Rege suo Soteria*. The birth of a prince (the later James II.) that same year, and, in 1641, the return of the King from Scotland stir up the muse in Oxford and one does not look in vain for the initials W. D., lifted out of ambiguity by the added designation, "Princ. of Gloucester (or St. Alb.) hall".

Whear had been publicly named for the praelectorship when the foundation itself was announced, but fearing lest some one might attack the legal status of the incumbent, which rested upon mere nomination ("ex nuda et simplici nominatione minus firmo"), Camden sent to the university a formal document, duly attested, which may be translated as follows:

Octobr. 16, 1622.

I, William Camden, have constituted and do constitute as first Reader of History, Degory Whear, who has been recommended by letters of the most honorable Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and many most learned men and afterwards by experience and by dissertations on History, now more completely observed by myself: and it is my will that he shall lecture first to the youth on L. Annaeus Florus, so long as he pleases.

Wm. Camden.

This is looked upon as the authentication of Whear's formal entrance upon the lectureship and it is the October date rather than that of May which will probably be observed as the tercentenary.

Very soon the question arose concerning the obligations of the praelector as regards the field of history to be covered by him. Camden thereupon drew up his "Explication", which is so worded as to place the chief responsibility for the proper conduct of the chair on the incumbent himself.

Whereas I understand there hath been some doubt and question made touching the subject of my lecture, and what kind of History I intended my reader should insist upon, I do hereby signify, that it ever was and is my intention, that (according to the practice of such professors in all the Universities beyond the seas) hee should read a civil history, and therein make such observations, as might bee most usefull and profitable for the younger students of the University, to direct and instruct them in the knowledge and use of history, antiquity, and times past. Whose advancement in that way my desires especially aimed at, and I trust both my present reader (according to those laudable beginnings, which I have seen, and do hear are well approved) wil carefully labour to effect, and

such as shal hereafter succeed him also diligently endeavour the fulfilling of my desires, not intermedling with the history of the church or controversies farther than shal give light into those times, which hee shal then unfold, or that author, which hee then shal read, and that very briefly; in the choice thereof I thinke the readers discretion should alwais bee sufficient, and therefore hold it not requisite to prescribe any farther, then I have done in the instrument of my first choice.

January 6, 1622, in praesentia mei THOMAE CLAYTON Regii Professoris in Medicina.

WILLIAM CAMDEN, Clarenceux.

The University authorities apparently did not hasten in prescribing regulations for the Camden Professorship. The text of the statute is given in the *Camdeni Vita,* with the marginal information that the rules were "longo post tempore factas".

In the early summer of 1623, Degory Whear delivered the first formal lecture on the Camden foundation, on Florus. In the *Explication* just quoted, Camden specified both the knowledge and use of history as objects also to be served. Whear went immediately at these by preparing the lecture first given on July 12, 1623, which he later repeated in enlarged form and which represents his permanent contribution to the literature of historical studies, *viz.,* his *De Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias,* or as it appears in the English translation of the enlarged work, *The Method and Order of Reading both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories in which the most Excellent Historians are Reduced into the Order in which they are Successively to be Read; and the Judgment of Learned Men, concerning each of them, subjoined.* This work itself can scarcely be called fascinating and we wonder that it lived in active use as long as it did. Yet immediately after the first lectures, which some at once wished him to publish, his hearers followed him up for further help and counsel, at the expense of his anticipated leisure. Editions were brought out in London in 1623 and in Oxford in 1625 and at least four seventeenth-century editions (1637, 1660, 1662, 1684) of the enlarged work (*Relectiones*) were published. Although there is not much vitality in the lectures, which abound in long quotations from other writers, they were much used in Oxford, and as late as 1700 they were still in use in Cambridge. Apart from the evidence of the editions, among which Edmund Bohun's English translation and especially the Nuremberg edition of 1660 are significant, there is little to show that Degory Whear made any very important contribution to any phase of erudition, except as we may recognize his whole career as a positive influence in that direction.

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

DOCUMENTS

Lord Sackville's Papers respecting Virginia, 1613–1631, II.

C. Concerning the Tobacco Contract.

In this division of Lord Sackville's papers relating to the early history of Virginia, the first place belongs to a group of documents exhibiting the successive stages by which the contract for the exclusive importation of tobacco by the Virginia and Somers Islands companies came into its final form.

On July 3, 1622, in a "Great and General Quarter Court" of the Virginia Company, a series of propositions concerning the proposed contract was agreed upon. These propositions, seventeen in number, were entered in the company's records, and their text is to be found there (*Records of the Virginia Company,* II. 85–88). Of this draft there is a copy among Lord Sackville's papers, no. 6158. It is marked in red ink as "No. 3", that number referring to the series, numbered from 1 to 21, spoken of (and perhaps so numbered) by Dr. Peter Peckard, *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar,*[1] as has been mentioned in the introduction to the first installment of these papers (pp. 493–495, *supra*). Since this document agrees entirely with that which is printed in the *Records* of the Virginia Company under date of July 3, it is not necessary to print it here.

On July 17, in an ordinary court of the Virginia Company, Sir Edwin Sandys reported that the Somers Islands Company, in their Great Quarter Court held on July 10, had given their consent to the proposals which the Virginia Company had accepted the week before, with the exception of article 5, relating to customs dues. That article had provided that, instead of the levy of sixpence a pound on roll tobacco and fourpence a pound on leaf, the companies should pay in each of the three years of the contract a sum equal to the average of what had been due, under the rates named, in the seven years preceding. To this the Somers Islands Company demurred, preferring to pay the existing duty on the quantities actually brought in, and arguing also that such an arrangement would make the customs officials more vigilant to prevent the bringing in of Spanish tobacco by interlopers than if they were sure in advance of all that they could anywise get. "Whereupon", say the *Records* of the Virginia Company,[2]

1 Pp. 156–165.

2 *Records,* II. 98.

it beinge taken into consideracion whither an Inferior Court had any power to alter that w'ch was so solemnely ratified by a Quarter Court it was resolved it could not, but withall they held it fitt to signifie to my Lo: Treasuror and certifie by waye of Declaration of their perticular opinions that they conceaved the Summer Ilands Companie for many substantiall reasons had taken the better course, and therefore the Companie of Virginia would not oppose the drawinge up of the Patent accordinge to the desire and resolucion of the Summer Ilands Companie, not doubting but if the next Quarter Court for Virginia should not aprove thereof they shall entreat his l[ordshi]p their first order may Stand.

No. 6159 of Lord Sackville's papers, marked "No. 4" in red ink, is a version of the proposals for the contract in the form in which they were agreed upon by the Somers Islands Company on the occasion above described. It differs only in article 5 from that which was adopted by the Virginia Company and which is printed in its *Records*. Therefore it is not thought necessary to do more here than to print its heading and fifth article, under no. XLI., below.

In an ordinary court held on November 6,[3] Sir Arthur Ingram reported that the Lord Treasurer wished to stipulate that all the Spanish tobacco brought in by the companies should be of the best Varinas. To this amendment the two companies somewhat reluctantly consented. In a general quarter court held on November 20,[4] it is reported that the Lord Treasurer wishes also to omit article 9, which related to the fixing of prices, to provide in article 8 that in case the companies could not bring in 80,000 pounds of Varinas in the first two years, they might have the third year for it, and to make provision for the case that the Spanish government should alter its rates and regulations respecting the export of Spanish tobacco. To the first two of these modifications the companies agreed; the last was referred to an ordinary court held on November 22, at which Lord Southampton presented a new article (a new article 9, we may call it) as a substitute for the latter part of the original article 8, and dealing with the effects of possible changes of system by the Spanish government. Its text is printed in the *Records* of that day, which then goes on to state as follows the action of the court respecting it:[5]

Wherefore esteeminge of this bargaine (as they were advised by a noble and Hono'ble person) not as good meat well sawced but of a porcion necessarie for their health, beinge willing (as his lp: said) devorare molestiam of this bitter pill, they desired the Ea: of Southampton to put it to the question: Whereupon the Article by ereccion of handes was confirmed and approved accordingly as it was read.

Nevertheless the contract was held in suspense for a time, signed

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 121.

[4] II. 138–140.

[5] II. 142–143, 144.

again by Middlesex on February 12, discussed further by the company in March and April, and finally abandoned by the Privy Council by vote of April 28.[6]

Light is cast on all these transactions by the third copy of the contract found among Lord Sackville's papers, no. 6162 ("No. 8" of Peckard's enumeration). It is a copy of the propositions printed in the Virginia Company's *Records*, endorsed in the hand of Richard Willis "Examined and noted by my Lorde", and bears in the margins a number of comments indicating the amendments which the Lord Treasurer meant sooner or later to secure. These comments are given, under no. XLII., below, in a form which it is hoped will be intelligible to anyone having before him a text of the original propositions as printed in the company's *Records*.

No. XLIII., below, the fourth of these versions, doc. no. 6166 (marked "No. 12" in red ink), presents the text of the propositions as finally agreed upon and as signed by Middlesex. A fifth version, no. 6194, differs from this only by the omission of a few words which Middlesex had at the last indicated to be omitted, and in the addition of a record of the company's action, which we have included at the end of no. XLIII.

The other papers are for the most part incidental to these, or mark various stages in the conflict respecting the tobacco contract and the alternatives proposed for it, though the absence of dates from most of them makes it difficult to give them a satisfactory order of arrangement, and the provenance of several remains obscure. In general terms, however, it may be said that the next two pieces, nos. XLIV. and XLV., are documents made in explanation or pursuance of the contract; that the five which ensue, nos. XLVI.–L., are documents proposing alternative arrangements, advanced during discussions on the terms of the contract or during its suspension by the Lord Treasurer and Privy Council; that nos. LI. and LII. are pronouncements hostile to the contract and no. LIII. a reply to the second of them; and that nos. LIV.–LVI. are papers consequent on the dissolution or impending dissolution of the contract.[7]

[6] *Records*, II. 264, 335–340, 353–357, 365–372, 392; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 61. But see nos. LIV. and LV. and notes, below.

[7] The documents which Peckard noted as among the papers of the Duke of Dorset may be identified as follows:

His no. 1 is in Peckard, p. 162;
No. 3 (the present no. 6158) is in *Records*, II. 85–88;
No. 4 is in part given in our no. XLI.;
No. 6 is our XLVII.;
No. 7 is our XXIX., in the previous installment;

Much the best account of all this matter of the contract for the sole importation of tobacco is that of Professor William R. Scott in his *History of Joint-Stock Companies.*[8]

XLI. PROPOSITIONS OF THE SOMERS ISLANDS COMPANY, JULY 10, 1622.[9]

Propositions agreed on by the Governor and Company for the Summer Ilands in a generall Quarter Court held on Wedensday the 10th of July touchinge a Contract to be made with his Majestie for the sole importation of Tobacco between them and the Virginia Company. . . .

5. The companie for the Summer Ilands are contented to pay the usuall custome of vi *d.* the pound waight for roll Tobacco and 4 *d.* for leafe for their two third partes duringe the time of this contract and his Majestie in like sorte to paye for his third parte: But they desire his Lordship to be pleased that they may have the allowance of 5 *li.* per centum as is usuall in other marchandizes with reasonable care Tobacco beinge a perishinge commoditie, and besides to graunt unto them vi moneth's time for payment of the said custome.

XLII. NOTES OF THE LORD TREASURER ON THE PROPOSITIONS, JULY–OCTOBER, 1622.[10]

[*Against article 4,* concerning customs duties.] It is not intended the garbling of tobacco should be exempted but the companies and Patentees[11] to make agreement if they cann, otherwise the Lord Treasuror to order it. [The proviso with which this article ends, that the companies shall not be constrained to import any more tobacco from the two plantations than they think fit, is struck out, and this note follows.] This which is strooke out shall not need to be mentioned one way nor other in the Letters Patents; but it is expected there shalbe reall and honest dealing as hath bin promised.

No. 8, its marginal notes rather, is our XLII.;
No. 9 is our LI.;
No. 10 (the present no. 6164) is in *Records,* II. 325–327, and in Peckard, pp. 164–165;
No. 11 is our LIV.;
No. 12 is our XLIII.;
No. 13 is our LIII.;
No. 15 is our VI., in the first installment;
No. 16 is our XXXVIII.;
No. 17 is our XLIX.;
No. 18 is our XXIXa., in the first installment;
No. 19 (the present no. 6172) is a court record in *Records,* II. 121;
No. 20 is our XLV.;
No. 21 (the present no. 6174) is in Peckard, pp. 157–159.

[8] II. 272–283.

[9] From no. 6159, marked "No. 4" in red ink.

[10] From no. 6162, marked "No. 8" in red ink. *Cf.* the propositions in *Records,* II. 85–88. These notes must be of an earlier date than the statement of Middlesex's position made *ibid.,* II. 121, Nov. 6, 1622.

[11] Those who had the patent for garbling; see p. 526, note 108.

[*Against article 5,* relating to the commutation of customs, there is an index-hand, no doubt to call attention to the alternative proposed by the Somers Islands Company, with the additional remark:] It must be provided that it be transported within the compasse of one yeare, as other goodes of the like nature.

[*Against article 7,* providing for the appointment of a consignee by the companies, they to have the sole management of sales and to account to the king:] The company to name one officer, and it is just the Lord Treasuror for the King name another about the tobacco only. The Accompt to be made up halfe yearely and within 40 dayes after the mony to be payd in to the Exchequor.

[*Against article 8,* respecting the bringing in of 40,000 lbs. of Spanish tobacco in each of the first two years:] Although it be expressed in this kinde in the grant, yet it must be provided collaterally that this clawse shall not worke to the prejudice of the Kinge, but that there shalbe 40000 weight of the best Verinus Tobacco[12] brought in for the first two yeares, Except the companies shall make it appeare that by some act of State in Spaine, there is course taken so to inhaunce the price that it is not fitt to be brought in.

[*Against article 9,* respecting the fixing of prices, is an index-hand, the Lord Treasurer, as mentioned in the introduction above, objecting to this article.]

[*Against article 13,* respecting the sharing of confiscations and penalties.] This to be confirmed according to Mr. Porters Patent[13] that his Majestie may make noe defalkacion.

[*In article 14* the Lord Treasurer has underlined, as deserving to be omitted, the provision for a similar division of tobacco confiscated between this July 3 and Michaelmas next, but has added the note:] The last part of this article to stand [*i. e.,* the provision that such confiscated tobacco should be sent out of the realm to be sold elsewhere].

[*Endorsed:*] Proposicions for the sole importacion of tobacco agreed on in a quarter courte held for Virginia the 3 of July 1622.

[*And, in the hand of Richard Willis:*] Examined and noted by my Lorde.

XLIII. THE COMPLETED CONTRACT, NOVEMBER 27, 1622.[14]

Propositions agreed on by the Lord Highe Treasuror of England and the Companie for Virginia and the Summer Ilands touching the sole importation of Tobacco.

1. That the sole importation of Tobacco into the Realms of England

[12] Tobacco of Varinas (Barinas) in western Venezuela.

[13] Grant to Endymion Porter and Richard Peate, Dec. 30, 1618, for seven years, of all fines for non-payment of subsidy and for importation and exportation of prohibited goods. *Cal. St. P. Dom.,* s. d.

[14] No. 6166, marked "No. 12" in red ink; summarized in Peckard, *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar,* pp. 160–161. In a meeting of the two companies on Nov. 27, 1622, it was announced that the Lord Treasurer had signed the contract (in the form here presented) after striking out certain words in the seventh article, whereupon the contract was agreed to by the companies, with no dissenting voice. *Records,* II. 147, 148, 157. In a meeting held on Feb. 12, 1623, it was announced "that the Contract which had so longe hunge in suspence was nowe

and Ireland be granted by his Majestie's Letters Patents under his great Seale to the Companys for Virginia and the Summer Ilands.

2. That his Majesty by proclamation inhibit all others under payne of confiscation of their Tobacco and his Majestie's highe displeasure.[15]

3. That likewise the planting of tobacco in England and Ireland be forbidden by the said proclamation under a grevous penalty.

4. In consideration whereof as also for that the Companyes shall be discharged from all other payments for Tobacco during their term to his Majesty excepting only the ancient Custom sett down in the printed Booke of Rates[16] of Sixpence per pound for Roll Tobacco and fowre pence for leaf, The Companyes shall pay to his Majesty whatsoever shall arise out of the Sale of a full third part of all the Tobacco that shall be yearly imported into either of these two Realms whether the same be afterwards vented within the said Realmes or in any other place whatsoever.

5. The Companyes are content that his Majestie bee disburdened from all payments for the freight of Tobacco imported from the Two Plantations or from any other forraigne parts into either of these his Realmes. But his Majesty to covenant that after the first arrivall of the said Tobacco from either of the said Plantations or other forraigne Dominions, to bear one third part of all charges whatsoever incident to the said Tobacco aswell for the custom and subsidy landing carying and howsing thereof, as also for the keeping tending curing and sorting of the same: and likewise for the transporting it, whether by Sea, freshwater or land into divers parts of either of these his Realmes or any other place there to be sould and distributed. Also that his Majesty beare a full third part of all Salaries due to Officers Factors and Agents, and to all other Ministers and Servants to be employed in any sort within either of these Realms about the said Tobacco or other busines whatsoever incident to this Contract only, which Salaries to be appoynted and sett downe by the said Companies in their generall Coorts where and by whom likewise the said Officers Agents Factors Ministers and Servants shall be chosen. And likewise that his Majesty beare one third part of all costs and charges in Suits of Lawe for any matter of buisines concerning the said Tobacco or for recovery of any Debts from thence arising. And finally for all other charges whatsoever after the arrivall of it in either of the Kingdoms of England or Ireland necessary or convenient for the well ordering of the said Tobacco and for making the best profit to the use of his Majestie and the Companyes aforesaid, Fraight excepted as aforesaid.

againe sent signed by the Lord Treasuror without any alteracion at all from that which was formerly agreed on by the Quarter Courtes", but that he desired to delay for three or four months the issue of the proclamation provided for in article 2. *Records,* II. 264–265. This document, it will be seen, bears the signature of Middlesex and both dates. The words which Middlesex in November desired to eliminate from article 7 are underlined, and are here printed in italics. Another copy, no. 6194, omits these words but is dated Nov. 27, 1622, and ends with the record, given below, of the action of the companies on that day.

[15] This proclamation was never issued. Middlesex, Feb. 12, 1623, "for some waightie reasons, no waye prejudiciall for the Companies", desired it might be respited for three or four months, promising however that he would write at once to all ports such letters as would have the same effect (see XLV., below); to this the companies reluctantly agreed, provided the issue of the proclamation were not deferred beyond June 20. *Records,* II. 265–266.

[16] The *Book of Rates* of 1611.

6. That the Tobacco to be brought in be consigned all into one hand viz: of such Officers as the said Companyes shall appoynt: And that the said Companyes have the sole menaging of the said Sale of Tobacco, Yielding unto his Majestie a true and perfect account thereof every half yeare viz: our Ladie day and Michaelmas or within Ten dayes after, The first account to be made at our Ladie day next, and paying the cleer profit received[17] which shall growe due unto his Majesty unto such as the Lord Treasuror and the Chancelor of the Exchequer shall appoynt to receive the same within Ten dayes after the said account, In which account all the said charges to be allowed and defalked as aforesaid.

7. The Companyes will be contented *to be restrayned from the bringing in of any Spanish tobacco above the quantety of Sixtie Thousand weight a yeare, and* to be tied *likewise* by covenant[18] for the bringing in of fortie thousand weight of the best Varinaes Spanish Tobacco in each of the first two yeares of this contract And if the best sort of Varinaes Tobacco can not be convenyntly provided in the said two first yeares, that then so much as shall want of 40000 weight in each yeare shall be supplyed in the third yeare, So that the full quantety of fowre score Thousand weight in the whole be made up in the sayd three yeares. And this Covenant for the bringing in of Spanish Tobacco to be of force untill the said 80000 weight be brought in and no longer.

8. And it is desired that an indifferent covenant be drawne up by his Majesties Learned Counseil and the Counseil for Virginia and the Summer Ilands, that in case an extraordinary charge shall have been layd upon the said Varinaes Tobacco by the State of Spaine since the feast of St. Michaell the Archangell last past, beeing the time whence this Contract is to have beginning, or hereafter shall be layd during the time of three yeares from thence next ensueing more then was at the said Feast of St. Michaell last past: In such case, the company shall be cleerly discharged of their said covenant of bringing in of Spanish Tobacco from the time the said extraordinary charge shall be layd untill it be reversed. And after the reversing thereof, the quantity of the best Varinaes Tobacco, which shall then remayne unbrought in of the said fowre score Thousand weight, shall be brought in within the compas of the first three yeares which shall be or have been cleer from the said extraordinary charge, to be computed from the beginning of this Contract. And in case there appeare any practise by the marchants of Spaine or others by meanes whereof the said Companyes can not make their provisions of the said quantity of the best Varinaes Tobacco as they have agreed unto but to their excessive charge, In such case the Company not to be pressed upon the said covenant in extremity; but to make his Majesty such satisfaction as shall be just and conscionable. But if by the practise fraud or negligence of the said companyes their Factors or Deputies, the said quantity of 80000 weight of the best Varinaes Tobacco shall not be imported within the compas of the said first three yeares, Then the said Companyes shall be answearable to his Majesty for every pound weight so wanting of the said Varinaes Tobacco belonging to his Majesty's Third, after the rate of Ten shillings the pound weight.

[17] The Virginia Company had inserted this word "received", and Middlesex had acquiesced. *Records*, II. 148.

[18] The words italicized are those to which Middlesex objected and which the companies consented to omit. *Ibid.* No. 6914 reads, "7. The Companyes will be contented to be tied by covenant", etc.

9. It is likewise desired that for recovery of all such Debts as shall from time to time growe due to the Companyes by occasion of this Contract, The said Debts may be assigned over unto the King when and so often as need shall require.

10. They likewise desire that there may be incerted in the Contract a Grant and Covenant from his Majesty against the granting of Licenses to Retailors of Tobacco: So that the sale thereof may remayne free, as hetherto it hath doon.

11. That his Lordship be pleased to take a strict coorse for the preventing of all undue bringing in of Tobacco by other meanes.

12. That all confiscations and other penalties upon this Contract be divided into three parts: The one part to his Majestie's use, the other to the Companye's, the third to the Informers, not prejudicing any former Grants already made by his Majesty.

13. That this Contract beginne at Michaelmas 1622 last past, and continue for the space of Seven yeares.

14. That his Majesty's Grant may be drawne and construed in most benificiall manner for the Companye's behoof, and for the advancement of the said Plantations, his Majesty's proffitt as aforesaid reserved: wherein the Companies are to covenant to carrie themselves fairlie according to the true intent of the bargaine.

November 27th, 1622. MIDDELSEX.

[*Endorsed:*] The contract for the sole importation
of tobacco Signed by my lord the 12. February 1622.

In another copy of the same document (no. 6194) article 14 is followed immediately by this continuation:

These propositions having been often tymes deliberately treated on by the companies for Virginia and the Sumer Ilands in their generall Courtes: were lastly with generall consent approved and concluded in a great and generall Quarter Courte held by the company for the Sumer Ilandes on Wedensday the 27th of November, 1622. As likewise in a great and generall court held extraordinarily by the Company for Virginia at the same tyme and appointed by the last Quarter Court for the said Companie for Virginia to joyne with the said Quarter courte of the said company for the Sumer Ilands in a finall conclusion concerning the said Propositions. There being present at the said Courtes the Right Honorable Henry Earle of Southampton, Treasuror of the company for Virginia,[19] William Lord Cavendish, Governor of the Company for the Sumer Ilands,[20] with sundrie other Lordes, Knightes, Gentlemen, Marchantes and other good cittizens, who with unanimous consent did allowe of and ratifie the said Propositions no one dissentinge.

ED. COLLINGWOOD, Secre.[21]

[*Endorsed:*] The Contract for the sole Importation
of Tobacco, 27 November 1622.
[*And by Willis:*] The Articles for Tobacco.

[19] Henry Wriothesley (1573–1624), third earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, treasurer of the Virginia Company from June 28, 1620, to its dissolution in 1624.

[20] Afterward (1626–1628) second earl of Devonshire; governor of the Somers Islands Company from April, 1622, to April, 1623. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 286, 298.

[21] Secretary of the Virginia Company from June 28, 1620 (*Records*, I. 386), till its dissolution.

XLIV. LORD CAVENDISH'S ESTIMATES OF THE WORKINGS OF THE CONTRACT.[22]

[A] The Contract not standinge
The Planter computes thus

	l. *s.* *d.*
Having by my labour attayned 3 pound of Tobacco to have the benefit thereof returned me I must first pay for fraught into England	0—1—0
Then I must pay for Custome at 6 *d.* per pound	0—1—6
Then I must pay for Impost at 6 *d.* per pound	0—1—6
Total	0—4—0
Then I shall sell my Tobacco at the rate found hitherto by experience of 2 *s.* 6 *d.* per pound one with another which for 3 pounds is	0—7—6
Out of this deductinge my charges above reckoned of 4 *s.* there will remayne to be retarned me for my labour, and towardes my mayntenance for 3 pounds	0—3—6

[B] The Contract standinge
The Planter computes thus

	l. *s.* *d.*
Havinge by my labour attayned 3 pound of Tobacco; to have the benefit thereof returned me I must First pay for fraught into England	0—1—0
Then for 2/3 of Custome	0—1—0
Then for the raysing of that somme of 2500 *l.* towardes house and rent charges, salaryes and extraordinary occasions for my 2/3	0—0—6
Total	0—2—6
Then by vertue of the sole sale I hope to sell my 3 pound of tobacco for 4 *s.* a pound at the least which will be	0—12—0
Out of this 12 *s.* deductinge his Majestie's third, being 4 *s.*, and the 2 *s.* 6 *d.* charges above reckoned, there will remayne to be returned me for my labour towardes my mayntenance	0—5—6

So that comparatively the contract will be better to me then if there were no such contract by 2 *s.* in every three pound of Tobacco.

Also to say absolutely this will be sufficient for me to live on being 22 *d.* a pound for my Tobacco which to prove I urge this that if Tobacco in Spayne may be sold for a Ryall[23] a pound, the Planter of it in the Spanish Plantations would be fowre fold in worse case.

[C] Touching his Majesties profit, I compute thus

The ordinary quantity of Tobacco imported into England of all sortes (according to a medium computed out of the Customer's bookes) hath bene about 200,000 weight which at 6 *d.* per pound Custome, and 6 *d.* per pound Impost comes to 200,000 shillinges which is	10000 *l.*

[22] No. 6181. The calculations here designated in brackets as *A* and *C* are written on the left-hand side of large sheets, those designated *B* and *D* on the right-hand side, opposite them, for comparison.

[23] Real, one-eighth of a dollar.

Admittinge that by vertue of the order to be taken for importing of all the Colonye's Tobacco, there shall come in 400,000 weight of Tobacco from all partes which is the greatest quantity mentioned by Sir John Worstenholme,[24] yet this comes but to 20000 *l.*

And even thus it is short by above 3000 *l.* of the profit his Majestie shall have by the contract and liberty of importation.

[D] Touching his Majestie's profit I compute thus

For the 2 first yeares:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
If 200,000 weight of Tobacco be brought in, there must be for the first 2 yeres be brought in 40000 weight of it in the best Spanish Tobacco, the rest being Colony Tobacco will be 160,000 weight.			
His Majestie's 3 *d.* of the best Spanish tobacco at 16 *s.* a pound will be	10666.	13.	4
His Majestie's 3 *d.* of the 160,000 weight of Colony Tobacco at 4 *s.* a pound will likewise amount to	10666.	13.	4
His Majesties custome for our ⅔ still reserved on the whole quantity brought in at 200,000 weyght comes to	3333.	6.	8
Total	24666.	13.	4

If lesse come in the price will be greater and so the Kinge's profit will be held up in the price equivalent.

For the rest of the time:

For the rest of the time after, if no Spanish Tobacco at all be brought in, then the Colony Tobacco will beare the price of 6 *d.* a pound whereby his Majestie's 3 *d.* of the 200,000 weight will be 20000 *l.*

which with the foresaid ⅔ of custome still reserved being 3333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* make 23333. 6. 8

[*Endorsed:*] Computation of the planter which serves also for the Adventurer or freeholder. [*Also, in Cranfield's hand:*] Concerninge Planting Tobacko: Received of my Lord Candish.

XLV. DRAFT OF LORD TREASURER'S WARRANT.[25]

After my hartie Comendacions. Whereas his Majestie hath beene gratiously pleased in favour of the Plantaciones of Virginia and Summer Ilands to enter into Contract with the Companies for the saide Plantaciones for the sole importacion of Tobacco from Michaelmas last paste for and duringe the tearme of seaven years thence next ensuinge, by

[24] See p. 538, note 144. The allusion is to remarks of Wolstenholme quoted in *Records*, II. 32.

[25] No. 6173, marked "No. 20" in red ink. The draft seems to have been prepared, probably by a committee of the company (*Records*, II. 162), in pursuance of the Lord Treasurer's promise mentioned in note 15 above; it has been corrected and there are six fair copies annexed.

which contract itt is ordered that all Tobacco that shalbe brought into this Realme duringe that tearme shalbe first consigned into the hands of the saide Companies: Theis are therfore to will and require you on his Majestie's behalfe that imeadiatlie from and after the receipte of these presentes you forbeare in that Porte and all other places within your chardge search and veiw to take any entry of Custome for Tobacco there to be landed butt that if such Tobacco be brought from either of the saide Plantaciones you take a coorse for the safe and speedie sending up of the same to the Porte of the Citty of London ther to paie the Custome due for it and to be consigned into the Companies accordinge to their saide Contract,

Which Companies shalbe accomptable to the owners of the saide Tobacco for the full profitt therof accordinge to the Articles of the saide Contract And in case any Tobacco of the growth of either of the saide Plantacions have beene allredie brought in since Michaelmas last that you forthwith send notice therof to the Governors or their Deputies of the saide Plantacions resydinge in London, wherin you are to expresse the quantitie of the same, what sorts itt was of and by whome itt was brought in. And if any Tobacco not of the growth of one of the saide Plantacions since Michallmas laste paste have bine or shalbe brought in during the time of the saide Contract that you seaze the same to the use of his Majestie and such others unto whome the forfeiture thereof shall appertaine, And in case the saide seazure shall have formerlie beene neglected that yett you make due certificate to the saide Governors and Deputies as well of the severall owners and quantities of the said Tobacco as of all other particularities therto belonginge. And generally you and everie of you are straightlie charged and commaunded on his Majestie's behalfe as you will answere all neglects therin at your perill to have a vigilant care over this matter of Tobacco that nothinge be done committed or suffered prejudiciall to the saide Contract (of the generall clauses wherof you shall hereafter have more particular notice) beinge a matter soe greatlie concerninge his Majestie's profitt and the advancement of the saide Plantacions which are no lesse deare unto him. And soe I bid you farewell.

[*Endorsed:*] Draught of a letter to the Ports concerning Tobacco.

XLVI. ARGUMENT FOR A MONOPOLY.[26]

Reasons to induce his Majestie to assume to himselfe and grant the sole importation of tobacco.

It is out of question within the true limitts of his Majestie's prerogative utterlie to prohibite the importation of any newe uselesse or forraigne comoditie, that any way either is hurtfull to the comon wealth in generall or wastfull to his subjects in particuler.

Secondly of any such as is neither fitt for the necessities of man's life in meate or cloathing, nor for the good or strength of the kingdome and in the strictest judgmentes of Parliamentes matters of great necessitie have bin deposited unto the wisedome of the King untill an other Parliament[27] bycause many thinges may happen betweene which could

[26] No. 6186.

[27] Alluding no doubt to the manner in which King James's sudden dissolution of the Parliament of 1621 interrupted action on monopolies.

not absolutely bee provided for, and if his Majestie may utterlie prohibite consequentlie hee may bound the same either in quantitie or to particuler persons.

It is evident in this case of Tobacco that by the excessive abuse thereof the quantitie imported is so great that it equaleth or exceedeth most sorts of Spices and it must bee bought either for our English comodities or for money, the value of both which are utterlie consumed and the kingdome so much yearlie by it impoverished, and this abundance hath so raised the price that for the same quantitie trebble the price is wasted to buy it in, that was usuall in former yeares.

To prevent which, seeing his Majestie in his wisedome hath not thought it fitt, utterlie to banish this stranger, the next consideration is, how to abate the price beyond the seas, that lesse in substance may furnish the kingdome, and so necessarilie the price will fall lower within the kingdome, and much of the generall wast and of the particuler wilbee prevented.

There are two causes that in theise later yeares have raysed the forraigne price of Tobacco; one by a combination of the stranger to ingrosse all into the handes of a Companie whereof the chiefe is called Ferdinand Lopez d'Acosta which hath bin two yeares practised and is well knowne to all the Tobacco buyers to their cost and damage, who have, and as yet determine to hold upp or advance the price of that comoditie to the losse of this Kingdome.

The seaconde cause is the eager forwardnes of theise buyers of Tobacco that upon the first noise of a parcell runne beyond the seas, and if they can not carrie money do fitt themselves, with English comodities proper for Spaine and such as the Spanish marchant chieflie dealeth in, and there to prevent any other selleth his goodes at 15 or 20 per cent losse to the abasement of our owne English staple comodities and to the ruine of the Spanish marchant, as is evident by the complaint and petition of the said Spanish marchants, and this straggling buyer can make himself whole by selling his weede at home at his owne pleasure. The Spanish marchant cannot reforme this abuse unlesse they were made a companie, which as wee are informed his Majestie is tender to doe, having bin dissolved by Parliament,[28] and at the best hand, if the Spanish marchant have mony in specie which he would sende over, this Tobaconist will give him so much profitt upon exchange, as he will never adventure it in kind.

By the sole importation of Tobacco it is projected to meete with both those abuses, and to hold the stranger to the first moderate price of 6, 7 or 8 Rialls the pound, or as neere as they can, and by a joint stocke made heere at home and factors kept abroad either by exchange from Antwerpe or by sale of our owne comodities to their true value to furnish the said Tobacco at a third part of the price it hath lately cost into the kingdome whereby the greatest wast wilbee prevented, the Bullion of the marchant not intercepted, no silver exported, the Spanish marchant disburthened of those stragglers and their abuses, and in all probabilitie the comoditie sould in grosse cheaper, and the particuler spender thereby eased and his Majesties revenewe increased to a good value and to a certaintie.

[28] For the action of the Parliament of 1621 against monopolies see Gardiner, *History of England*, IV. 125, 140.

XLVII. ARGUMENT FOR A FREE TRADE.[29]

Reasons why a free trade for Tobacco wilbee more benifitiall unto his Majestie then the sole Importacion to bee graunted unto any particuler Company.

First, it appeareth that the tobacco vented in this Kingdome is yearely at leaste 300,000 *lb.* weighte which beeinge devided the one halfe to bee Spanish Tobacco and the other halfe Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco, the Custome and Impost therof is for Spanish Tobacco ii *s.* per pound and for Virginia xii *d.* per *lb.* at which rates it doth arise unto 22,500 *li.* per annum.

Secondly, it is apparant that the Plantacion in the West Indies is soe greatly increased and the Plantacion of Virginia and Bermudos doth so much augement that the Tobacco wilbee soe aboundantly brought in and the prices soe base that the third parte his Majestie is to have will never yeilde so much yearely as the Impost and Custome will come to.

Thirdly, for that it is very honorable for this nation to advaunce the Sale of Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco, I doe verely thincke that if his Majestie would bee pleased to restraine the West India or Spanish Tobacco and to cause the Virginia and Bermudos Company to importe all the Tobacco that shalbee laden from thence into the porte of London beinge the cheife porte of this Kingdome the like president beeinge usuall in all foraigne plantacions whereas Spanish Tobacco doth pay ii *s.* per pound unto his Majestie for Custome and Imposte, to take of Virginia and Bermudos tobacco but xviii *d.* per pound it would bee much better for the planter and more proffit unto his Majestie for within one yeare it cannot yeild lesse then 20000 *li.* per annum but is likely to bee much more and the planter will yearly make his Tobacco the better to increase the price.

Lastly, if for some reasons of State[30] the Spanish Tobacco maye not bee prohibited then a freedome of Trade wilbee best and most proffitt unto his Majestie for the meanest sortes of Spanish Tobacco doth paye unto his Majestie ii *s.* per pound and the Virginia and Bermudos but xii *d.* per pound soe that they are able to undersell the meaner sortes of Spanish Tobacco xii *d.* in a pound and in truth it is found by experience that the Tobacco of Virginia and Bermudos doth vente much better then the meaner sortes of Spanish tobacco, soe that I verely thinck fewe will attempt to bringe meane Tobaccoes out of Spaine for that they knowe beforehand that the Virginia and Bermudos is both better and will sell deerer.

[*Endorsed by the Lord Treasurer:*] Reasons wherfore the Sole Importation and imposition upon Tobacko should not be graunted in Farme.

XLVIII. PROPOSALS RESPECTING A MONOPOLY OF SPANISH TOBACCO.[31]

Artycles of agrement betwixt his Majestie and the undertakeres tuchinge the solle Importation of 40 m.[32] waight of Spanyshe Tobacco in to his Majestie's dominions of England and Wailes.

29 No. 6160, marked "No. 6" in red ink.

30 *I.e.*, because of King James's *penchant* toward a Spanish alliance.

31 No. 6185. If the contract for the sole importation of Spanish tobacco were not accepted by, or entrusted to, the Virginia Company, it might be undertaken by others. "If there was a necessity, that a certayne quantity of forraigne Tobacco must be brought, it was all one to the Plantacions, whether it were in the Companies or others handes." *Records*, II. 343 (Apr. 2, 1623).

32 Forty thousand.

1. Fyrst thatt a proclamation bee graunted from his Majestie thatt in regard of the benefytt and welfare of the plantation of Virgine and Barmodos his Majestie hathe assumed unto hym selfe the sole importation of 40 m. waight of Spanyshe tobacco, apointinge 2 parsons[33] for his agentes for the managinge of the said buysnes forbodinge al others to importte with powre and atorety[34] to serche accordinge to the last pattentes which was graunted to Sir Thomas Rooe and Company.[35]

2. Thatt Virgine and Barmodos Tobacco be fyrst sealed with suche a seale as his Majesty shall apointe.

3. Thatt the Spanishe Tobacco continewe sealed with the seale graunted by his Majesty to Sir Thomas Rooe.

4. Thatt all Tobacco which is found unsealed within his Majesties dominions of England and Wailes after suche a tyme be confiscated or loste, thone[36] moyety to his Majesty and the other parte to the Seasor or informer.

5. Thatt the Virgine and Barmodos company with his Majestie's agentes of the Sole Importation of Spanyshe Tobacco agre and accorde togethere towardes the charge of kepinge forthe, and serchinge of all forraine tobacco which may be browght in be stelthe, theone moyty of the forfetures of the kinge's partte to be for his Majestie's agentes and the other partte for the Vergine and Barmodos company.

6. Thatt the seales be keapt in the custody of the kinge's agentes of the sole importation of Spanyshe Tobacco. Tuchinge the rest of artycles of agrement the undertakeres refere them selffs to the consideration of Majesties larned Counsell in Lawe.

The undertakers will give and pay unto his Majesty for the sole importation of 40 m. waight of Spanishe Tobacco the some of 5000 *l.* per annum for a Patente to continewe for 3 yeares under the great seall of England. And also pay unto the graund Farmers[37] 6 *d.* per pound for 40 m. waight of Tobacco.

[*Endorsed:*] Articles touching the sole importacion of 40000 weight of Spanish Tobacco etc.

XLIX. OFFERS FOR THE FARM OF SPANISH TOBACCO.[38]

Farm of Spanish Tobacco.

J.S. doth humbly offer unto his Majestie for the farme of the Sole Importacion of Spanish Tobacco, and to bee bound to bringe in yearely 40,000 *lb.* waighte and not in any yeare to exceede 60,000 *lb.* waighte As also for the Impost or increase of Subsidy of vi *d.* per pound paid for the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco Imported As alsoe that all the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco bee broughte into this kingdome And to take the same for seaven yeares uppon such Condicions and as by Councell on each parte shalbee reasonable.

[33] Persons.

[34] Authority.

[35] See p. 525, note 106, and p. 528, note 115.

[36] The one.

[37] Of the customs.

[38] No. 6170, marked "No. 17" in red ink; partially quoted in Peckard, *Memoirs of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 166.

In Consideracion wherof the said J.S. will give unto his Majestie 10,000 *li.* per annum vizt. the vi *d.* per pound uppon Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco to bee collected unto his Majestie's use yearely And at the yeare's ende whatsoever the said vi *d.* per pound fauleth shorte of 10,000 *li.* the same to bee made up by the Contractors and to bee paid into his Majestie's receipte within 40 dayes after every yeare's ende, Dureinge the tearme of seaven yeares.

J.S. doth further in all humblenes offer unto his Majestie that if it shall please his Majestie to sett open the Trade of Spanish Tobacco and to injoyne all the Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco to bee broughte into this Kingdome and to paye the Impost or increase of subsidy of vi *d.* per pound for Virginia and Bermudos tobacco And the Impost of xviii *d.* per pound for all other sortes of tobacco, And for all such Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco as shalbee shipped out againe and not vented in this Kingdome, to Allowe unto them that imported the said tobacco iii *d.* per pound for all they shall exporte, And to take the same for seaven yeares uppon such condicions as by Councell shalbee agreed one,

In consideracion wherof the said J.S. will give unto his Majestie 10,000 *li.* per annum to bee paid halfe yearely or within 40 dayes after each rente daye.

[*Endorsed:*] Tobacco: 2 severall propositions.

L. PROPOSALS OF SIR NATHANIEL RICH.[39]

A proposition for advancement of his Majestie's profit and good of the Plantacions of Virginia and the Summer Islandes by setling the trade of Tobacco which is the comoditie by which they nowe cheifelie subsist.

First the plantations subsisting as yet by this comoditie of Tobacco it is necessarie that some provision bee made that the sale and vent thereof may bee continewed and that the price may be kept up at some such proportionable Rate as may yeald the adventurers and planters reasonable profit.

And as it is necessarie for the good of the plantacions soe likewise his Majesties profit is carefullie to bee regarded whose casuall Revenewe by this comoditie hath binne increased at least eight or ten thousand poundes per Annum and may hereafter bee much more. But if some tymelie provision bee not made both his Majesties Revenewe wilbee lost and the plantacions (especiallie that of the Summer Islands) in daunger to be utterlie ruyned. For

1. The quantitie of Tobacco (by reason of the late excessive planting thereof in the West Indyes and in the new plantacions of Guyana and Brazill) is like to bee so greate that all theis partes of Christendome wilbee glutted with it, and the price of Tobacco brought soe lowe that in probabilitie it will not bee worth so much a pound as his Majestie hath now for Custome.

[39] No. 6178. Sir Nathaniel Rich (1585?–1636), a relative and supporter of Lord Warwick and opponent of Sandys and the Ferrars, was a member of the Virginia, Somers Islands, Providence Island, and East India companies and of the Council for New England, and a patentee of Saybrook. The document is not the same as Miss Kingsbury's no. 411 (*Records,* I. 165), Manchester Papers nos. 312, 313; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report,* part II., p. 38.

2. The Tobacco of those countries though not in wholesomenes yet in strength, tast and estimacion, doth so farre excell oures of the English plantacions that if in his Majestie's dominions wee cannot find sale for it other tobacco will yeald nothing at all.

Therefore for the setling and advancement both of his Majestie's yearelie Revenewe and the good of the plantations in Virginia and the Summer Islands (which are amongst others most memorable workes of his Majestie's happie government),

It is propounded etc.

That as the French kinge hath the Gabell of salt in Fraunce and the king of Spaine the sole marchandize both of peppar and even of this particular comoditie of Tobacco in Spaine, soe it would please his most excellent Majestie our soveraigne to take the sole preemption of all the Tobacco of the English plantacions in Virginia and the Summer Islandes alloweing the Adventurers and Planters within some convenient tyme after they shall deliver it at the Port of London 2 *s.* a pound for the worser sorte (so that it be marchantable) 2 *s.* 6 *d.* for the midle sorte and 3 *s.* a pound for the best, cleare of charge, of fraight Custome and Impost; This will give full and universall content to the Planters and Adventurers who must needes acknowledge it a worke of great grace and princelie wisedome in his Majestie so to provide for them that they shalbee in better case then ever they were.

And for secureing his Majestie's yearelie profit it may bee managed thus.

Some able men may bee conferred withall who will become the king's marchants for this comoditie and allowe his Majestie double the proporcion which his Majestie payes for this Tobacco,[40] so that the quantitie exceede not 400 Thousand wight which is as much as the plantacions wilbee able to afforde, and theis kingdomes of England and Ireland doe usuallie vent. Thus will his Majesties Revenewe by the comoditie bee raised to 40 if not to 50 Thousand poundes per Annum certaine, and his Majestie not one penny out of purse.

And for Incouragement of theis marchauntes it is propounded that they may have the sole power to lycence the retaileing of this comoditie, And so for their owne securitie may agree with a convenient number in everie Cittie Towne and great parish to buy a yearelie proporcion of this Tobacco at such rates as the said marchauntes may bee reasonable Gayners and such quantities as the king's marchants shalbe sure to have the whole comoditie taken from them and dispersed into many handes which is verie feasible for if none may sell or retaile tobacco but such as shalbe lycenced by the kinges marchauntes they will find rather too many then too few that will in this kind deale with them.

And by this proposicion

1. The king's profit wilbee exceedinglie increased.

2. His Majestie even in that respect besides his owne gracious disposicion deeplie ingaged in the welfare and prosperitie of those plantacions that alreadie even by one comoditie afford him such a large revenewe.

[40] "Or," says a note in the margin, "if merchantes will not undertake so great a bargaine then may it be managed by some Commissioners wholy for his Majestie's benefitt which will much more increase the King's proffitt."

3. The excessive stealeing in of forreine tobacco into this kingdome wilbee hereby avoided and the charge of strict search for it in the portes saved. For everie retailor will in this case bee an informer because it will hinder both his owne and his fellowes profit. And for their better Incouragement they may have the moyitie of all such tobacco as they shall discover so to be stollen in.

4. It will tend to the generall good of this kingdome by restrayneing thexcessive Expence of Bullion which was wont to be layd out in forreine partes for this comoditie to the great diminucion of the Threasure of this kingdome. As also by mantayneing a trade and commerce betweene theis kingdomes and those new acquired countries of Virginia and the Summer Islandes and that without money which is worthie of observacion for wee returne not money but our owne Native Comodities of Cloth, wollen stuffes, Tynne, Leade, Leather etc. for the goodes which wee receive from thence, and if it bee ordered so that the last price of the best Tobacco exceede not ten or eleven shillinges as it very well may then doth the subject also buy it at a better rate then ever he hath done heretofore.

5. Lastlie the Propounder of this Course prayes it may be considered that hee onelie aymes herein at publique good as may appeare by all the reasons alledged professing that he sees no wrong or inconvenience that can happen to anie man hereby but conceives that this being a superfluous weede and fit to be regulated, all discreete and indifferent men wilbe so farre from excepting against it as they will rather thinke it a matter of great grace and prudence in his Majestie to prevent the former mischeife and thus to order a superfluitie to so good, just, honorable and publique endes.

[*Endorsed in the hand of the Lord Treasurer:*] Sir Nathaniell Rich, Virginia and Burmoothes.

LI. ARGUMENT AGAINST THE CONTRACT, [MARCH 20, 1623].[41]

Sundry reasons against the Contract and Joynt stocke of the Virginia and Summer Islandes Tobacco.

1. The Contract besides Custome and Charges is to yeald his Majestie one third part of the goodes in kind, which third part (by reason the condition of this yeares Tobacco falles out to bee meane and litle worth) will disappoint his Majestie in point of profit And the other two thirdes being of like bad condition (all Charges deducted) there wilbee litle or nothing remayneing for the Adventurers and Planters.

2. The great quantitie and meane condicion of the Virginia and Summer Ilands Tobacco is such as for the most part it must bee exported at easie rates into Turkie Barbarie and other forreine partes which by the charge of this Contract is impossible without great damage and losse to the owners.

[41] No. 6163, marked "No. 9" in red ink. It is an additional copy of the document in the Public Record Office (C. O. 1: 3, no. 10) which figures as no. 424 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 165) and bears date of Mar. 20, 1623. Mr. Sainsbury, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, I. 59, wrongly gave this P. R. O. document the date Mar. 20, 1624. There is a transcript of it in the New York Public Library, Bancroft Papers, II. 413–429.

3. The heavie charge laid upon Tobacco by this contract will occasion the transportacion thereof from the Plantacions into forreine partes and not into England whereby his Majestie wilbe a great looser and the Companie much damnified, nay it is to bee feared that the people in the Summer Islands will grow altogeather idle haveing nothing else to raise profit by, and then povertie and want may drive them to revolte and so his Majestie loose the strongest knowne forte in the Christian world tending both to the safetie of this kingdome, and acquisition of that other of Virginia to the which it serves in stead of an impregnable fort.

4. No such contract as this can bee made but by the joynt consent of all the Adventurers and Planters whereof not one of ten have given their consent and manie of those that consented conceived themselves inforct unto it, but being since better acquainted with his Majesties most free and gracious intencion do now humblie declare their disassent thereunto conceiveing that this Contract cannot be proceeded in without extreame Injustice and forfeiture of our Charters by which wee are to governe our affaires according to the lawes of England that doe not allowe the good subject to bee dispossessed of his goodes without his consent, And wee doe humblie pray that the act of a few and such as are least interested in point of charge, and therefore doe not feele the waight of the burthen which they lay upon other men may not prejudice the whole companie.

5. The rate for exporteing of people to the plantacion was wont to bee five or sixe pound a head to bee paid in Tobacco but by this contract the rate will growe to be 10 or 12 *l.* at least, The Owners forecasting that the Tobacco which they shall take for freight of the passengers wilbee more then twice dearer unto them then in former times, and so by that meanes will extreamelie hinder the peopling of the Plantacions when passengers cannot but at such extreame rates bee transported thither.

6. The sole importacion of Spanish Tobacco is a part and cheife consideracion of this contract by which importacion not the Companies but private men that make the stocke[42] shall receive the benifit, and therefore noe cause why in that respect the goodes of the Adventurers and planters should be charged by this contract.

7. It is a thing of great daunger and hazard for particuler men's estates to bee ingaged to his Majestie by the seales of the companie for the performance of so great a contract which may breed question and lie as a perpetuall charge and Incumbrance upon the persons goodes and landes of them and their heires that are free of these companies, yea although they never received one penny benifit by their freedome.

8. A single planter doth raise at the most but 30 pound wight of tobacco in the Summer Islandes in one yeare for his owne part, whereof one third by the contract is to goe to his Majestie, another third in ordinary charges besides sallary, and so restes scarce ten pound wight to the poore labourer, not worth in all above 1 *l.* 5 *s.* for his whole yeares paynes, and even out of this 25 *s.* being the labour of a whole yeare hee is by the contract to allow double salarie[43] which may take away all the

[42] *I.e.*, subscribe to the joint stock for the purpose. If the company had received the contract, it would have created a subordinate organization or joint stock to manage the importations of Spanish tobacco, and another for the Virginian and Bermudan.

[43] The salaries voted by the companies, for management under the contract (*Records*, II. 150–152, Nov. 27, 1622), were thereafter a constant subject of complaint on the part of the dissatisfied minority.

rest, and leave him nothing at all; And the Adventurers are in the same case, soe as appareantlie the plantacion wilbee overthrowne if this Contract doe proceed.

Neither will the monopolizeing of Tobacco into one hand anie waies better this bargaine but rather make it worse for

1. If by that meanes they suppose to raise the price and to sell it dearer that wilbe the next way to cause such an ymportation by stealth (as was seene in pepper when the like course was taken)[44] as that our Tobacco will lie unvented till it rott and perish, and the charge of keepeing the portes to prevent it wilbee in likelihood more then the goodes are worth.

2. It were a dangerous president and never heard of that plurality of voyces should conclude the goodes of other men without their consent to bee put into a Joynt stocke at the comeing home of the shipp whereas the Adventure outward was by particuler men not in Joynt stocke, which if it shalbe admitted to take place wilbe the utter ruine and destruction of all trade and commerce.

3. It occasions a strange charge of a yearelie stipend or salarie to Officers to mannage this Joynt stocke which the Companies are not able to beare and yet by votes of such as are least interessed and of those men themselves who are to receive it was caried by pluralitie of voyces.

4. By this meanes his Majestie wilbee charged with 8 or 900 *li.* per annum certaine for his third part of this salarie[45] and how much more we know not so that perhaps his Majestie's charge wilbee more then his whole third part of this meane Tobacco will come unto.

5. It hinders the poore people from trucking away their Tobacco for comodities by which heretofore they have releived themselves and made a greater benifit then ever they could doe by selling for in readie money.

6. It bereaves both Planters and Owners of present meanes to supplie their shares seeing they must attend the sale and accompt of the Joynt stocke.

7. It subjectes them to great hazard by ill debtes.

8. It involves them in intricate accomptes and is like to occasion infinite suites and contencions and will breede much confusion in the sale of their goodes, for in this comoditie one man's parcell of Tobacco is much better then another and either it must be sold with theires of lesse value and soe a losse to the owner and generall discouragement to make their tobacco good or else if everie man's bee kept apart wee must rest upon the goodwill of the Agentes when this or that man's parcell shalbee sold,

9. The experience of the losses and inconveniences which have growne by all other joynt stockes is sufficient to deterre men from this course, and we hope his Majestie will not permitt that anie man shall be forced to it whether he will or noe.

Wee conceive this busines wilbee better mannaged if it will please his Majestie to limit the importacion of Spanish Tobacco to a reasonable proporcion as alreadie he hath done and to graunt the farme thereof to whom his Majestie shall please for his owne best benifit, and then (reserveing onelie that proportion of Spanish Tobacco) to inhibite the im-

[44] In 1609 a monopoly of the importation of pepper was granted to the East India Company. W. R. Scott, *Joint-Stock Companies*, I. 140, quoting the court records of the company.

[45] The proposed salaries amounted in the aggregate to £2500.

portacion of all other save that which shalbee brought in from theis plantations and that everie Adventurer and Planter may receive and dispose of his owne goodes for his best advantage. And wee shall humblie submit ourselves to his Majestie's gratious pleasure for such a custome to bee layd upon other goodes as may incourage all the Planters and Owners to import all the Tobacco that shalbee made both in Virginia and the Summer Islandes into this Realme of England and not otherwhere; which as it would increase and advance the plantacions, so the quantities that wilbee brought in wilbee soe greate that wee conceive his Majesties yearelie profit wilbee much greater this way then the other how specious so ever, and it is hoped it will prosper much better because it wilbee accompanied with the willing and heartie affections of those that pay it.

And wee humblie pray that in the layeing on of this custome his Majestie will have a speciall regard to ease the Tobacco of the Summer Islands.

1. Because it is a place of great importance and therefore very behoovefull to give that colony content and to provide for their supplies.

2. This poore plantacion hath had no helpes of Lotteries, Collections and other assistances as that of Virginia hath had.

3. Because the tobacco of the Summer Islandes generallie is of a meaner sorte then that of Virginia and this yeare so bad that it is litleworth.

4. By his Majesties letters patentes they are to pay but 5 *l.* per C. for all charges whatsoever.[46]

5. Because it is rather a forte then a country able to produce staple comodities as that of Virginia and so hath no other meanes but by this poore weede to subsist.

6. Because those of the Summer Islandes company that are to beare the burthen of this charge are very few and noe meanes to mantaine their publique charge of those Islandes but out of their purses which everie yeare costes them manie Thousand poundes; and yet they are comforted with the assureance of his Majestie's gracious respect for their good service in acquireing and mantayneing a place of soe great consequence without anie charge to his Majestie though to the great prejudice and undooeing of some of their owne particuler fortunes unlesse his Majestie take a speciall regard of them there being twentie of them that at least are out of their purses Twentie thousand poundes in this plantacion.

[*Endorsed:*] Reasons against the contract.

LII. ARGUMENT AGAINST THE COMPANY'S ARRANGEMENTS.[47]

Propositions considerable[48] for the equall managinge of the Contract with his Majestie concerninge the sole importacion of Tobacco graunted to the twoe Companies of Virginia and the Sumer Islands.

[46] The patent of 1615 for the Somers Islands Company (text in Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, I. 93) exempted the patentees from all payment of customs except, after seven years, five per cent. on goods imported into or exported out of England, and, after 21 years, on other goods.

[47] No. 6190.

[48] *I.e.*, deserving to be considered.

1. First that the agentes whoe undertake the mannageinge of this busines and are to be payd for their labour, doe give good securitye to free the companyes and the goodes of every particuler adventurer from that Covenant with his Majestie for bringinge in of 80,000 weight of Varinus tobaccoe in three yeares inasmuch as not the companyes but themselves that underwright the Spanish stocke shall have the benefit thereof.

2. What satisfaction they will give to the Virginia Planters or to our Sumer Islandes Tenantes for their Tobaccoe, which they shall send or bringe hither for price and payment.

3. What ordinary rate they will impose upon the Sumer Islandes Tobaccoe for defrayinge the 25 C. *li.*[49] salery and what rate in such accidentall cases as may fall out namely if noe Spanish tobacco (or but little) shall be brought in, or that the greatest part of Virginia shall be directed to other partes, or in case the Sumer Islandes tobacco when it cometh shall be all sould together, or the kinge's parte only, by the candle[50] without anie charge or labour of theirs.

4. What order they will take to free the Adventurers of disbursments for custome fraight and publique charges before they take our goodes unto their possession.

5. What securitie they will give to performe the promisses and to give a just accompt of the sales and of the proceed thereof to his Majestie and to thadventurers, and when to make payment.

6. For that the contracte is but conditionally agreed upon in Courte to contynue if the proclamacion shall be published by Midsomer next,[51] whoe shall (when the contracte fayleth) defray the great Rent of 160 *l.* per annum for the directors great house intended to be taken[52] and the greate saleryes, howe and in what proporcion and howe shall his Majestie then have his due and every man his owne proper goodes delivered backe againe.

7. To explayne themselves whether out of 25 C. *l.* salery (whereof they say his Majestie is to pay a third parte) they meane to defray all charges or whether they intend to put to accompt over and above the Charges of Porters, Carrmen, Coopers, Wharfage Waiters, Searchers, suites of lawe, shrinckinge in weight, desperate debtes and such like.

8. As the greate quantitie and meane condicion of the Virginia and Sumer Islandes tobacco is not fittinge for the vent and expence of this kingdome, but for the most at easy rates must be exported, soe the greate enhancement of price by thirds taken out and excessive charges put upon will make it altogether unpossible to be exported and therefore to be considred howe to cleare this difficulty soe that profitt may come to thadventurers and Planters.

9. The sallery men[53] for the most parte to be excepted against some of them for want of skill, some want of estate, some of them noe way in-

[49] £2500.

[50] By "auction by inch of candle", wherein a bit of candle was lighted, and the goods went to him who made the highest bid before the wick fell.

[51] Rather, June 20; see notes 14 and 15, above. Midsummer was June 24.

[52] Nov. 27, 1622, £180 was voted for a house and warehouses. *Records*, II. 151, 153.

[53] The officers and committeemen chosen on the same occasion. *Ibid.*, II. 154, 155.

teressed, and other contynually maynteyninge and raysinge quarrells and bitter contencions against sundry good Adventurers whose goodes must come to their handes and possession to be disposed, Against which sundry of the Adventurers doe protest asto men unfitt to mannage theis affayres. [*Endorsed:*] The busines of Tobacco with the Virginia and Somer Ilandes companie.

LIII. REPLY TO THE PRECEDING.[54]

An Aunsweare to the Propositions exhibited to the Right Hon'ble the Lord High Treasuror of England for the equall menaginge of the Contract with his Majestie concerninge the sole Importation of Tobacco etc.

It is first to be observed, that the Contract hath beene ratified by Six Quarter Courts; vizt. three of each Companie:[55] noe one man at the question declaring his dissent, save onely the Deputy, and that in the first Court onely.

It is also to be observed that the Raysers of troubles in the Courts namely Mr. Wrote[56] and his abettors, though their pretences have beene agaynst the Sallaries and the mannor of Importacion of Spanish Tobacco: yet in the heate of their opposicions, their speeches and reasons have allwayes reflected upon the body of the Contract itselfe, which being contrarie to all order hath much distasted the Companies.

And it is nowe to be observed that these Propounders though their pretence in their wrighting be for the equall menaginge of the Contract, And although they have often in the courts very solemnly protested and vowed, that they were not against the Contract itselfe, yet when they came before the Lord Treasuror, they dismasked themselves, and unanimously professed that they were against the very body of the contract: which sheweth, that these Articles can be noe other then Cavills, seeing their pretence is one way, and their intent another way.

And before wee come to the answering of the perticuler Articles, wee are inforced to take excepcions unto the manner of propounding them. For it is necessarie to be knowne, that the Counsell, Comittees and Companies having first concluded on the Offices necessarie for the menaging of this Contract, as also of their rewardes by way of Sallarie (according to the fifte Article of the Contract): The Officers themselves were lastly chosen in both the Courts:[57] and the burthen was imposed upon the chiefe of them, in a free and unanimous eleccion, contrary to their most earnest and often iterated desires.

It is also further to be knowne, that by reason of these troubles, both the chiefe Officers and divers of the Comittees having voluntarily surrendred their places, and greatly importuned the Courts, to accept of their Surrenders; yet the same have beene refused, and they continued in their offices, much contrary to their wills, and most earnest suits,[58]

[54] No. 6167, marked "No. 13" in red ink. A reply to no. LII., of date previous to April, 1622.

[55] The Virginia Company's meetings of July 3 and Nov. 27, 1622, and Feb. 12, 1623 (*Records*, II. 85, 148, 266); the Somers Islands Company's meetings of July 10, Nov. 27, and Feb. 12 (*ibid.*, II. 97, 157, 273).

[56] Samuel Wrote, cousin german to Middlesex; see the *Records*, II., *passim*.

[57] *Ibid.*, II. 155.

[58] *Ibid.*, II. 223, 273.

whereas contrariwise these Articles are propounded in that manner, as though the Officers had bin ambitious of this imployment, and consequently were to undertake it with all indignities. Then which noething can be more untrue and unjust.

1. To the first Article it is answered, that the matter therein conteyned is allready regulated in the Quarter Courts of bothe the Companies. And that the Officers or Agents of the companies have noe more to doe in the bringing in of the Varinaes Tobacco, then any other perticuler member that liste to adventure his stock therein: By which order of the said Quarter Courts, it is declared that the perticuler Adventurers for the said Varinaes Tobacco are to bring in the proporcion expressed by the Contract: the Bodies of the Companies bearing a tenth part with them.[59] But in case of any misfortune by losse of their Tobacco without the default of the said Adventurers, they are not to be farther charged also with restitucion or recompence: but the same is to rest upon the whole body of the Companies, and consequently to be answered out of the Companies publique Stocks: and if these should not suffice, then out of the Stocks of the Generall Adventurers returned from the Plantations, as heretofore in like cases had beene usually done.

2. In the second Article, the Question is likewise resolved by bothe the Quarter Courts; vizt. that generally the Adventurers and Planters, both for price and payment, are to goe in equall lines: Neither of which are to be ordered or concluded by the officers, but by the Generall Courts themselves; the matter being first seriously debated and prepared by the Comittees. And in favour of the poorer sorte of Planters, there have beene divers other wayes devised and resolved upon, by the generall consent of bothe the Courts; both for the advancing of their prices, and expediting of their payments.

3. To the third Article it is answered, that it is grounded wholy upon errors. An error it is, to conceave that the rating of charges, is in the power of the Officers: being reserved (as all other important matters) to the Generall Courts. An error it is, to thinke, that the labour of the Officers, consisteth wholy or chiefly in the matter of Sale: the well menaging of the Contract extending itselfe in the difficulties thereof to a much larger Compasse. And lastly it is an error and misinformacion, to say that the Salaries amount unto five and twenty hundred poundes: whereas they come but to Seaventeene hundred poundes.[60] But to the matter itselfe of this article, the answere is not difficult. For the charges to be imposed wilbe lighter or heavier according to the proporcion greater or lesser of Tobacco to be brought in, and that with this comfort both to Adventurers and Planters that the greatnes of the quantity will diminishe the perticuler charge; and the smallnes of the quantity will enhance the generall price.

But whereas there is mencion made of the selling the Tobacco together, it is to be observed that the course thereof lately propounded, by these Objectors, is subject to Fraude and much wrong both to the Kinge and Companies: vizt. that certaine Undertakers, being members of the Companies, should rayse a greate Stock in money, to buy of all the Tobacco by way of whole Sale. For considering the courts in the vacacions are often times very thinne, and the Somer Ilandes Court by the

[59] *Records*, II. 156, 163.

[60] After deduction of the king's third.

Letters Pattents may consiste of Eighte persons onely:[61] these Undertakers may easily attayne to be the greater parte of the Courts, and consequently may be both Buyers and Sellers at the same time. A feare not causeles, but grounded on former experience; whereby some of these Objectors have made themselves rich, by the great losse and detriment of the Adventurers and Companies.

To the 4th Article the answere is, that the Court have allready ordered that the Custome and freight shalbe discharged by the Officers, who are to be secured from damage by the goodes in their custody.

5. To the 5 article it is likewise answered that the Courts with Generall consent (onely one dissenting) have taken full order for security both of goodes and money: which orders have beene read before the Lord Treasuror, and wee suppose they are more exquisite for caution on all sides, then are used in anie other Company whatsoever, as at the making of them was openly acknowledged.[62] The perticularities whereof are to long to be here sett downe: but are ready to be shewen to any that shall desire to see them. Whereunto wee may add a strict oath, which is to be administred to all the Officers of what degree soever, for just and equall dealing, both in keeping, preserving, selling and accompting for the goodes; as also in making the paymnts at such time as they shall growe due wherein the Officers also from time to time are to be directed by the Courts.

6. To the Sixte Article, it is answered, that by vertue of the Contract, the Proclamation mencioned was presently to come forth. But upon mocion from the Lord Treasuror, the Companies have consented, that it may be forborne till the Twentith of June: at which time the Lord Treasurer hath promised that it shalbe published. Of the performance of whose promise, though the Propounder here seeme to make soe great doubt; yet the Companies will make none at all: and therefore hold it unfitt to follow the Propounders stepps any further; in which it seemeth that jealousy hath outrun their duety.

7. To the Seaventh it is answered that the Officers are to be accomptable for all charges, if five and twenty hundreth poundes will serve, the remayne is to be restored. If more be necessary, that which wants must agayne be leavied. That the Officers out of their owne estates, should beare those uncertaine burthens, of desperate debts, suits in lawe, shrinkage and the like, is soe farr not onely from Equitie, but from all ordinarie reason, that they hope the Propounders themselves upon better consideracion will retract the Question.

8. To the Eighte Article it is answered, that the case of meane Tobacco is much more difficult without this Contract, then with or under it. For the Twelve pence on the pound amounted to much more then the vallue of one entire halfe, not onely of the meaner, but also of the middle sort thereof as experience hath shewed.

9. To the Ninth Article, which layeth aspersions on the Officers' persons, the Answere is plaine. The two chiefe Officers were chosen by the Ballating box with 65 votes for them, and not above five against

[61] Seven; patent, Lefroy, I. 89. But this was true of the ordinary courts only, not of the quarterly courts.

[62] See *Records*, II. 284–288.

them.[63] The Eighte Comittees[64] were chosen by ereccion of handes out of the nomber of Sixteene, named by the Courts to stand for the places: In which nomber of Sixteene, were divers of these objectors. The Companies made choise of them whome by experience they knewe to love the Plantations, and were fitt for the diversity of imployments incident to this busines: some of them being Merchantes, some Retaylors, some skilfull in the Portes, and others such as by long continuance and attendance in the Courtes, were skilfull in the affáires of the Companies and Plantacions and withall large Adventurers. Of which Eighte, six have beene yearely chosen Comittees and Assistants for these Three yeares last past; neither any just excepcion can be taken to any of them by mindes unpossessed with partiallity or mallice, neither are the companies to be blamed in this or other their eleccions, if they have rather made choise to entrust their Goodes in the hands of men untainted for integritie and honesty, then in theires, whose wisdome hath beene for their owne perticular benefitt, who in their former menagements of Tobacco have reduced Seaven thowsand poundes sterling to Fower thowsand poundes,[65] and who never yet gave up any faire account of the Companie's goodes.

[*Endorsed:*] Aunsweare to certen Propositions exhibited to the Lord Treasuror concerning the Contract.

LIV. DRAFT OF LORD TREASURER'S WARRANT FOR THE COLLECTION OF DUTIES, MARCH 25, 1623.[66]

After my harty comendacions, Wheras I understand there is a ship lately aryved within the porte of London from the Bermudos or Somer-Ilands wherof for the most parte hir ladeinge is Tobacco, and for that I have binn informed that you have made stay of passinge the Tobacco in regard of the pretence of a contracte with the Company of Bermudos and Virginia for the Importacion of Tobacco, beinge intended upon his Majestie's parte for the benefitt and good of the said companyes, which *uppon debate of the Councell Boarde* beinge ther amply argued and heard before the Lordes of his Majesties Privie Counsell is conceived to bee rather prejuditiall unto the Companyes if the said contracte should goe forward, in consideracion wherof his Majestie is graciously pleased that you suffer the said tobacco to bee delivered unto the severall proprietors therof they payinge unto his Majestie's farmers of the customes

[63] On Nov. 27, 1622, Sandys was chosen director of operations under the contract, by 65 ballots against 5, John Ferrar treasurer and deputy director, by 68 votes against 2. *Records*, II. 154.

[64] In modern language, committeemen.

[65] See *Records*, II. 315.

[66] No. 6165, marked "No. 11" in red ink. The portions printed in italics are interlineations in the handwriting of the Lord Treasurer. Another copy or draft is no. 426 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 166), dated Mar. 27; Manchester Papers, no. 293, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, pt. II., p. 37. In either case the document gives an early date to the determination of the Privy Council to abandon the contract, their first positive decree to that effect being apparently of Apr. 28; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 61. For the company's view of the final proceedings about the contract, see "The Discourse of the Old Company", in L. G. Tyler, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, pp. 448–450.

three pence per pound for the subsidy which the said farmers are contented to accepte of *without demandinge any defalcation from the King, And it is resolved by the Lordes of the Councell and so promised by many of the Company both of Virginia and Bermuthos that they will hence forward* [bring] all the Tobacco exported from Virginia and Bermudos into his Majesties dominions, And for the impost or increase of subsidy you receive unto his Majestie's use for all the said Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco belonginge unto any Planter or free brother of the said companyes sixe pence per pound *redy monye* beeinge the rate formerly agreed on, And for all such Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco which shall not belonge unto any Planter or free brother of the said Companyes the usuall impost of eighteen pence per pound *redy* [money] due uppon Tobacco as hath bine formerly used. And this shalbe a sufficient Warrante unto you *for the present untill further order shalbe given* for the same. Chelsey this 25th. of March 1623.

Your very loving freind

To my very loving friendes the officers and farmers of his Majesties customes and to Abraham Jacob and Jo. Jacob[67] Collectors of the impost and increase of subsidye uppon tobacco.

[*Endorsed:*] Warrant for to receive iii *d.* per pound for the subsidy of Virginia and Bermudos Tobacco and vi *d.* per pound for the impost or increase of subsidy of the same Tobaccoe.

LV. SUGGESTIONS FOR LETTERS TO THE COLONISTS,[APRIL 21, 1623].[68]

A memoriall of some thinges which it may please the lords to insert in their lordships' letters to Virginia and the Summer Islandes.

1. That the late contract is upon full heareing before their lordships dissolved as that which was verie prejudiciall to the plantations, a coppie of which contract togeather with the reasons that were in writeinge delivered against it, it may please their lordships to send them.

2. That his Majestie out of his princelie care of their good is content that no tobacco shalbee brought into England or Ireland but such as shalbee imported from the plantacions in Virginia and the Summer Islandes except onelie fourtie Thousand weight yearelie of Spanish Tobacco (and that but for a time) if they will give for it as others will.

3. That to this greate and extraordinarie favour his Majestie requires

[67] For Abraham and John Jacob, see pp. 522–524, 528, and notes 99, 102, 115. "Here Sir Edward [Coke] observed, that [Abraham] Jacob was my Lord's necessary Creature and petty chapman, and had a Son that was his Secretary; and because he was a Jacob, that is, a Supplanter, he desired their Lordships to take good care of him." Old *Parl. Hist.*, VI. 144.

[68] No. 6177. Another copy is no. 471 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 171), bearing the date Apr. 21, 1623, and the endorsement, in the handwriting of Sir Nathaniel Rich, "deliv. by me to the L. Treas." Manchester Papers, no. 335, Hist. MSS. Comm., *Eighth Report*, part II., p. 41. In a meeting of the company on Apr. 17, Lord Cavendish reports orders of the Privy Council to prepare such letters; both companies prepared them, Apr. 18, but the lords did not approve of their drafts. *Records*, II. 365, 368; *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 61. A letter sent May 2 is in Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 391–394.

that all the tobacco which shalbee exported from the said plantations shalbee brought into England, a thing which they themselves have seemed heretofore to desire, and will now bee most benificiall unto them in regard that all forreyne marketes wilbee glutted with excessive quantities of Tobacco liklie to bee brought from the new plantacions in Brazille, Guyana and other places which is of a farre better sort then that which comes from the English colonies and yet wilbee afforded at lesse then halfe the price that the English Tobacco hath heretofore binne usuallie sold for, so that unles his Majestie in his greate grace and wisedome should provide for the venting of this their comoditie within his owne dominions they should not bee able to make anie thing at all of it in anie other place, and therefore to advise them to call a generall Assemblie and by comon consent to cause an Act to be made to that purpose.[69]

4. That his Majesties great grace did not stay here but that even beyond hope and expectacion his Majestie is pleased to be so farre from laying a greater burthen upon them in regard of this his princelie graunt unto theis companies, that hee hath voluntarilie condiscended to abate 3 *d.* of the 12 *d.* for Custome and Impost which they payd heretofore: So that in Summ, his Majestie grauntes the sole importacion, and instead of a retribution for it, is content to suffer a diminucion of what was formerlie payed.

5. That this his Majestie's singuler favour is yet inlarged for that, whereas hee hath heard of manie greevances and Inconveniences which have hindred the growth of theis Plantacions hee hath appointed choise and able Commissioners to examyne and inquire particulerlie into them,[70] to thend that all hindrances of this worthie worke being removed it might hereafter thrive and prosper.

6. To which the Collonies are to bee admonished to afford their utmost indevours by leaveing the immoderate plantinge of Tobacco and applying themselves to more staple commodities and in particuler to recomend unto them the care of nourishinge and increasing their silkewormes.

7. That they bee carefull to choose the most comodious places of abode for health and safetie and that they plant themselves soe as they may afford mutuall helpe and strength each to other both against intestine and forraigne enimies.

8. And that his Majestie may bee the more throughlie informed what is the true estate of the plantacions at this present therefore to require them upon their dutie and allegiance by the first shipp to retourne (togeather with their answeare to this letter) a perfect Catalogue of the names of all the Englishmen women and children resideinge in the country the age, condition, imployment and places of abode of everie of them, as also what houses or townes are at this tyme remayneinge, what Ordnance are mounted at the tyme of this shipp's arrivall, what publique workes, (as Churches, Guest-houses, Bridges, forks, or the like) are now remayneing or have binne heretofore erected, and now demolished, Also what number of English cattle there are which at their pleasure they may have use of, and what otherwise: Also what store of corne and other

[69] The act, if passed, seems not to be extant.

[70] The commission resolved upon by the Privy Council on Apr. 17, 1623, and issued that day. *Acts P. C. Col.*, I. 58–60; Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*. I. 289–290; *Cal. S. P. Col.*, I. 44.

victuall the Collonies in Virginia are furnished with, and what is the price for which the said catle, corne and other provisions are usuallie sold for and especiallie of late since the last massacre, What number of persons may (this or the next yeare) be convenientlie sent from hence to supplie the colonies and entertaigned there with convenient lodgeing [and] dyet upon their arrivall for some reasonable time, till they may build and plant for themselves; and generallie as they will answeare to God and the Kinges most excellent majestie both of theis and all other particulers tending to a true description of the state and condition of the said plantacions faithfullie to informe their lordships that accordinglie they may advise them for their future safetie and prosperitie which is the onelie thing intended by his Majestie and their Lordships to whom if upon this Intimation they shall not declare the whole truth fullie and reallie all partialitie and affection whatsoever set aside they must expect a just punnishment of so high an offence and themselves shalbe judged as causes of all ensueing mischeifes.

9. Lastlie to admonish them to persist and increase in the true and frequent worshipp of Almightie God, in love and unitie amongst themselves and in couragious and industrious performance of their particular Imployementes.

LVI. ATTORNEY GENERAL COVENTRY TO MIDDLESEX, JULY 31, 1623.[71]

May it please your lordshipp

Mr. Sollicitor[72] and myself having agreed on a certificate concerning the busines of Verginia I have as you appoynted me sent it to your lordshipp that your lordshipp may att such conveniency as may best sewt with his Majestie's service cause it to be presented to his Majestie, And so I humblie rest

Att your lordshipp's comandement
THOMAS COVENTRYE.

INNER TEMPLE
31 July, 1623.

[*Endorsed by Willis:*] Mr. Attorney to my lord touching the Certificate for the Virginia Governement.
[*Addressed:*] To the Right Honble. my very good lord the lord highe Treasurer of England.

[71] No. 6198, holograph. Sir Thomas Coventry (1578–1640), attorney general 1621–1625, lord keeper 1625–1640. The letter which this covers, no. 551 in Miss Kingsbury's list (*Records*, I. 180), is printed in Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 547–549, with a new-style date.

[72] Sir Robert Heath, solicitor general 1621–1625.

Addendum. An addition should have been made to note 70, under document XV., on p. 511, pointing out, on the evidence of that document, that its author, Capt. John Bargrave, must also have been the author of the plan for the government of Virginia, 1623, which we printed in April, 1914, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 559–578.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

International Relations. By JAMES BRYCE, Viscount BRYCE. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 275. $2.50.)

To the many, who, last summer, had the opportunity to hear at Williamstown the presentation of Lord Bryce's matured thoughts on international relations, this book will be most welcome. To those who did not have this opportunity, at the first meeting of the Institute of Politics, the book will show the serious character of one of the marked contributions to the success of the first session of this American experiment in bringing to the public a larger view of international affairs.

The dedication of the work bears date of December 22, 1921, and is to Secretary Hughes. He joined with the other delegates to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament, January 23, 1922, when they paused in their labors to pay unusual tribute to the memory of Lord Bryce, who died in England on January 22.

Lord Bryce aims to supply in this book material to answer in the light of history two important questions: "Why is it that before the clouds of the Great War have vanished from the sky new clouds are rising over the horizon? What can be done to avert the dangers that are threatening the peace of mankind?"

The first lecture gives a sweeping view of relations between ethnic and other unities from early times to the outbreak of the World War, dividing these relations into five periods: (1) general war, (2) peace of Rome, (3) monotheistic religions, (4) Rome and Emperor, (5) balance and competition of power. In this lecture he does not accept the theory that the "great man is the product of the age", but rather that "the man who gives effect to the tendencies may make all the difference, and the coming of the man is unpredictable". "Had there been Bismarcks and Cavours and Mazzinis since A.D. 1900, we should have seen a very different Europe today."

In other chapters Lord Bryce traces the causes of the Great War of 1914 to conditions in Germany of the time of Charles V., and calls particular attention to the enduring influence of Martin Luther. He states that the problems left after the War "will tax all the wisdom and self-control of the Old World Powers", and adds "I doubt whether it can be done without the help of the New World".

While Lord Bryce sees in commerce and industry factors making for world peace as well as for conflict, he hopes that the peace influence will dominate as the dynastic motive loses weight in international negotia-

tions. He shows how the modern press, a relatively new factor in international relations, has tended generally to be chauvinistic, but maintains that in diplomacy thought must be had for the remote day, hidden from the journalist and party politician, if statesmanship is to prevail and the reign of law is to be maintained in the world. He enumerates as the chief causes of war: (1) lust for territory, (2) religion, (3) protection of rights of nationals, (4) commerce and trade, (5) protection of the weak, (6) fear.

With the increasing participation of the people in affairs, Lord Bryce is of the opinion that there must be a greater degree of publicity of the facts in regard to international relations, and that these facts should be furnished from official sources in order that partizan and sensational misrepresentation may not mislead. He is, nevertheless, convinced that certain negotiations may still best be carried on in private conference.

Arbitration and conciliation are given a high place by Lord Bryce among the methods of possible settlement of disputes among states. Of the League of Nations plan he says, "Imperfect it may be, but it is the only plan which has yet been launched with any prospect of success".

Out of his ripe experience, and with the warmest regard for Americans and American institutions, Lord Bryce declares in his closing address,

> Such as the citizens are, such will the leaders be, because they desire to please the citizens. If the citizens are swayed by impulses of vanity and ambition, their leaders will try to win support by playing up or playing down to such passions. If, on the other hand, the citizens demand from those who guide the State uprightness and fair dealing and a considerate respect for the rights of others, and if they reprobate and dismiss any statesman who falls below the moral standard they set up, their leaders will try to conform to that standard. . . . What all the nations now need is a public opinion which shall in every nation give more constant thought and keener attention to international policy, and lift it to a higher plane.

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

The Mind in the Making: the Relation of Intelligence to Social Reform. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1921. Pp. 235. $2.50.)

DEEPLY impressed by the evils of the present social order, impatient with all who blindly accept it, and disappointed in the efforts at reform by changing the administration, spiritual exhortation, and education as commonly pursued, the author of this book finds hope and remedy in the freedom of intelligence. By this he means not reverie, nor the rationalizing of motives derived from habit and tradition, but creative thinking like that which produced our modern science and invention. But this required its founders to "discard practically all the consecrated notions of the world and its workings which had been held by the best

and wisest and purest of mankind down to three hundred years ago". What is now needed is similar intelligence applied to the study of man in his social relations. For while our knowledge and control of the physical world has achieved such notable triumphs, "our scientific knowledge and regulation of human affairs has remained almost stationary for over two thousand years".

Violent prejudices in current beliefs and habits of thinking oppose this application. The author aims to trace these obstacles historically to their source, to perform, so to say, a kind of Freudian analysis on the human mind at large. At the same time he points out the way advances have hitherto been made. Accordingly the major part of the book is taken up with discussions of our animal and savage ancestry; the beginning of critical thinking in Greece, whose supreme contribution to human thought was scepticism; the influence of Plato and Aristotle; the origin of medieval civilization and our intellectual inheritance from that; finally, the scientific revolution and its effects. The main lessons to be learned from this survey are apparently, first, that our current social beliefs and attitudes are rooted in our past and maintained solely on this account, and, secondly, that progress in any direction has always been conditioned on breaking with the past and boldly pushing out into new paths. The book concludes with two chapters of which the one treats of the sickness of an acquisitive society with some recent instances, as the author holds them to be, of reaction (the Lusk Committee, etc.), while the other contains reflections on the philosophy of repression. The author proposes no specific reforms; his object is the more fundamental one of breaking our "shackles", changing our attitude to the problems.

But it is only in part that he essays the rôle of a Francis Bacon of the social sciences, for he suggests no new organon, no method of attacking the problems which is not being already applied, but contents himself in this regard with attacking the *idola* of established social and ethical tradition. No one surely will dispute the need of free, critical, and constructive thinking on social problems. But this is too vaguely general, and it is at least doubtful whether the mere appeal to intelligence is likely to be more effective in creating a new world order than the preaching of brotherly love which the author finds so disappointing. Moreover a bias strongly radical is as unfavorable to an impartial survey of the facts as one strongly conservative. A frequent comment suggested to the reviewer has been, adapting the words of Job, No doubt but ye are the people and wisdom was born with you. The book is full, as it seems to him, of crudities and exaggerations. When, for example, it is asserted (p. 11) that no publisher would accept a historical text-book based on an explicit statement of our present knowledge of man's animal ancestry, it is hard to believe that we are dealing with a statement of fact and not rather with an opinion expressing a prejudiced animus—the

same which declares that the American publishers adopted the short title, *The Acquisitive Society,* for Tawney's well-known book instead of the longer title of the article in the *Hibbert Journal* because they "evidently [*sic!*] thought it inexpedient to stress the contention of the author that modern society has anything fundamentally the matter with it" (p. 178 n.).

A similar bias shows itself in the treatment of the historical material. It is impressive, indeed, to contrast the comparatively short period of civilization with the long, long ages preceding it, and doubtless important inferences are to be drawn from it regarding the depth and persistence of our savage and animal inheritance. But there is room for some differences of opinion as to what these inferences should be; in any case the construction is from the nature of the case largely hypothetical. Here it is put forward with dogmatic assurance. We do not expect a sympathetic appreciation of the great systems of philosophy from one who, like our author, regards metaphysics as an indulgence like smoking, and we are not here disappointed. Much he understands about Plato! But he might at least have spared us the inaccuracies of such statements as that Aristotle was banished from Athens (p. 100) and that the Epicureans believed in the gods because, like Descartes, they thought we had an innate idea of them (p. 105). In the medieval mind he sees only its superstition, intolerance, mysticism (as though that were necessarily bad), and blind following of tradition, quite overlooking its historical values in the shaping of medieval society and in the discipline which prepared the way for modern culture. Equally unhistorical is the view which sees in the great epochs only radical revolt from the old and a beginning *de novo*; this is to ignore the historical factors of continuity and to make all progress catastrophic. Much that the author writes is stimulating and some of it is true; but he writes not as a historian who seeks to interpret and understand tradition, but as a reformer who sees in tradition only an enemy to "combat".

H. N. Gardiner.

International Law, chiefly as interpreted and applied by the United States. By Charles Cheney Hyde, Professor of Law in Northwestern University. In two volumes. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1922. Pp. lix, 832; xxvii, 925. $25.00.)

Every work on international law must necessarily bear the impress of the nationalistic prejudices of its origin, but in this case the author frankly aims to adopt the viewpoint of the American judges and officials who have been called upon to apply and therefore to interpret the rules of international law. Nevertheless Professor Hyde makes it clear that he understands the nature and limits of such state action; for after he has explained in a remarkable passage (I. 12) the real nature of local applications and interpretations of international law and the method of

settling the consequent controversies with other states through negotiation and arbitration he concludes: "Observance of the award by the delinquent State (possibly entailing amendatory legislation) will terminate the conflict and establish the supremacy of the international obligation."

Notwithstanding express avowal that these volumes are based upon the practice and official opinions of American authorities, they appear rather to formulate the law of nations as such after it has been freed from the dross of national bias. It may be that the author is happily so permeated by an international concept of the law he expounds as unconsciously to lean upon those instances which are free of prejudice peculiar to this nation. Be that as it may, it seems reasonable to expect that the work will find acceptance by the jurists of other nations as an adequate presentation of international law in its strictest sense.

Professor Hyde, who evidently belongs to the positive school, surprises us by rejecting the idea of compulsion as a sanction of international law and prefers to rely upon each state's innate respect for law and its regard for the good opinion of mankind (I. 10–11). "Although without what may fairly be described as a legal sanction", Mr. Hyde considers that "the principles and rules governing the conduct of States do not lack the quality of law" (I. 10), and in his definition he declares: "The term international law may be fairly employed to designate the principles and rules of conduct declaratory thereof which States feel themselves bound to observe, and, therefore, do commonly observe in their relations with each other" (I. 1). Hall, who is generally held to be second in authority to no English writer, considered it necessary to add to his definition that the states "also regard [the rules of international law] as being enforceable by appropriate means in the case of infringement" (W. E. Hall, *International Law,* fourth ed., p. 1).

Until the nations shall form a more perfect union than the existing society of states, the appropriate action to enforce its law is self-help or self-enforcement. Once, long ago, our national law had to depend upon the same procedure. Unless there were an actual fear of this appropriate sanction, many a state would disregard the rules of international law until they were trampled down to a basis of pure comity or reciprocal convenience.

Whatever criticism may be justified on the ground of this disregard of enforceability as an essential characteristic of international law, when Professor Hyde comes to the formulation of the law he appears to have set forth only those rules which we believe the nations do actually and rightly regard as entitled to be enforced. Perhaps the author deserts his definition and relies on restraint when he so aptly says: "Above all, it must be apparent that whenever the interests of that [international] society are acknowledged to be at variance with the conduct of the individual State, there is established the ground for a fresh rule

of restraint against which old and familiar precedents may cease to be availing" (I. 3).

The preceding quotation may be taken as indicative of the broad-minded and truly international spirit in which this work is conceived. Here is no defense of the selfish and sterile doctrine of absolute sovereignty. The prevailing conditions of disorder in Haiti and certain other states in our vicinage give a peculiar significance to what Professor Hyde writes of the "chronic disregard of international obligations". "Impotence to perform the common duties of a member of the family of nations" gives rise to a right of "intervention" and the "delinquent State"—so the author concludes—may in extreme cases of internal disorder "be placed for the time being under the protection of that [state] which it has wronged or of some other foreign power, thereby losing during the period of protection the condition and privileges of independence" (I. 123–124). In the matter of intervention Mr. Hyde has furthermore dispelled a current illusion to the effect that whereas collective action may be legal and justifiable the intervention of a single power is unjustifiable. "On principle", he writes, "a group of States acting in concert has no broader right of intervention than that possessed by a single State" (I. 122).

Throughout the discussion of the principles we find recognition of the superiority of the needs of international society over the narrow pretensions of an absolute sovereignty or independence. As evidence we may refer to sections in which the various rights of transit are discussed (I. 311–317; *cf.* 284, 327, 331–332, 335).

Without entering upon any analysis of the contents or the carefully thought-out plan of arrangement we must feel especially grateful to Professor Hyde in that he has so fully considered the important but often neglected subject of consular rights and duties (I. 785–832).

We can hardly fail to agree with the author that as long as states contemplate war it will be necessary to regard "the principles which are deemed to regulate their conduct as belligerents" as "constituting a vital part of international law" (II. 187), and he therefore devotes the major portion of his second volume to a consideration of the laws of war and neutrality. To this discussion of questions which have divided the world in impassioned camps the author fairly makes application of juristic principles, as, for example, when he concedes the right of a submarine transport vessel properly distinguished as such to enjoy the same treatment in regard to visit and search as that to which a surface merchantman is entitled (II. 463–464).

It is probably too much to expect that any present discussion of blockade and contraband can be regarded as final or that the conclusions reached are destined to be adopted by governments when they shall again be engaged in hostilities, but we may safely affirm that Professor Hyde's careful statement of the controverted points and the

conclusions which he sets forth will be entitled always to an unusual consideration.

Some ground for criticism and a few defects do not destroy the value of a comprehensive treatise. These two volumes stand the fundamental test of general reliability, and they will without doubt take high rank as constituting a trustworthy and scholarly exposition of those rules of law which bind the member states of international society in their intercourse one with another.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

Le Langage: Introduction Linguistique à l'Histoire. Par J. VENDRYES, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1921. Pp. xxviii, 439. 15 fr.)

WHY include a book on language in a series on "The Evolution of Humanity"? Because, says M. Vendryes (p. 1): "Language is both an instrument and an aid of thought. It is language that has enabled man to become conscious of himself and to communicate with his fellows—that has made possible the establishment of societies." Human society and human thought, in their higher forms at least, would have been impossible without language, which is not only an "instrument of thought" but, according to M. Henri Berr ("Avant-propos", p. xvii), "a factor of society". Not, he adds, "a product of society" as maintained by the school of Durkheim. But M. Berr recognizes, too, that society "exercises a pressure (*une pression*)" upon language. He would apparently agree that, whether originally a "factor" or a "product" of society, language has been at all historic periods both. Similarly as to language and thought—perhaps men *can* think in non-linguistic terms; but they seldom do so. And their thoughts are unconsciously but profoundly affected by the forms of language in which they can hardly avoid clothing them—both their thoughts, and (consequently) their actions.[1] That language, on the other hand, is also influenced by thought, is equally clear. These reciprocal relations between language and man's intellectual and social life seem enough to justify, for a historian, an examination of the nature of language, as a tool of man.

M. Vendryes divides his book into five main parts: I. Sounds, II. Grammar, III. Vocabulary, IV. Constitution of Languages, V. Writing. The last three seem to me the best; they are also the parts of most general interest. Part III. treats of why and how words change their meanings, and concepts change their names. The historic and social importance of language-study appears most clearly here and in part IV.,

[1] Think of the power of "catch-words" and of "calling names" (without regard to facts) in determining men's actions, to mention but one instance—a very simple one, but of far-reaching social importance. "The word is not only a key; it may also be a fetter." E. Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1921), p. 17.

which treats of what constitutes "languages" (*les langues*) as distinguished from "language" (*le langage*), of dialects, "special languages" (those peculiar to one trade, caste, sex, religious group, etc.), *argots,* contact and mixture of languages, and finally the comparative method of language-study, which, despite its drawbacks, is a necessary substitute for the historic method when historic data are wanting. Part V. contains *inter alia* a brief but good history of writing, a conservative discussion of the simplified-spelling question, and a treatment of the influence of writing on spoken language, the importance of which is often underestimated.

The more technical parts I. and II. are disappointing. They contain little that tends to clarify our ideas or advance our knowledge on these subjects, which are, indeed, as difficult as they are important for the linguist. For instance, there is an element of truth in the fundamental distinction made (p. 86), among grammatical concepts, between "semantemes", elements of [concrete] meaning, and "morphemes", formal elements. (The distinction is handled better by Sapir—see note 1—in his fifth chapter.) But the author fails to apply his terms in accordance with his own definitions. He includes among "morphemes" *all* endings and affixes, articles and (at least the French) pronouns, and numerous other words and grammatical devices, many of which express concrete ideas, and not merely "relations between ideas", which is what he says "morphemes" express. Despite this definition, he evidently thinks of a "morpheme" at times as any element that is inseparable from another element in speech. Of course these two definitions are utterly irreconcilable; and the (seemingly unconscious) blending of them leads to sad confusion.

The concluding section on Progress in Language is also confused and confusing. We get no clear idea of the grounds on which Jespersen argued that languages do "progress". If, as Jespersen maintained, (1) the synthetic and inflecting principles of, *e.g.,* Greek and Latin, are logically inferior to the analytic and isolating principles of Chinese and English; and (2) all languages tend to develop from the former stage toward the latter, and to discard logically useless formal elements—then the historical development of language is a process of logical improvement. Both points are, no doubt, discutable; but at least it seems to me that Jespersen has made clear the sole grounds on which the question of "progress" in language can be argued. Vendryes is too much preoccupied with various aesthetic and other considerations, which have no real bearing on the subject—even if we could accept as scientific fact such curious romanticism as the paean in praise of the Greek language on pp. 405 ff., which I can hardly reconcile with the following paragraph in which the author very sanely says that it would be "ridiculous to try to prove [on aesthetic grounds] that the language used by Homer . . . is inferior or superior to that of Shakespeare".

Much better is the introduction, on the Origin of Language. It is profoundly true, though it may seem paradoxical, that "the origin of language is not a linguistic problem" (p. 6). The data accessible to the linguist fail utterly to throw light upon it, as our author makes clear. It must be left to the speculative psychologists. Psychological and not linguistic in basis are the suggestions adopted (tentatively and hesitantly) by M. Vendryes.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

An Introduction to the History of Christianity, A. D. 590–1314. By F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, Professor of Christian Institutions in Union Theological Seminary, New York. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. xi, 390. $4.00.)

DR. FOAKES JACKSON, feeling that the Middle Ages have not received of late the attention they deserve, has written an introduction to the history of Latin Christendom from the accession of Gregory the Great to the death of Clement V. in the hope of stimulating further interest. The volume opens with a chapter on the Pillars of the Medieval Church, a cross-section of Western Christendom in the sixth century, when the characteristics of the Middle Ages were already apparent. "Monasticism and the papacy," we are told, "were the corner-stones of the medieval system." There are disadvantages attached to the application of architectural terminology to a living, growing organism; but, if pillars and corner-stones we must have, better than these can be found. A sounder judgment is that of Dr. Kirsopp Lake: "From the end of the second century to the sixteenth the Christian Church was supported by three pillars, belief in the Logos-Son, Baptism, and the Mass" (*Harvard Theological Review*, XV. 106).

Of the other thirteen chapters, seven, not consecutive, are devoted to the history of the papacy. Chapter IV. gives a useful description of the organization of the church by provinces and dioceses. There is a chapter on Learning and Heresy; another on the Church as a Disciplinary Institution; and a third on the Friars, the Schoolmen, and the Universities. A number of interesting and important matters are touched upon in the chapter called a Survey of Society. The last chapter, Dante and the Decay of Medievalism, is in the main a résumé of the *Divine Comedy*.

Dr. Foakes Jackson finds much that is good to say of the medieval Church. It was "the only institution from which any hope of a regenerated world could be expected" (p. 65) and its corruption has been exaggerated (p. 84). It was for the good of the world that in his own day, at any rate, Gregory VII.'s cause should prevail (p. 143). The crusades, so far from being a monstrous example of folly, were an attempt to solve one of to-day's problems, the question of the settlement of the

nearer East (p. 165). A high opinion is expressed of the popes in the Middle Ages; they "numbered the greatest men in the world" and "were the dominating forces in Europe" (p. 269). Not that the author indulges in undiluted panegyric. If the judgment which he passes on the papacy in the earlier Middle Ages is in the familiar tone of Catholic apologetic and may be reminiscent of the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* which he so often cites among his "Authorities", the same is not true of the later period. "It is instructive to notice how completely the sympathy of the reader must change from one side to the other in the interval between Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. and the two French popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV." (pp. 265–266; *cf.* p. 269). So far from regarding the thirteenth as the greatest of centuries, he feels that "judged by its fruits it is one of the most disastrous in history" (p. 161).

The desire, while remaining impartial, to find and to emphasize what is praiseworthy in the Middle Ages, which marks the account given of papal history, is manifested in the chapters on Learning and Heresy, and the Friars, the Schoolmen, and the Universities. There was much mental activity in the Middle Ages, and much unorthodox opinion persisted through the ages of faith; we are introduced to a few of the "powerful, original, and courageous thinkers" of the period; and, here and there, we are given some inkling as regards the author's own theological opinions. The account of the Medieval Church as a Disciplinary Institution is avowedly a *précis* of O. D. Watkins's *History of Penance* with additions culled from H. C. Lea. It is a masterpiece of condensation.

A volume which sympathetically and on the whole accurately traces in broad outline the development of Western Christendom through the Middle Ages deserves a welcome from students of the period even though it cannot be considered a noteworthy addition to historical literature. This book was not written for specialists, nor was it written by a specialist, in medieval history. Indeed, it is not easy to determine for whom the book was written. There are chapters which presuppose no information on the part of the reader, and there are passages for an understanding of which a considerable amount of information is necessary. Doubtless the volume will find its way to the "reserve shelves" where some of its chapters will serve a useful purpose as "outside readings". But if Dr. Foakes Jackson does not give us an adequate treatment of the history of Christianity in a period that he has not made his own, it is encouraging to have a theologian who belongs to the extreme left of the modernist school urge the importance of the study of the medieval Church.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

A History of Pisa, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. By WILLIAM HEYWOOD. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. x, 292. $8.00.)

DELAYED by illness and war and finally broken off by death, the *History of Pisa* must always remain a torso. To the readers of William Hey-

wood's many studies of medieval Italy this will be a cause of keen regret. Twenty and more years of concentrated and sympathetic labor directed to the youthful Tuscan and Umbrian communes qualified him to compose a picture of Pisa of which he might reasonably hope that it would take rank with his able and lively *History of Perugia.* Fate ruled otherwise, but, though incomplete, this work on Pisa, which takes the story of the city through infancy and youth, is a solid achievement showing no falling-off of mental powers. At the turning-point from consular government to the rule of the podestà the pen fell from the author's hand.

It is a hopeless undertaking to develop the story of a medieval commune merely at the hand of the scattered notices of biassed chroniclers and of the rare official documents which have reached our time. The effort, no matter how conscientiously directed, will be wasted unless it be enlivened by a plentiful draught from the well-springs of the imagination. It was this very ingredient which has favorably distinguished Heywood's work in the past and it is not absent in this last contribution. However, a certain brilliance is missing and the impression is conveyed that the author, held to earth by an excess of scholarly caution, has somehow failed to free his wings. A too uninterrupted prosaic patter is particularly evident in the central section of the books which deals with Pisa's heroic period when, in close association with Frederick Barbarossa, she won the ascendancy of Tuscany. Though the minute moves of the complicated game of imperial and communal politics are necessary to a full comprehension of the situation, we regret that their over-conscientious rehearsal could not have been more completely subdued to the broad and majestic themes which Time was hammering out upon its anvil. The author's closely documented method is better suited to the constitutional development of Pisa and this leaps from his pages with convincing clearness. It is not likely that the general forces which led to the formation of the communal type or that the specific agencies, such as the *vicecomes,* the archbishop, the *conjuratio,* which particularly shaped the young fortunes of Pisa, have been more lucidly exhibited in their interaction than in Heywood's last three chapters. An excellent achievement, too, are the chapters dealing with the relatively unexplored situation in Sardinia and Corsica and the malignant struggle for their control with the rival commune of Genoa. Although in this as well as in all the other sections the author used only printed sources, his poised judgment has greatly helped to clarify the clouded picture of the eleventh and twelfth century struggle among the powers of the Tyrhennian sea. The peculiar bias against Florence which is a feature of all of Mr. Heywood's Tuscan studies reappears in this his swan song. Florence is the indubitable villain of the Tuscan piece. The Great War, the end of which he lived to see, intrudes into this story of passionate medieval conflict just enough to make it clear that the author clings to his satanic formula also for the modern world, with Germany cast for the rôle in which Florence won such sinister distinction in an earlier age.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Dénombrements des Feux des Duché de Luxembourg et Comté de Chiny: Documents Fiscaux de 1306 à 1537. Réunis par JACQUES GROB, publiés avec des Additions et Corrections de JULES VANNÉRUS. Volume I. (Brussels: P. Imbreghts. 1921. Pp. xi, 796.)

THE Royal Commission of Belgian History has not been discouraged by the war. It continues to harvest original documents relating to the lands that were, as well as those which are, Belgic. This volume has to do with the whole of Luxemburg—present Belgian department and grand duchy alike—in its former status as countship or duchy, although the grand duchy has been entirely out of the Belgic circle for 83 years. It happens, however, that within the last few months there has been a fresh adjustment of relations between the two. The customs barrier has been removed by the final ratification on March 6, 1922, of the Belgian-Luxemburg treaty signed by the negotiators on July 25, 1921. It is a mere customs alliance, to be sure. The political independence of the grand duchy is preserved. But the commercial interests of the greater and the lesser state are welded together just as those of the latter were with Germany in the *Zollverein,* summarily abolished in 1918. Other changes will follow inevitably in addition to certain items already accepted. Belgian money is to replace Luxemburg bank notes of more than ten francs which are now in circulation, Belgian consuls will probably assume charge of Luxemburg interests (as a survival of the personal union with Holland, these have been in charge of Dutch officials abroad), a *Commission Paritaire* composed of three Luxemburg and three Belgian delegates is to study the metallurgic problems, while the administration of the railroads, in German control from 1872 to 1918, is to be arranged later after discussion by the two governments. No one can deny that the doors have been opened to a resumption of a relationship even closer than that existing of old when the sovereign at Brussels was also count or duke of Luxemburg in his own person. Grand-ducals have been by no means unanimous in desiring this after-war affiliation, even though they did not cling to Germany in prosperity or in defeat. Their reluctance is, perhaps, a direct inheritance from past ages when there was a tenacious desire to preserve control of their money affairs and to resent the slightest attempt to sweep them into any general system of taxation emanating from the seat of the general government. But this is all by the way. The new union has nothing to do with the appearance of the volume as part of the Belgian series. The Luxemburg matter was a part of the scheme of the Commission Royale long before 1914. The enumeration of the "fires" was a careful census of the inhabitants for the purpose of allotting the contribution to be expected from each unit of taxation—which was what each "fire" denoted. The freedom of the duchy from the imposition of any collective tax voted by the States General was recognized. In 1473 the Duke of Burgundy, and at later dates Charles V., asked a volun-

tary aid from Luxemburg, the Estates assented and then proceeded to distribute the burden. But their assessments were by no means meekly accepted. Individualism persisted in the property units that composed the duchy just as it did in the states that made up the Seventeen Provinces. The census is interesting, not only as showing the population and its distribution at the epochs indicated, but also as evidence of the tenacious memory of the precise conditions under which each unit had entered into the state and what exemptions it was entitled to. Every precedent for shirking responsibility was cited. In 1473 the sum voted by the optimistic Estates was 12,000 crowns, but the tax-gatherers found their task of collecting infinitely difficult in the face of the exemptions claimed by those who were rated as giving voluntarily to aid their sovereign in his enterprises beyond their frontiers.

This volume has been long on the way. In 1914 the editor, Abbé Grob, a Luxemburger, was interrupted in his effort to gather scattered data. His death in 1915 threw his material into the hands of Jules Vannérus, who found many errors, not unnatural in documents of a bilingual land. It has taken him a long time to disentangle the confusion. The volume will be useful to any student of feudal land tenure and its obligations.

Nova Alamanniae: Urkunden, Briefe, und andere Quellen besonders zur Deutsche Geschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Von EDMUND STENGEL. I. Hälfte. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1921. Pp. ii, 416. M. 54.)

SOME medievalist ought to write a book on the office of the notary in the Middle Ages, for what is written is scattered and insufficient. This much, I think, may truthfully be said without doing injustice to the labors of Harry Bresslau and Arthur Giry, to whose noble works every student of medieval history is a debtor. The proof of this observation lies in this collection, which contains some very valuable documents upon the nature and practice of the medieval notary's profession (nos. 369, 397, 483, 496). Everywhere in Europe the important trusts committed to notaries required them to be men of character, intelligence, education, and practical ability. The gem of these documents is no. 483, which gives the text of the oath a medieval notary was required to take. The dignity and honor of the profession contrasts sharply with the degraded condition of the modern notary's office. The instruction reads (but the whole document ought to be read for its minute instructions):

Tu jurabis ad sancta Dei ewangelia de cetero fidelis esse sacrosancte Romane ecclesie ac sacro imperio Romano suisque imperatoribus, scripturas vero per te in formam publicam redigendas in carta papirea vel unde abrasa fuerit scriptura non conscribas tabellionatusque officium sine fraude exercebis nil addens vel minuens maliciose vel fraudulenter, quod contrarium alteri prodesse poterit vel obesse.

Almost all the documents in this volume pertain to a collection formed by an eminent German notary in the first half of the fourteenth century named Rudolf Losse, who was an attaché of the cathedral church of Trier, and later a deacon of Mainz. Years ago two German scholars happened upon a small collection of documents which had once belonged to Losse, and were found in the archives at Darmstadt. But Herr Stengel has discovered the original nest of Losse's manuscripts in the Landesbibliothek at Cassel, and this substantial volume (the first of two) is the fruit of his good fortune. As the volume has no index it may be convenient to specify particular documents of special value.

The importance of the collection may be appreciated when it is said that here are found many new documents (though some are copies) pertaining to the history of the Emperor Ludwig IV. of Bavaria, his conflict with the Avignonese popes (nos. 71, 78, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 103, 104, 188, 274, 295, 377, 379, 380, 387, 585), the attitude and policy of both the German clergy and the German feudality toward emperor and pope (nos. 491, 494, 521, 545–547), the imperial relations with England and France during the first throes of the Hundred Years' War (nos. 175, 408, 413, 477, 497, 548, 563, 581), besides more detached documents not forming parts of a series, which touch upon the history of the Spiritual Franciscans (no. 218), the early history of the Visconti of Milan (nos. 134–136), the effort of Clement V. to arouse Europe to a new crusade, much to the anxiety of Venice, which angered the pope by counter-intrigue (no. 70). Three documents cast light on the development of town life in Germany, especially upon Oppenheim (nos. 252, 266, 520), and upon the condition of the Jews, notably in Strasbourg (nos. 299, 309, 335, 403, 520). Great interest attaches to nos. 90, 91, 92, 95, 123, 553, which deal with the *Kaiseridee* and the political theory of the fourteenth century with reference to the relations of papacy and empire. The influence of Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham is apparent in these sources. In nos. 455, 458, 486, we have new light on Cardinal Talleyrand, the French statesman of the reign of Philip of Valois (the name is spelled Talayrand), and it comes as a shock of surprise to find a cardinal Neapoleon (Orsini) in the papal entourage (nos. 457, 559–560); I leave to enthusiastic Bonapartists the joy of discovering his attachment to the Napoleonic genealogical tree.

In addition to the light thrown upon the nature of the notary's office in the Middle Ages, these documents are of great interest to the student of palaeography and diplomatic. The astonishingly slovenly Latin will soon strike the reader. The earliest example written in German is no. 273, about 1329; others in German are nos. 274, 295, 377, 379, 380, 387. These possibly may also interest the philologist as examples of medieval German dialect in the middle Rhinelands in the fourteenth century. No. 295, written at Trier, is curious for French locutions and spellings. No. 413 is in French. The first document written on paper is of the year 1336. In no. 231 is a tantalizing reference to one "Robertus Anglicus",

a resident of Avignon and evidently an accomplished penman, who sells to Rudolf Losse a valuable manuscript "scriptum in pergamenis vitulinis et edulinis" for the sum of 8 pounds and 8 shillings—"good money of Tours". Later on (no. 369) we find Losse buying an example of the Decretals of Gregory IX. from a clerk in Mainz for thirty-one florins.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The Witch-Cult in Western Europe: a Study in Anthropology. By MARGARET ALICE MURRAY. (Oxford: University Press. 1921. Pp. 303. 16s.)

IN her use of the word "witch" Miss Murray does not discriminate those who in many lands and many ages have used enchantments from the victims of that panic of terror and pious hate which in Christendom alone, and mainly from the fifteenth century to the seventeenth, put women and men to death by thousands on the charge of selling themselves to Satan; but the witch-confessions on which she bases her theory of a "witch-cult" belong to the latter. In the English-speaking lands to which her study is chiefly devoted they do not antedate the later sixteenth century and to most students of the witch-panic have seemed but a belated echo of those of the Continent. It is now some three hundred years since the Jesuit Spee published the book which did most to convince the world that these confessions of those accused of witchcraft were but fabrications wrung from them by the torture. Earlier doubters had lacked evidence or had been silenced by authority. Spee's book went out without his name, but he had clearly been a confessor to the accused. He knew that these believed themselves innocent and he had learned in all its details the merciless procedure that extorted what their prosecutors wished. "If all of us," he wrote, "have not confessed ourselves witches, it is only because we have not been tortured." The eloquent plea found hearing in high quarters. One after another of those connected with the courts verified for himself the assertions of Spee and added a volume to the literature of protest. Documentary evidence began to come in from the accused themselves. The rational eighteenth century invited to yet more thoroughgoing revelations; and now for more than a hundred years Protestant scholars and Catholic, once rivals in credulity, have been disputing instead as to the credit for priority in unmasking the cruel delusion.

But, while historians have thus been reaching agreement, it has been less easy to wipe from the general mind the impressions left by the old official teaching or made on those who stumble in the libraries on what was once accepted as judicial evidence. Every new revelation in science, every fresh point of view in philosophy, has furnished to somebody another explanation of what are called "the phenomena of witchcraft". Especially prone to such speculation have been those concerned for the repute of the men or the orthodoxies responsible for that old witch-hunt-

ing, and no small part of what is now written on the witches is the product of these hostile pens.

If to this literature of indictment Miss Murray's book must be reckoned, let it at once be added that there is in it no shadow of such partizanship. Alas, to the historian there is little else to commend it. How narrow as yet are her studies she tells us herself. Of the protests above described she knows not a word. The careful general histories by modern scholars are as unknown to her. A few of the earlier skeptics she names, but in phrases that suggest a scant acquaintance; and she certainly can not have read those whom against them she lumps off together as "believers". Perhaps it is from Mr. Lecky's chapter that she has the notion that the believers were abler than the doubters; but, had she studied the admirable sifting of this witch-evidence—and of Mr. Lecky's verdict—some thirty-odd years ago by a trio of the English Society for Psychical Research, she would have learned that the superiority does not lie in critical insight or in knowledge of the evidence.

Even in the works which she has used she has "omitted the opinions of the authors" and has "examined only the recorded evidence". If this were to insure an unbiassed impression and to test by her own criticism before listening to others', it might well be commended; but in her book criticism is as absent as the knowledge of any. To her every confession is true, all the accused guilty, and whether convicted or acquitted. She does not trouble her judgment by hearing even what they say for themselves. Mary Osgood, for example, whose confession she repeatedly quotes, not only retracted it all and was eventually discharged, but handed in (she and her Andover neighbors) a vivid description of the pressure and persuasion by which the confession was extorted. Nor may it be forgotten that in these Massachusetts trials only those who would not confess were put to death. But of all this Miss Murray says nothing. Even Joan of Arc, whose two trials have shown us so minutely her brave and devout soul, is as guilty as the rest.

Not that Miss Murray has not somewhere learned that the confessions have been ascribed to torture. In a few lines of her introduction she once for all brushes away that suggestion. "In most of the English and many of the Scotch trials," she tells us, "legal torture was not applied." How has she assured herself? And may illegal torture be ignored by a student of evidence? Almost as briefly she disposes of the notion that the uniformity of the confessions may be explained by the leading questions and by the explicit questionaries which left the accused little need for aught but yes or no. Where, she asks, did the questions come from? But she gives herself no pains to find out.

She has really studied, and with diligence, the contemporary accounts. As yet, however, it is only to those of Great Britain that she has given "an intensive study"; though with glances at those of Ireland and New England, of France and Scandinavia, where she thinks she finds the

"cult" the same. Intensive her study is: by hook or by crook these sources are made to confess what their questioner suspects. If her results, like her method, are not those of the old demonologists, it is due to a difference in the questioner. Miss Murray is a rationalist. Of the supernatural she will have nothing. All that is needed is to omit the miracle or explain it away. The witches actually went to a witch-sabbath; but on foot and to an accessible spot. There they actually worshiped the Devil; but it was a Devil impersonated by a man. They really had familiars and used them in sorcery or divination; but these were actual cats or dogs or toads, not imps. Much she can tell us of their rites and of their organization; and all this she counts the survival of a pre-Christian cult, which for centuries had lingered on in secret till the witch-trials brought it to light. This cult, she thinks, was hereditary, the children of the witches being baptized into it; and perhaps her skill in extorting evidence may best be illustrated from her appendix on the names of witches. Among the women, eight names, she finds, predominate. It does not occur to her to ask if these names did not also predominate among other women at the time and place. Two of them are Anne and Marion (*i.e.*, Marian, Marianne, Mary Anne). To another these might seem commonplace enough, since Christian names had long been saints' names, and the Virgin Mary and her mother St. Anne could hardly be strange patrons, even for witches' children; but Miss Murray explains to us that "there was a British goddess called Anna". That Joan, or Jane, the feminine of John, was used so often, must have some deep significance; but she cannot guess it. As for Christian (Christine), "the name clearly indicates the presence of another religion".

Surely, discussion of what confessedly is so unripe is premature. When Miss Murray has broadened her study to all the lands where she can find the "cult"; when she has dealt with documents worthier the name of records than the chap-books and the formless reports that have to serve us for the British trials; when she has traced back witch-sabbath and questionary through the centuries of witch and heretic hunting that precede the British; when she has trusted herself to study the work of other students and fairly to weigh their conclusions against her own in the light of the further evidence they may adduce: then perhaps she may have modified her views. Whether she changes or confirms them, she will then have earned the right to a hearing. And meanwhile she will have discovered how many times the theory she now thinks her own, or something very like it, has been advanced before. In the nineteenth century a brilliant but imaginative French historian set it forth in the most fascinating book of all witch literature. Not even Jules Michelet's seductive pen could make it convincing, though his wide learning qualified it by large concession to the views of other scholars; but it was perhaps its influence on French thought that made it possible a generation ago for a rascally free-thinker to hoax multitudes of honest Catholics into be-

lieving that in our day Freemasonry is just such an actual Devil-worship as Michelet and Miss Murray conceive that of the witches to have been. After all, is it much more absurd to ascribe such a secret cult to the nineteenth century than to the seventeenth?

That her volume has seemed to need such fullness of review is due less to its contents than to the press from which it comes and to the praise it has received from even historian reviewers. That so lightly she or they could reach a verdict is doubtless largely for the lack in English of any thorough history of witchcraft. Alas that Mr. Lea did not live to complete his work! Perhaps even the materials which he had gathered, and which ere long will now be given to the press, may help to insure a longer suspense of judgment.

GEORGE L. BURR.

A Short History of the Irish People from the Earliest Times to 1920. By MARY HAYDEN, M.A., Professor of Modern Irish History in the National University of Ireland, and GEORGE A. MOONAN, Barrister-at-Law, Special Lecturer on History, Leinster College of Irish. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1921. 20s.)

AN eminent Irish scholar, in the preface to a history of Ireland published a few years ago, observed that, while some people may be disposed to ask if there were a real need of a new history of Ireland, since there are so many already in the hands of the public, yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a really good work, "full, accurate, well-written, and impartial".

The scope of the present volume precludes it from pretending to the first of the foregoing qualifications; but it deserves the other three—it is accurate, well written, and, while staunchly national, it is impartial. Furthermore, this volume differs from its predecessors chiefly because these predominantly belong to the "painted landscape" type, presenting the story strongly to the imagination, recording events in their sequence but not adequately setting forth the causal nexus persisting from age to age, while this is a scientific history. It is not merely a relation of the scenes and rôles which make up the drama played on the stage of Ireland; it is a history of the Irish people.

The first book covers the period down to the coming of the Normans. The early semi-mythical and legendary stories of races and personages are not accepted as serious history. Working back from subsequent historic data, a conjectural attempt is made to determine what core of fact lies at the centre of the legendary haze. And here it may be remarked once for all that, throughout the work, there is evident a judicial caution in handling topics on which testimony is conflicting. Repeatedly, charges against men or measures that elsewhere have been accepted as proven, are here qualified with a discreet "it is said".

The basic thesis of the work is expressed in the following passage (p. 56): "The nation was a *living organism*, with periods of progress or decay, and in political, social, economic, and intellectual functions, many changes took place. But there were certain *principles* of law and government and social life which were distinctly characteristic of the entire Gaelic people. Upon these principles they remained organised until the seventeenth century, and even to the present day the Irish people are affected by their influences."

Through the events of the Norman invasion and subsequent settlement, the armed struggles between Norman and Gael, the frequent combinations of some of each party against similar combinations, are briefly but clearly described. The result of the feudal system of the Normans and the native clan system, with their conflicting principles of land-ownership, mutually modifying each other without becoming completely harmonized, is carefully analyzed. This conflict of land-tenure systems is immeasurably embroiled in the following centuries by successive "grants", plantations, and settlements. Rightly judging the tenure of land to be one of the great functions of national life, and one especially active in the efforts of the *organism* to assimilate the successive foreign elements introduced by the various plantations, the writer has traced its manifestations through each period.

Here one may be permitted to place a note of interrogation after one view in this exposition. The Ulster "tenant right" custom, which Gladstone employed as the corner-stone of his land-tenure reform legislation, was not, as the text would have it, a survival of the clan system, though there was some resemblance between them. The "Ulster custom" sprang from the first Plantation of Ulster. It attained to full vigor as an unwritten law in the lands of County Coleraine (now Derry) and adjoining territories granted to the London companies, Drapers, Salters, Skinners, etc. It extended to other estates created by the plantation "grants". The rank and file of the people brought over to colonize the forfeited estates of the Irish chiefs were indispensable partners with their leaders, who obtained the grants, in the scheme of colonization to supplant the native population. Hence, in the "settlements" they were not on the footing of mere tenants at will; they obtained a real though subordinate interest in their farms, fixity of tenure as long as they paid their rents.

Another fact that is emphasized through the course of the history is the feeble, sometimes almost negligible, authority of the English crown over the Norman and Gaelic "old strangers" and "new strangers" until the end of the Elizabethan wars, when, the text states (p. 266), "after nearly four and a half centuries, the English Conquest of Ireland was real and complete". This verdict will provoke strong dissent from some quarters. Again, from the time of Poynings's Parliament forward to 1782, the opposition of individuals and bodies who controlled or represented the national forces and conditions to interference in Irish affairs by the English

Parliament and Privy Council is shown to have been perpetually active—another manifestation of organic unity, however imperfect it may have been. Even when the leaders and representatives of the nation were in an overwhelming majority descendants of planters, Cromwellians, Williamites, they resented measures that overrode the nation. After reading that the Parliament of the eighteenth century exhibited every fault that a parliament could have, one may smile at the apologetic reflection (p. 377), "Still, with all its faults, it was an *Irish* Parliament of a kind". A poor thing, sir, but mine own!

The claim advanced in the preface that the authors have striven to be impartial is amply sustained. They have shunned the rhetorical. A leader who failed is not, therefore, denounced as a traitor or incompetent. When foreign influences have contributed any benefit, or English statesmen have made any honest endeavor to contribute to Irish welfare, the good is liberally acknowledged. The long story of misgovernment is told so temperately that, compared for instance to the denunciations of Gladstone or Macaulay, this presentation of the case frequently reads like a plea in mitigation of sentence. The evidence is submitted, and facts left to speak for themselves.

One important element of the work remains to be noticed. This is the synopsis, in chronological order, of the history of Irish literature. In each period the state of literary culture and education, the writings which are still extant or which are known to us only through later writers, their value, whether historical or purely literary, receive attention, in order to show that this living current, beginning in the remote past and at times dwindling to feeble dimensions, has nevertheless run continuously down to its vigorous expansion in the present day.

The work may be said to close with the end of the nineteenth century, although there is a final chapter in which the events of the present century, up to 1920, are chronicled without comment. In the preface, the parts for which the joint authors are respectively responsible are indicated. While the title sets forth correctly the nature of the book, as a history of the Irish people, many will regret that the other word is also apt: it is short. Enlarged to a scale that would give fuller scope for detail in the treatment, the work would become a lasting treasure for the historical student.

JAMES J. FOX.

Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1613–1614. [Master of the Rolls.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1921. Pp. ix, 741. £1. 1s.)

THE decision of the Record Commissioners to continue the publication of the *Acts of the Privy Council* for the reigns of James and Charles is of greater importance to students of constitutional and administrative history than many will realize who have not already read some consider-

able portion of the unpublished part. Somewhat extensive researches in the administrative and legal records and in the correspondence of the period from 1580 to 1620, in private as in the usual manuscript repertories, have established to my thinking that the important formative decade, the truly significant shift in emphasis from the administrative system of Elizabeth to that of the Stuarts, was the years from 1601 to 1611 or possibly 1612—the very period for which the Privy Council Register was burned in the fire at "the Banquetting howse" in 1618. To the least informed and to the most casual inspection, the contents of the Privy Council Register published in this volume differ in character from the last years of Elizabeth. The change is too great to be fortuitous, too sweeping to be the result of anything but design, had we no other materials from which to establish the extent and character of the administrative reforms of those eventful years. But the change in 1613–1614 has taken place; the reforms are over; the new regime is already established and is not yet in the making or further to be transformed. This the correspondence and State Papers establish and the letters of the Privy Council and the fragment of a transcript (if such it be) in the Additional MS. 11402 confirm. The records of the administrative courts, the High Commission, the Council of Wales (as it is invariably written at this time), the Council of the North, the Court of Requests further demonstrate this fact. A great and sweeping change in the working of the entire administrative system took place between 1601 and 1613 of which from the records of the Privy Council there is now no account to be had.

The volume now published gives an accurate idea of the general type of material to be found in the Register for about a decade, after which (1624) the Register becomes still more formal. On the whole, the economic policy of the Privy Council came more and more to be executed (as was already true in 1608 during the great famine) by formal action recorded by correspondence in the Register, and the bulk of such material is much larger than under Elizabeth and grows to a still greater volume under Charles. The quasi-legal functions of the Privy Council were in 1605 otherwise provided for, in a fashion too complicated to be here described, and a considerable body of actions and correspondence disappear therefore from the Register and do not later reappear. On the whole, the methods intended for dealing with such crises as Essex's Rebellion are no longer entered in the Register, other provision than direct Council action having already been made. While it is demonstrable from a vast bulk of material that the Privy Council was not a factor less important in administration than under Elizabeth, the nature and character of its functions no longer appear in the Register itself to any such extent as under Elizabeth, and under Charles seem to be still less elaborately reported.

The Register itself, no less than the correspondence, shows that under Elizabeth, and certainly under James, the "Minute in the Council Chest" was itself an essential part of the Council records, which were also held

to include correspondence of various kinds. This is also clear from the correspondence at Hatfield House. All these papers seem to have been burned for the entire Elizabethan and Stuart period in 1618. What we have therefore in the Council Register is only a portion of the records which the Council kept; for historians the earlier part is more closely allied to the development of the administrative system than the part now to be published, though not as entirely trustworthy a guide as some have thought it nor as complete as it seems even after careful perusal. For all that, the Register is an invaluable and indispensable record for all students.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, September 1st, 1680–December 31st, 1681, preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1921. Pp. lx, 805. 25s.)

DOCUMENTS calendared in the Domestic Series of the Calendar of State Papers are bound to be of a somewhat miscellaneous character, more so than is the case with the documents in the Colonial Series, but there is usually a sufficient number relating to some outstanding event of the period to give a certain unity to the collection. In the volume now issued for the years 1680–1681, though it contains echoes of the Popish Plot of 1679 and warnings of another popish plot in Ireland to come, the chief interest centres in the Presbyterian Plot, the "sham plot" as many contemporaries called it, for which Stephen College suffered death and in which every effort was made to implicate the Earl of Shaftesbury and others. The whole story is very involved and difficult to disentangle, and I am not sure that the present volume does very much in clearing up the situation, but it does throw light on the hysteria of the time and the ease with which men of either party accepted at its face value the evidence of witnesses. One is amazed at the prodigious number of this particular brand of gentry, who made it a profession to bear false witness against their neighbors and who were willing, apparently on any provocation, to turn about and charge with subornation those in whose interest they had thus perjured themselves. One of these was Bryan Haines, whom Pepys in 1668 called "the incomparable dancer of the King's house", who testified against both College and Shaftesbury and would have testified against anybody rather than starve (p. 418), and who became so notorious that his ill-repute spread to the colonies from Massachusetts Bay to Maryland. He certainly swore like a stout sinner, as Christopher Rousby wrote of him. One understands better the contemporary situation in the colonies, after breathing for a while the atmosphere of England during the years from 1679 to 1689. For that

reason, if for no other, these volumes have an importance for the student of colonial history.

But there are other interesting items also. We learn a great deal about the Dissenters, the attacks on conventicles, and the growing feeling of antagonism to the whole body of nonconformists, "Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other such vermin, which swarm in the land", marking the decline in popularity of the Whig party and the increase of the king's influence. We watch the arrival of the first of the French Protestants, four years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the favorable treatment that they received at the hands of king and people, so favorable, indeed, as to call out the wondering remark that to succor the persecuted French Protestants and to persecute the English Protestants was "a work of seeming contradiction". We add to our knowledge of Seth Sothell's captivity in Algiers (p. 458), of Shaftesbury's plan of going to Carolina (pp. 596–597), and of Captain Henry Wilkinson, reputed governor of North Carolina, whose detention in the King's Bench prison can here be traced to December, 1681, thus making it doubly sure that he never went to the colony. There is mention of Thomas Dongan and Lionel Copley; there are references to the transportation of prisoners to the colonies; and there is a very valuable set of instructions for those having letters of marque against Algiers (p. 617). "To make him wise", "to pass over the Rubicon", "to put in a plunge about my correspondence", and to "refluct from my testimony" are interesting specimens of the English of the seventeenth century.

C. M. A.

Histoire de Prusse. Par ALBERT WADDINGTON, Professeur à l'Université de Lyon. Volume II. *Les Deux Premiers Rois, 1688–1740.* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 598. 30 fr.)

THOSE who have read Waddington's solid studies on the Great Elector or the first volume of his *History of Prussia* will welcome the second installment of this admirable work. In its impartiality and objectivity, its clarity and discrimination, and in the Gallic charm of its expression, it even surpasses his earlier writings.

It was the misfortune of Frederick I. to be placed between two princes who have eclipsed him in history. In comparison with the Great Elector, who created the Brandenburg-Prussian state, and the Drill-Sergeant King, who made it relatively rich, prosperous, and powerful, Frederick I. has been thought to cut rather a sorry figure with his vanity and his tremendously solemn insistence on decorative trifles. "Small in great things and great in small things", his grandson said of him. Frederick I. accepted in all seriousness and gratitude the flatteries of the two-penny poets of his court, who compared Berlin with London and Paris; who celebrated "Athens on the Spree" as the "Light of the World", by in-

geniously transposing the letters *Berolinum* into *lumen orbi*; or who compared Frederick himself to Solomon in all his glory. In spite of such grotesque exaggerations, at which later generations have smiled, M. Waddington has a higher opinion of Frederick than have most historians. "Frederick wished to be magnificent and he often succeeded." Compared with the rudeness of Berlin and its society in the preceding age, the splendor and impressiveness which he achieved were astonishing. In this he was greatly aided by his spirited second wife, Sophie Charlotte, the friend of Leibnitz. King and queen had little in common intellectually. The story of her indecorous taking of snuff during the coronation solemnities and the consequent reproof from her spouse is typical of their relations. She liked gayety, dances, theatricals, and retired to bed about the hour the king was accustomed to rise. She loved to withdraw from the heavy dignity of Berlin to the less decorous pleasures of Lützelburg, which she nicknamed Lustenburg and which her husband, after her death, changed into Charlottenburg. The key to Frederick's life, to both his foreign and domestic policy, M. Waddington thinks, was his pursuit of the royal crown; considering the importance attributed in those days to matters of rank, its acquisition was worth the efforts Frederick made to secure it.

If Berlin was Athens under Frederick I. it became Sparta under his successor; but toward Frederick William I. also Waddington has a sympathetic attitude. He attributes the king's choleric outbursts in good part to the tortures of gout and severe headaches. Yet Frederick William was not always violent toward his children. A pastor, visiting the royal family at dinner in a garden, some of them with their feet dangling in the water, notes how the king's five-year-old boy cajoled his father with kisses into pardoning a deserter from the army. If Frederick William had an aversion to French, music, literature, and all that his father had prized so dearly, Waddington points out, on the other hand, that his personal life was absolutely pure in an age when royalty was not noted for morality; moreover, he created one of the best armies in Europe but did not send the men to be slaughtered in battle; and his devotion to the welfare of his country and his subjects was untiring. During his reign, the population increased from a million and a half to two million and a quarter. Every year he aimed to set aside half a million thalers and, at his death, he left a war reserve fund of some eight million thalers, a sum equal to the total revenue for a year. Waddington concludes that of all the Hohenzollern sovereigns, he was the greatest as concerns domestic administration.

Besides using the abundant printed sources and monographs, from which he has extracted many an amusing anecdote and piquant detail, as well as more serious facts and statistics, M. Waddington has drawn upon the archives of Berlin and of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a more accurate account of the foreign policy of these two remark-

able Hohenzollern rulers. In the case of each king he gives attention about equally to three subjects: the personality of the king and his court, the organic growth of state machine and economic prosperity at home, and the unravelling of diplomatic relations abroad. No work could be better adapted to make Frenchmen understand the origins of the country from which they have suffered so much.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army. By C. T. ATKINSON. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1921. Pp. xviii, 546. $4.50.)

FOR the first time historical research has handled Marlborough's life completely and correctly. Coxe, Lediard, and more recently the fragmentary Taylor, were enthusiasts. Macaulay was partizan, too concerned with Marlborough's delinquencies to credit properly his military greatness. Fortescue's and Walton's histories of the British army are military histories rather than biographies and give scant attention to political and social events. It has been much regretted that Viscount Wolseley, "the best read soldier of his time", never completed his work; but the deficiency has now been made good. A thorough historical scholar and a practical soldier, Mr. Atkinson has produced a volume which should be an authority.

The book is well written, in a measured tone. Its arrangement and emphasis are excellent. It has not the flare of eulogistic writing, nor the errors. It does not excuse Marlborough's sins, nor apologize. It merely holds that Marlborough "did at the same time render great services to his country" (p. 511).

The book is biography. As Marlborough's life was inextricably concerned with the politics of the period and with new developments in the army, it is likewise a noteworthy contribution to contemporaneous history. The modern British army dates from Marlborough's time. Present regiments were formed in his day. The legends of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet were created by him. While Louis of Baden was content with a siege (p. 240), Marlborough was making rapid marches (pp. 256, 335, 346, 385, 420, 446), taking advantage of terrain (p. 291), moving quickly into battle (p. 343), attacking simultaneously at more than one point (p. 291), fitting all detachments into combat so as best to advance the common plan (pp. 225, 290), aiming to annihilate his enemy's field army rather than capture forts (p. 396)—creating a new form of strategy and tactics (p. 177). No more would wars be formal affairs with precise plans. Henceforth a battle was to be a conflict of wills and matching of wits. Marlborough indeed "taught the doubtful battle how to rage". Men found that lines and formations alone could not win a battle. Vauban's treatises on fortifications ceased to comprise the whole of war. Marlborough takes place in a

rational history of military thought. The line runs straight through Condé, Turenne, Napoleon, and Wellington down to Foch. All of this Mr. Atkinson makes plain.

This biographer has had an advantage over his predecessors, in matters other than military, too. He has had access to authorities which in 1899 Fortescue (*Hist. Brit. Army*, I. 553) did not know existed, notably the Orkney letters published in the *English Historical Review* in 1904, and the material uncovered by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. By using these as well as the usual sources, Mr. Atkinson has corrected many misconceptions, among others, misconceptions concerning Blenheim (p. 232), Ramillies (p. 289), and Malplaquet (p. 401). He has still kept his head and not spoken with exaggeration. His work is well documented and provided with an adequate array of foot-notes. He has shown excellent judgment in his use of foot-notes, too. When a man's career has been the subject of several biographical studies, there are many common facts concerning him well known and universally accepted. Mr. Atkinson has recognized this fact and wisely refrained from setting forth a superfluity of notes, and has given only references to statements and interpretations which are new, important, or original. Thus he has saved the appearance of his pages and brought into clearer contrast the number of real contributions to the subject for which he himself is responsible.

A bibliographical note and an index are serviceable. A simple tabulated list of authorities checked with the abbreviations later to be used therefor, might have been added to simplify the work of following references. The maps, of which there are several, are adequate.

A few mechanical errors appear. On one page (p. 253) is a foot-note and no corresponding mark in the text; on another (p. 267) two passages similarly marked and only one foot-note for the two. Burnet is referred to without designation as to which edition (p. 162). Most of the references to the preliminary pages, numbered with Roman numerals, are incorrect (*e.g.*, on pp. viii and 249, and in the index under Lloyd, Portland, Blackader, and Brodrick)—a trivial thing, perhaps, but especially confusing because these are cross-references to bibliographical data.

ELBRIDGE COLBY.

Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, de l'Académie Française. Tomes III. and IV. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1921. Pp. 598; 379. 12 fr. each.)

THE third volume of this history is for the specialist rather more important than any other and has been widely read by those interested in the present transitional epoch of Roman Catholicism in France, being already in the seventh edition. Throughout the period which it covers, from 1792 to the upheaval of Thermidor, the constitutional clergy seem to meet with

no greater favor at the hands of the Convention than the rebellious orthodox, and toward the end suffer an almost equal measure of persecution, because not ecclesiasticism but Christianity itself is now to be abolished and the goddess of Reason to be the divinity of the French state. All this is fairly told, but the outstanding character of the volume is its elaborate account of the Catholic army, its few victories and its ultimate extinction, amid bloody massacres.

The Terror with its short-lived institutions is graphically but briefly described. What is new to most readers is the true account of the Convention as a body of indifferent slackers regarding all constructive statesmanship, keen and determined only in the tricks of the politician and destroyer. That they saved France by fervor is the only claim now made for them, a claim by no means established, and with less validity or semblance of it since the united effort of all the national elements in the World War, and the failure it would have been without Foch, a devout and practising churchman. The festival of the Supreme Being, the enumeration of apostates and of martyrs, and the analysis of Robespierre's character, all exhibit fine historical capacity.

The author had intended this fourth volume of his monumental work to be the last. It covers with his meticulous care and painstaking research, qualities already noted in these pages where former volumes were under review, the period from Thermidor to Brumaire, July 27, 1794, to November 9, 1799. Unconsciously at first, later with full purpose, he makes his pages a narrative of how orthodox Catholicism secured, under persecution, painfully and slowly, the right to use certain churches in Paris and elsewhere throughout France for public worship. Himself a devout priest of that confession, it is noteworthy that he is in the main dispassionate and considerate in his treatment of the radical democrats, the Theophilanthropists, and decadarians. For the constitutional clergy and the Protestants there is possibly a little less charity. In the struggle for what he considers to be and calls religious liberty, their influence for securing parity of treatment was powerful; very different, very different indeed from the lukewarmness of even Theophilanthropy, which did have a ritual and a dogma with public exercises in churches. To the famous Grégoire he renders a grudging and unenthusiastic tribute, being careful to delineate all the incidents of his decline. Yet he says in speaking of the contemptible Merlin, an unprincipled trimmer who reached the pinnacle of his profession, the law, "History does not always see crime punished; the epilogue is not always punishment, but ofttimes reward, recompense the most unexpected".

Throughout these five years the story of religious history is virtually identical with that of politics. Our author's handling of events and characterization of public men is magisterial. His picture of the men in the Directory and his narrative of its grotesque career are the best known to the reviewer. Intensely interesting is his account of Carnot,

who, having secured the soubriquet Organizer of Victory, was a hero throughout all the sinuosities of his subsequent career. Noting the contempt of Bonaparte for human nature in general, he gives an instance or two and traces the preliminaries of Brumaire in a comprehensive and able manner. The humiliation of the papacy and the sorrowful odyssey of Pius VI. are so delineated as to soften the heart of every reader. In a foot-note at the end of this volume our author pleads guilty to having previously considered the beginning of the Consulate as the close of his epoch, the end of the religious history of the Revolution. But, weighing carefully the subject as a whole, and in consultation with expert friends, he has changed his mind. Most of the anti-Christian laws remained on the statute books, however lax their enforcement. It was not until after the negotiation and publication of the Concordat in 1802 that the struggle for religious liberty won its final success; to wit, the recognition of Roman Catholicism as being the confession of all but a small minority of Frenchmen, which it was. The establishment of its worship at the public expense completed the process of restoration, and marked the pacification of Church and State, for the time.

Father de La Gorce is now a man well on in years. He has had a laborious but successful career as a historian. His work has been crowned by membership in the French Academy and a seat under the cupola of the Institute. But his force is not in the least abated. His accuracy is unimpeachable, the field of his researches as wide as ever, and his style grows more and more finished. We read his pages with eagerness. The World War has greatly changed the texture of French life. Napoleon has come to his own, alike as the creator of permanent institutions and the founder of the strategic system which the genius of Foch, the most profound student of his military career, modified for contemporary conditions in order to secure victory at the close. Radicals are not so bitter, ecclesiastics are more resigned to the total separation of Church and State, conservatives, whether monarchical or imperialist, are less vociferous and combative, moderate republicans steer the ship of state on a course which enables the people to exhibit its finest qualities. Each generation demands the re-writing of history for itself and whatever his effort every historian reveals his own thought, philosophic and religious, to the critical reader. These volumes are reverent, considerate, even sympathetic; considered as the work of a churchman, they are wonderfully free from rancor or bias. This is the tribute which one veteran may pay to another of quite opposite tradition and training. And for this among many reasons the concluding volume will be as welcome as the others in lands where the majority of his readers are ecclesiastically minded in no slightest degree.

Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807–1815. By GUY STANTON FORD, Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (Princeton: University Press. 1922. Pp. vii, 336. $3.00.)

FREIHERR VOM STEIN was the greatest German statesman of the Napoleonic age; by his economic and administrative reforms he regenerated Prussia for her leadership in German unity. He therefore deserved and has received full biographical treatment at the hands of eminent scholars—the six-volume documentary biography of his friend Pertz, the interesting interpretative analysis of Seeley, and the more recent and critical study of Lehmann. Where such masters have reaped it might seem that there would be little left for an American to garner. Yet Ford comes to some different conclusions from Lehmann, which we regret we cannot discuss here, and he has incorporated into his admirable brief biography of Stein some valuable statistical material from recent monographs not known to the earlier biographers.

As the title indicates, it is of Stein the Prussian reformer, as well as of the stern and unflinchingly upright *Reichsritter* and mentor of Tsar Alexander, that Ford writes. Nowhere in English, perhaps, can one find such a clear and discriminating description of pre-reform agrarian conditions and complexities in the old Prussian Kingdom as in the chapter The Prussian Peasantry before 1807. The sharp distinction between East and West Elbian conditions and between divergent districts within the larger areas is correctly insisted on. In general, east of the Elbe, there was "an advancing, increasingly profitable, large-scale capitalistic agriculture, with an economically and socially declining agricultural laboring class. The landowning lord was more exacting, more ready to expel a peasant upon charges of negligence, more ready to transfer an efficient and prosperous peasant to a poorer holding, which absorbed the peasant's savings and employed his energies in raising it to a higher level of production for the lord's profit". These and other handicaps on the peasantry Stein sought to remedy by his wide-reaching measures for transforming the depressed serfs into independent and self-respecting citizens of the state ready to serve as Prussian patriots under the new system of universal military service.

There is also an excellent brief account of Stein's activity in Russia, in Germany, and in the field of historical scholarship after his indiscretion in the matter of the intercepted letter made it impossible for him to remain in the Prussian ministry. Though he was unable to persuade German particularists to adopt his broad statesmanlike patriotism in the reconstruction of the German constitution at the Congress of Vienna, and though he failed to keep the King of Prussia to his promise of giving his kingdom a parliament, he did furnish the inspiration for the publication of the *Monumenta,* two volumes of which came from the press before his death in 1831. His own spirit is reflected in the motto which he gave to the historical society which thus began the publication of

the greatest collection of sources for European History: "Sanctus amor patriae dat animum".

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Diplomacy and War. By Count JULIUS ANDRÁSSY. Translated by J. H. Reece. (London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd. 1921. Pp. 323. 17s. 6d.)

AMONG the numerous recently published memoirs of men who participated in one way or another in the events preceding and during the European War, the volume of Count Andrássy will certainly take a foremost place. It has a decided historical value not only on account of the many new facts the author brings to light, but also because of its eminently impartial spirit; in this book there is none of the desire to exculpate the writer, a desire so conspicuous in the memoirs of the German statesmen and generals, like Bethmann-Hollweg or Ludendorff, Hindenburg or Helfferich. In a clear and concise way does the author tell his story, making every effort to give a fair picture of Hungary's and Austria's rôle, as he saw and understood them; just for that reason Andrássy's book will always be an indispensable source of historical information.

The author has two distinct subjects in view: he describes first the Origins of the War (part I., Pre-war History) and then tells about the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, trying to explain the advent of the Revolution (parts III.–IV., Internal Crisis, Collapse, and End). In the first three chapters (Our War Motives, Who Perpetrated the War, the Diplomatic Superiority of the Entente) Andrássy endeavors to sum up the policies and forces that led to the outbreak of the storm in 1914. He describes very well the Austro-Russian antagonism in the Balkan question and explains the policies of the different Great Powers in the steadily growing trouble. We have here an excellent picture of the diplomacy of England, France, and Russia, during the fifty years preceding the Great War, and some unsparing criticism of the author's own countrymen, as well as of the statesmen of the Vienna Ballplatz. He duly emphasizes the clever methods of co-operation employed by the governments of the three entente countries in their game against the Teutonic Alliance. There are, however, two weak points in his narrative, evidently due to the author's nationality: first, he does not take into account the oppressive policy of Hungary against the Slav people, that created among them such an intense hatred toward the Dual Monarchy, a force that led to war not less clearly than did the intrigues of Russia among the Serbs. Secondly, Andrássy does not consider in its proper light the imperialistic policy of the German government, its interference in the Balkan question, its intrigues in Constantinople, and aggression in Asia Minor; this leaves out the most important factor among the causes that brought on the war.

In the following two chapters (Austrian Political and Military Mistakes) Andrássy gives a very complete and interesting picture of the developments in Vienna during the war. The greatest mistake was certainly the complete alienation of Italy, though I doubt very much that the Austrian government could have avoided it then; the roots of its mistaken policy were deeply buried in the past, in the diplomatic transactions of the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century; this is brilliantly corroborated at present by the second volume of Pribram's *Secret Treaties*. But the author is quite right in saying that in 1917 the only way to avoid the ultimate collapse of Austria-Hungary was to conclude an immediate peace; he is also right in censuring the incomprehensible policy of Czernin, who saw the rapidly approaching end and yet did not protest in Berlin, nor make it clear there that Austria was absolutely exhausted.

The Russian Revolution deferred this unavoidable end only for a few months longer; the blame for that falls almost exclusively on Ludendorff and the German army headquarters, who could not realize that the peoples of the two allied empires no longer had their hearts in the war and who still believed that the issue was a purely strategic one. During the months that followed, Andrássy was untiring in his counsels for peace and concessions, but as so often happens in such cases, the concessions were made invariably too late. Under the circumstances, as described by the author, it is very questionable if any measures could have prevented the revolution in Austria-Hungary, though probably some of the extremes of Bela Kun's régime might have been avoided. The last three chapters of the book, in which Andrássy tells the story of the overthrow of his ministry and of the advent of the bolsheviki in Hungary, form the most valuable part of the volume, because of the quantity of details, some of which were not yet known to the outside public. The only criticism that can be made in this respect, is to point out the persistent desire of the author to exaggerate the radicalism of his opponent, Károlyi, to whom he imputes decided bolshevik sympathies. In other respects the volume will remain as a worthy contribution to modern history.

It is unfortunate that some of the names cited in the volume are badly misspelled.

S. A. Korff.

Un Livre Noir: Diplomatie d'Avant-Guerre d'après les Documents des Archives Russes, Novembre 1910–Juillet 1914. Préface par René Marchand. Tome I., 1910–1912. (Paris: Librairie du Travail. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 374.)

This volume is part of a series of books, most interesting and instructive, on the origins of the Great War now being published in France. It is the result of the work of M. René Marchand, a French newspaper correspondent, very well known and of great experience, who spent many

years in Russia, knows the Russian language, and is thoroughly acquainted with Russian life and usages. He recently visited Russia again and with the authorization and assistance of the Bolshevik government ransacked the archives of the former Foreign Office of St. Petersburg, finding there some very important documents of pre-war days, namely, the secret and confidential correspondence of the tsar's diplomatic agents in France with their chief, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Needless to say, this volume will have an enormous value for the modern historian.

There are no startling new disclosures in the book of Marchand; the main lines of pre-war history remain untouched and the rôle of the different nations in respect to the origins of the war is not much altered. But there come to light an immense quantity of new details concerning the working of Secret Diplomacy; one really may well be amazed at the dangers of these former methods of conducting diplomatic transactions. Then, too, the reports of the Russian agents give a vivid picture of French politics in those days; they are invaluable for the right interpretation of the French psychology and policy that was backing the alliance with Russia. How little sincerity there was in it, how much selfishness, and how seldom did the respective governments pay attention to the interests and the will of the nations! Finally, the third point of interest, brought out in this Black Book, concerns the methods used toward the press, especially in France; take, for instance, the complaints of the Russian ambassador, A. Isvolsky, of the lack of funds and his explanation of the success of the Italian embassy, because they had so much money to spend for purposes of publicity. The reader must remember that these details come from the pen of an impartial author; Marchand confesses his dismay and horror, when in reading this diplomatic correspondence he began to realize the dangers that constantly were threatening the nations. This policy of Imperialism was really one uninterrupted and steady development; France was playing exactly the same game as Germany, England, or Russia. From Morocco it went on to Tripolitania, from the latter to Constantinople and the two Balkan wars, and from these wars to the general conflagration of 1914.

Among the names mentioned we find very many familiar ones of the present day; in fact, as far as France is concerned, the great majority of them are now actively in public life: Poincaré, Millerand, Barthou, Jonnart, and many, many others; only their respective titles have changed. The historians of the war might incidentally note such striking details as Sazonov's report of his talk with the King of England, when the latter told him in 1912 (two years before the war) that "We [the English] shall sink every single German merchant ship we shall get hold of". And one can be quite sure that the Germans knew about it. Further details concern the mutual espionage of the different agents; the French reading the

Italian cipher, the Russians handling French and English despatches, and so forth.

We find in this volume the discussion of two very important events, described in such detail as never before: first, the mission of Delcassé to Russia, which was the crowning point of that statesman's career, and did more than anything else to bring about the conflict with Germany. After it came the consummation of the naval agreement between France and Russia, so little known to the outside world. Secondly, the incidents connected with the tsar's visit to Potsdam in 1910 and the great alarm created by it in French government circles; the Russian explanations were really very ingenious.

We repeat it, no modern historian will be able to avoid the careful study of this book. The second volume will probably contain even more important material.

S. A. Korff.

China at the Conference: a Report. By Westel W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science in the Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1922. Pp. xvi, 419. $3.00.)

Professor Willoughby's book is offered merely as a "report" of affairs Chinese at the recent Washington Conference. It deals exclusively with the matters in which China was directly concerned. The Siberian question is referred to only once. The method is to bring together from the records, chiefly from the published documents and communiqués, the salient points in the proposals, discussions, and decisions on every topic from tariff autonomy to the Twenty-one Demands. The volume is a digest and a handbook in which the reader will find topically classified a large amount of information which otherwise can be obtained only by much search and study. It is well to note that *Senate Document* no. 126, 67 Cong., 2 sess., the first official report of the Conference and the document upon which most of Dr. Willoughby's quotations and citations are based, is now being re-edited with a view to republication by the Department of State. The new document will offer interesting comparisons with no. 126, which contained some material inadvertently published and also had inaccuracies and omissions. Not the least important of Professor Willoughby's documentary material is a digest of the preliminary correspondence in which the author hints at the evidence that the origin of the Conference was in London rather than in Washington.

China at the Conference is, however, more than a report. It is an interpretation. Without passing over into the field of propaganda where the Japanese and British advocates in the public press during the Conference won such ephemeral triumphs, Professor Willoughby has given a dispassionate, severely restrained, and documented interpretation of the exact status of China at the beginning of the Conference, its contentions, its defeats, and its achievements. The author does not share the pes-

simism of many popular advocates of China's case. "It is certain that China obtained all, and possibly more than, it was reasonable to expect that under the existing circumstances she would be able to obtain", states Professor Willoughby (p. 333).

While the book makes no pretense to literary art it is by no means dull. The brilliant repartee of the Chinese delegates, particularly of Minister Sze, with which are contrasted the artful evasions of the British and French delegates and the stark trickery of the Japanese who rarely made a concession without what might later be used as a nullifying qualification, enlivens the pages and supports a dramatic interest. The frank, open, and ever courteous diplomatic technique of Sze and Koo is not of the sort which leads to war. One cannot say as much for the methods of most of their elder colleagues. The recent diplomacy of China belongs to the future; that of the "Powers", we may hope, belongs to the past. At any rate, the Chinese could not have adopted a policy which in the long run would be more likely to win the confidence of peoples, as distinguished from diplomatic representatives, and Professor Willoughby, abandoning as he does all efforts to gloss over unpleasant facts or to distort the case for his client, could not have adopted a plan for his book which would be more likely to assure among American students a sympathetic attitude toward China's present prostration. *China at the Conference* is not propaganda. It does not therefore belong in the class with almost everything which in the last few years has been written on the East, but the book does contain all that is legitimate in propaganda—a cold, judicial, even critical, setting-forth of the facts.

TYLER DENNETT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Correspondence of Sir John Macdonald, First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada. Edited by his Literary Executor, Sir JOSEPH POPE. (Toronto: Oxford University Press; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1921. Pp. xxv, 502. $5.00.)

SIR JOHN MACDONALD was born in 1815 and died Prime Minister of Canada in 1891. He was in active political life for half a century. During his lifetime a number of transient biographies were written. The authoritative *Life* by his secretary, Sir Joseph Pope, published in 1894, was followed by a shorter sketch, *The Day of Sir John Macdonald,* by the same author in the series of the *Chronicles of Canada.* The vast collection of papers of Sir John Macdonald has been deposited in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa. Sir Joseph Pope now supplements his biography by this volume of extracts from his chief's correspondence. It cannot be said to throw much further light on the history of Canada. Some of the letters are merely formal official communications. But

even from such trifles we get traits of character in both Macdonald and his correspondents. Thus the little casual things help us to see a real man of genius. In the United States a leader exercising executive power can be in office at most for the eight years constituting the two Presidential terms. Macdonald was a real ruler of Canada for about a quarter of a century and the head of a federal cabinet for nearly twenty years. He thus had a long training in the art of government and he acquired an almost uncanny knowledge of the strength and the weakness of politicians.

Macdonald was largely self-educated. But he was a wide reader, and he developed a lucid and correct literary style. He had many of the graces of those who move in high society and was always *persona grata* with noblemen such as Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne who filled the rather barren rôle of Governor General. Dufferin's Hibernian exuberance of compliment did not please Macdonald. "I can stand a good deal of flattery but he lays it on rather too thick" (p. 177). It is singular to find Goldwin Smith coveting and unable to get a seat in the legislature of the Province of Ontario. Macdonald was always apt with a literary reference. He told Sir George Stephen, the real builder of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who was voicing a grievance, to read Charles Reade's "Put Yourself in his Place" and to try to imagine the point of view of the other fellow. Macdonald was alert, far-sighted, cautious, a genuine leader and master of men. No doubt he was careless about the means he used. Corrupt men served him. But, from end to end, these letters breathe the spirit of a high-minded patriotism and their writer toiled on into extreme old age because he felt that duty called. He was not vindictive nor bitter. His estimates of men, if pungent, are cool and reasoned. As time passes his faults will seem slight and he will rank with the great statesmen of the age.

Macdonald had three types of problems to solve. The most important was the creating and the working of federal institutions in Canada. It is often said that he was a reluctant convert to federalism. No doubt a unitary state was his ideal but he was quick to see that in a country where Roman Catholics are nearly half of the population, the path of safety lay in giving local control to such matters as education, to which religious issues are related. Sir Joseph Pope claims that Macdonald was an early convert to federalism. Even so, he always regarded the Provincial governments as exercising an authority subordinate to the federal authority. The American conception of the federal authority as delegated from the state authority was hateful to him. Admirers of the American constitution would be equally puzzled at a constitution under which the federal authority could appoint the senators representing the states, disallow the acts of the state legislatures, and appoint the official heads of the state governments. In Canada all this is done. The governor of a province cannot even pardon a person convicted of the

most trifling offense. Yet, in spite of seeming inferiority of status in the provinces, Canada has a real federal system and time has vindicated the independence of the provincial governments from federal domination.

Though an ardent Imperialist, who wished Canada to take the name of Kingdom, Macdonald never believed that a central legislature could be created to which Englishmen, Canadians, and Australians could be sent by the electors of their own country. He ridiculed the "overwashed Englishman" "full of crotchets as all Englishmen are". He refused sternly to take any share in the war in Egypt in which Gordon perished. He thought that in disputes with the United States England was too ready to sacrifice the interests of Canada. None the less was he an ardent Briton. His last political campaign was fought on the issue of Canada's resisting the magnet which freer trade with the United States would involve to draw her away from Great Britain.

Macdonald believed that the United States desired and sometimes actively planned to annex Canada. When in 1869 there was rebellion in what is now Manitoba he thought that powerful influences were at work in Washington to secure the West on which Canada had as yet so slender a hold. He was at Washington in 1871, one of the commissioners to negotiate what came to be known as the Washington Treaty, and his position was uncomfortable because he was strenuous in Canada's interests against his colleagues from England. His friend Sir Charles Tupper once urged that Macdonald should take a British peerage and go to Washington as British minister. Then he said Canada's interests would be really looked after. We still have unsolved the problem of Canada's foreign relations. This correspondence gives peeps, but only peeps, into the mind of a great man, one of whose passionate convictions was that Canada must always remain separate from the United States. Now, probably, there are few in either country who desire anything else.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776. Edited by EVANGELINE WALKER ANDREWS, in collaboration with CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1921. Pp. 341. $3.50.)

THE "Lady of Quality" whose journal is the subject-matter of this volume was Miss Janet Schaw, a cultivated Scotchwoman. She belonged to the British official class. Her father, Gideon Schaw, was in the customs service in Scotland and a brother, Robert, was a planter and man of standing in the lower Cape Fear region of North Carolina. Both were connected by marriage with John Rutherford, collector of quit-rents in North Carolina, and Robert's second wife was connected

with the Howe family, a family very prominent in the politics of the colony. Another brother, Alexander Schaw, was appointed searcher of the customs at St. Christopher in the West Indies, early in 1774; thither he went the following October and with him sailed Janet Schaw, whose ultimate destination was Wilmington, North Carolina. However, Alexander Schaw also went to Wilmington, on leave; there he became a messenger from Governor Martin to Lord Dartmouth, and apparently he never returned to St. Christopher.

In the light of these facts it is natural to find that Miss Schaw's views of colonial affairs reflected those of the official class. She had no sympathy with the political aspirations or the methods of the revolutionary faction. But she was a keen observer, interested in people, appreciative of the beauties of nature, and gifted with the power of writing entertainingly. Her American experiences gave ample opportunity for the exercise of these talents. On the voyage to the West Indies the knavery of the ship-captain, a dreadful storm, the sight of an Algerian corsair, and the hazing of emigrants while crossing the tropic gave a spice of high adventure such as is to be found usually only in works of fiction. In Antigua and St. Christopher she witnessed the brutal and also the milder phases of slavery, noted the prosperity and refinement of life among the planters, and also realized the insecure basis of economic organization. It is, however, her impressions of North Carolina which make the book most valuable. On her arrival at Wilmington early in 1775 the controversy which was soon to result in war was reaching its crisis. Men and measures were therefore the subject of much comment by Miss Schaw. Contrary to existing local tradition, she found the lot of the plain people on the Cape Fear very similar to that of the same class in the Albemarle region as described by William Byrd a generation before. It is interesting to note, however, that the manners and character of the women were better than those of the men. Nor were her impressions of the upper class much more favorable. Men whom tradition has canonized as political saints were to this refined woman loose in morals, violent in methods, and not to be trusted. An exception was James Moore. On the other hand, among the merchants, Englishmen and Scotsmen who had recently come to the colony, she found standards of life much higher. These, of course, became Loyalists while the natives and men of longer residence formed the basis of the revolutionary party. Unfortunately Miss Schaw seems to have known nothing of the deeper issues of British imperialism and this ignorance of course led to prejudice. Yet the customs of the country and the acts of violence she witnessed or knew of give a certain support to her conclusions. Illustrative are her descriptions of the crude methods of agriculture, a funeral feast, the aversion to ideas or methods, the compelling men to sign the non-importation agreement, and the use of force against the royal governor. Finally, in the autumn of 1775, Miss Schaw took

refuge on a British man-of-war with Governor Martin and soon after sailed for Scotland *via* Lisbon. The Journal closes with an account of experiences as a tourist in Portugal.

Valuable as are these sketches of colonial life, they are matched in quality by the work of the editors. The introduction is all that such an essay should be, an appreciation of the fine traits of the main character by a sympathetic and kindred soul. The foot-notes and the appendixes, the latter consisting of fourteen short essays, contain such wide information regarding colonial affairs and the beginning of the Revolution in North Carolina, much of it hitherto undisclosed, as to make the book a kind of *vade mecum,* an indispensable work of reference for all who would read deeply in West Indian and North Carolina affairs in the years 1774 and 1775.

The maps, the illustrations, and the press work are excellent. The North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames has shared in the cost of publication.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Collected and edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Volume IV. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: the Commission. 1920. Pp. 403.)

THIS closing volume of the *Ruffin Papers,* like all its predecessors, offers much that is valuable to the historian and the political scientist. In many of the letters one finds earnest expression of the deep-seated fear of popular government. For example, the able Irishman, Edward Conigland, of Halifax, says (1866), "immigration would doubtless be a blessing to us, provided we could always control it, and make it entirely subservient to our wants" (p. 45). On a later page he writes that he is sure the great judge, Ruffin, has no patience with the idea of popular sovereignty, "namely, the indefeasible right of a mere numerical majority to have all power vested in their hands" (p. 62). And Judge Ruffin himself says (p. 69) that all constitutional conventions in North Carolina since 1776 have made matters worse, that is, each of the great struggles in that state to give the majority more control over public affairs had only resulted in making things worse. Some day some historian will make an international reputation by tracing the history of the struggle for democracy in the United States. It was not merely in the Southern states that men feared the majority with an ineradicable fear. In every state of the North there was the same fear and the same anxious contrivance to thwart democracy in the home of democracy.

There is an exceptionally suggestive letter (p. 233) from Frank G. Ruffin of Virginia. It is a sort of family history of the Ruffins and

Roanes of Virginia. It relates the story that Colonel William Roane, of Virginia, undertook to punish a Tory for some offence. He stripped the Tory, tied him fast to a tree in a swamp swarming with mosquitoes, and left him over night thus exposed. The next morning he found his victim dead (p. 238). On a later page the writer says that the Roane family was connected by marriage with Washington, "whom sentimentalists love to compare in attributes with the Virgin Mary, . . . though the family never claimed the relationship" (p. 244). To be a cousin of George Washington and never claim it, in Virginia! In the Roane circles political convictions must certainly have been deeply set. This is one of several bits of evidence I have seen in Southern documents that Washington's nationalist leadership in 1787–1789 was more deeply resented than historians have suspected. If only the papers of Willy Jones and Rawlins Lowndes might be discovered and brought to light by some argus-eyed scholar!

In addition to the revelations of political sentiment, there is abundant evidence of the extent of the economic devastation wrought by the Civil War in North Carolina, evidence of the hopelessness of great numbers of people as well as of the resolute will of others to make the best of their calamities and quickly make their way back into proper federal relations. President Johnson's problem in the South is made clearer by these letters. It was not an easy one. Besides the letters, which make up the bulk of the volume, there are excerpts from the more important judicial decisions of Chief Justice Ruffin showing a good deal of the social and economic life of one of the older Southern commonwealths.

A History of California: the Spanish Period. By CHARLES E. CHAPMAN, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. 527. $4.00.)

THIS work, although intended for the general public, is in most senses a definitive scholarly treatment of the subject. The author, who for two years held the Native Sons Travelling Fellowship and under it conducted researches in Spain, is a recognized authority on the Spanish sources for California history. The volume before us proves that he has mastered the difficult art of historical synthesis, and his literary style, while not distinguished, is sound, perspicuous, and reasonably engaging.

The volume contains thirty-five short chapters, an admirable bibliographical appendix, and a good index. There are three maps and also three portraits. One might be disposed to cavil at the paucity of the illustrative material, in view of the purpose of the book, and a more liberal use of both maps and pictures no doubt would have added to its usefulness. But illustrations are a publisher's problem quite as much as an author's problem.

In his introductory chapter on the Effects of Geography upon Cal-

ifornia History the author confines himself practically to a discussion of California's situation with reference to the outside world which affected the problem of discovery, exploration, and exploitation. There is no attempt either to interpret geologically or to describe physiographically. Chapter II. contains a discriminating account of the California Indians. The third chapter deals with early Chinese contacts with California, and in Chapter IV. is a discussion of the "Japanese Opportunity", *circa* 1600 A.D., to gain control of California. This is one of the freshest and most interesting features of the book.

Much if not most of the material in Chapters V. to XIX., inclusive, was already well known through other publications. Yet Mr. Chapman's detailed knowledge of the sources, his absorbed interest, and his insight enable him to make definite contributions at numerous points. Under his sure hand the old story takes on new meaning and interest.

The last observation is even more applicable to the latter portions of the book, which often in substance, and generally in spirit, are essentially new. At every turn the author reveals his firm grasp upon sources, whether documentary, monographic, or otherwise. He surprises the reader especially by the breadth and completeness of the treatment he accords to the international phases of his story.

Among the best of his chapters are the biographical. Bucareli, Anza, Serra, and Lasuen are presented each with appropriate coloring, yet with a discriminating judgment upon both their characters and their work, which testifies to a thorough documentary study of their careers. The analysis and description of the Spanish institutions of California in Chapter XXX. is adequate, as are the chapters following which bring the story down to the eve of the American conquest of California.

The reviewing of a book such as this one is a pleasing task, because there is really nothing to criticize. To be sure, no two writers would exactly agree on the treatment of any large subject, and I doubtless should have distributed the space somewhat differently had the problem been my own. To devote one thirty-second of his space to the "Origin and Application of the Name California" might seem a trifle excessive. Yet this, and other matters of emphasis, are purely questions of opinion upon which unanimity is impossible. The book should be welcomed as a conspicuous example of the new academic historiography which aims at a combination of sound methodology, broad, liberal, and exact scholarship, and at least respectable literary proficiency. It is not a prose epic, for the Spanish period of California, while variously tinged and streaked with both romance and heroism, on the whole does not lend itself to that type of treatment. But it is a highly satisfying book to read, and standing as it does at the beginning of a series will inevitably arouse among historians a keen desire to see completed the history of California on the plan Mr. Chapman has conceived. It promises to be one of the notable enterprises in the writing of state his-

tories now in full swing in so many of the western and mid-western states.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The Modern Commonwealth, 1893–1918. By ERNEST LUDLOW BOGART and JOHN MABRY MATHEWS. [Centennial History of Illinois, volume V.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920. Pp. vi, 544.)

The Modern Commonwealth is the final volume in the series published by the Illinois Centennial Commission. The series, as a whole, is an enduring memorial of one hundred years of progress not only in Illinois, but, in a sense, in the nation at large.

This volume also completes the work begun by Professors Bogart and Thompson in the preceding volume, *The Industrial State*, and is of the same general character. The transition from an agricultural to an industrial state makes rapid progress in the quarter-century following 1893, but a healthy balance is maintained by an increasing interest in culture and learning, and in a slow but steady upward political movement.

Growth in education, art, and letters is treated in a chapter by Mr. Henry B. Fuller. The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 serves as a point of departure for a new era in the development of Illinois and particularly of Chicago. The marvellous growth of the three great universities of the state furnishes a concrete illustration of similar progress in other educational lines, in art, music, the drama, literary activity, and municipal recreation centres.

The political and constitutional portion of the volume, by Professor Mathews, opens with a chapter on constitutional amendment and revision from 1870 to 1917, when the legislature submitted to the voters the question of calling a constitutional convention. Other chapters deal with the governor, state officers, administrative services, and civil service reform, and show "the reorganization of the principal administrative services on a more integrated and systematic basis". The state legislature, the judiciary, suffrage, parties and elections, and the enforcement of state law are well presented. Although much of the material in these chapters can be found in such texts as Greene's *Government of Illinois*, the author has done a real service by his clear analysis of recent changes and by fitting them into the familiar framework of the past.

As intimated above, Professor Bogart's treatment of the economic aspect of the period is a continuation of his study of the period from 1870 to 1893. In his discussion of population, he notes the phenomena connected with the drift to the cities, the shift from county to county, the influx and distribution of the alien population, and the effect of interstate migration—all of special interest in Illinois. Education is suggested as a chief means of solving the problems connected with agri-

culture. In manufactures, the trend toward consolidation and combination is emphasized, particularly in the Illinois iron and steel industry. Two chapters are devoted to trade and transportation, including water and good roads. The growth of labor organization and of legislation to meet labor problems includes the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1911, and the new law of 1913 as amended in 1917. There are excellent chapters also on the panic of 1893 and the banks, and on state finances and taxation. Reform measures such as the tax amendment of 1915 are suggested.

There are numerous statistical tables relating to Illinois, and a good index, also an excellent bibliography classified under four heads: Newspapers and Magazines; Federal Documents and Reports; State Documents and Reports of Cities and Commissions; and Monographs, Transactions, and Other Works.

A special chapter by Professor Arthur C. Cole on Illinois and the Great War fitly closes the volume.

CHARLES T. WYCKOFF.

A History of Minnesota. By WILLIAM WATTS FOLWELL. In four volumes. Volume I. (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1921. Pp. xix, 533. $5.00.)

THIS volume is an excellent illustration of the newer type of real state and local history which is fortunately taking the place of the so-called histories of states and localities that have been written by ancient pioneers or shelved politicians without training either in history or in literature. Not one of its illustrations is a portrait. It may be classed definitely in the small but growing group of state histories in which the recent *Centennial History of Illinois* occupies a distinguished place, and not at all in the group with the recent three-volume *History of Arizona* by T. E. Farish. It is the work of a man who is by training, inclination, and devotion a scholar in political science and history, who has been an active and determinative factor in Minnesota life for more than a half-century, knowing all the state's governors but two, and who combines fine discrimination in the use of historical materials, accuracy, and vividness in their interpretation, and rare clarity and vivacity of literary style.

The four volumes, of which this is the first, will be far more than an expansion of the author's volume on Minnesota in the *American Commonwealths* series, out of which, in a fashion, they have grown; "an agreeable recreation" becomes a high and successful adventure in historical authorship. The present volume covers in its sixteen chapters the history of what is now Minnesota and the immediately adjacent eastern areas, from the beginning of French exploration of the interior of the continent to the eve of statehood (1857). It is an admirably proportioned and critical account of the far-flung efforts of the French

—explorers, missionaries, and traders; of the rivalries of the French and English in the Upper Mississippi basin; and of the period of British domination in the Old Northwest, from which they withdrew so reluctantly and tardily. The later enterprises of American explorers like Pike, Long, and Schoolcraft (ch. V.), of traders like Taliaferro and Sibley, and of missionaries like the Pond brothers, and the incidents of Indian warfare, are set forth with skill. In a few pages (85–87, 170–173) is an unexcelled brief account of the influence of the white man upon the Indian, while two chapters (X., XI.) give an admirable perspective of the acquirement of the "Suland" and the extinction of Indian titles by treaties—and otherwise—in which the greed and chicanery of the eager, intolerant, aggressive frontiersman, half settler and half speculator, outwitted and cheated the Indians at every turn, in spite of the generally benevolent intentions of the far-away federal government. "It was not to be expected that a tribe of savages numbering not more than ten thousand souls would hold indefinitely fifty thousand square miles of land against the pressure of advancing civilization and the lumber interest" (p. 305), not to mention the suspected copper deposits nor the unsuspected wealth of iron ore, and the lively, unprejudiced story of the negotiation of the treaties with the Sioux and the Chippewa in 1851–1854 brings out the unlovely features of a many-times told tale in Western history.

In the latter half of this volume the author's intimate and personal knowledge of such "builders of the Commonwealth" as Alexander Ramsay, the Rev. S. R. Riggs, and Henry Hastings Sibley, who was for fifty-seven years after his arrival in Minnesota in 1834 "easily the most prominent figure in Minnesota history" (p. 162), gives warmth and color to his descriptions of events and persons. Especially valuable are the chapters on Territorial Railroad Miscarriage (XII.) and on Peopling the Territory (XIII.), in which he writes with fine penetration and sympathy a condensed narrative of the energetic, and sometimes scandalous, political and economic orderings of the beginnings of a new white commonwealth in a fertile, well-watered, well-timbered Indian hunting ground, and of the uncertain sowing and the quick reaping on the sedimentary deposits of all sorts of men and women which the swift stream of migration left in the Middle Northwest. These processes were in full operation during the author's presidency of the University of Minnesota from 1869 to 1884, and continued in some part of the state, especially in the north, almost to the present day. Students of the history of the advancing frontier, of the rapid transit of American civilization from the region of the Great Lakes to the Pacific, will be grateful for these sixty pages of vivid description of a wilderness in transformation, done by the hand of a ripe scholar who was within speaking distance of the stirring events of which he writes.

The main narrative is buttressed by thirteen appendixes and six

excellent maps, and is enlivened by eleven full-page illustrations which are given, significantly, to such subjects as the steamboats at the St. Paul levee about 1858, a fur-trade inventory of 1836, and Minneapolis in 1857. Mention should certainly be made in this connection of the part played by the Minnesota Historical Society in the preparation of this work, through its treasures of books, maps, and manuscripts, and in the generous support of the publication of this volume in the highly satisfactory form which it takes.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

MINOR NOTICES

Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Technique. Par A. Vierendeel, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. In two volumes. [Collection Lovanium IV.] (Brussels and Paris, Vromant et Co., 1921, pp. 188; 190, 12 fr.) The first chapter opens with a definition of "La Technique" or technology, by virtue of which technology is to-day the dominating force of the world. The author divides the history of technology into five periods, as follows: the prehistoric period, ending with Menes, king of Egypt, 4000 B.C.; antiquity, from Menes to the fall of Alexandria, in A.D. 641; the Middle Ages, from the fall of Alexandria to the fall of Constantinople, in 1453; the Renaissance, from 1453 to 1800; modern times, since 1800. It is pointed out that in the prehistoric period, man created the flint industry, discovered the use of fire, invented the principal modern industries and the tools essential to the same. During antiquity, the sciences and arts of technology developed to a notable degree, thereby leading to a material civilization differing relatively from our own. During the Middle Ages, except for the invention of gunpowder, technology remained nearly stationary; whereas during the Renaissance and modern times technology has made rapid strides.

In successive chapters are traced the historical influences exercised upon technology by mathematics, mechanics, thermodynamics, electricity, steam, the locomotive, turbines, internal-combustion engines, aviation, illumination, and large-scale construction.

The author, who is a distinguished engineer and authority upon many technical subjects, develops his subject historically in a very interesting way. Although written from the standpoint of an engineer, and with special reference to the service of technical readers, the book is also addressed to the general reader. The chapters on mathematics and mechanics are of special interest and thoroughness.

Kolonialgeschichte. Von Dietrich Schäfer. In two volumes. (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter und Co., 1921, pp. 111, 148, $.72.) Dr. Schäfer's brief sketch of colonization is a survey of the whole field almost solely from the political viewpoint. It is attractively written, and evidently intended for the general reader rather than as an attempt to add new knowledge.

Starting with the thesis that colonization forms one of the weightiest factors in historical evolution and that those nations which are most skilled in this work have become the leading world powers, the author briefly reviews ancient colonization. Attention is then paid to German expansion in the Middle Ages. To this he devotes a larger space than is often given it, asserting that the Germans more than any other medieval people increased their importance through colonization, and that contrary to the assertions of the Slavs, German expansion to the east was a peaceful rather than a warlike process. While this phase is important, one notes that thirteen pages are devoted to it, that only a paragraph is given to the commercial colonies of the Italian city states, and that a rather abrupt account of the discoveries and their background is presented. It would seem likewise that in a well-balanced account French colonization in Canada and the Mississippi Valley deserves more space than the single page allotted to it.

In concluding his second volume Dr. Schäfer points to the fact that although Germany is now deprived of colonies, yet, contrary to enemy opinion, no people is better suited to colonization than the Germans. Although the world is completely partitioned, the future may still offer hope of change. The possibility of discontent among the subjects of existing colonial empires, Islamic unrest, further Russo-British or Franco-British or even American-British friction, the ambitions of Far Eastern peoples, all point to the possibility of change. Such circumstances can only lead to advantage for Germany, if she is prepared again to pursue an independent policy.

James E. Gillespie.

Korakou: a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth. By Carl W. Blegen, Ph.D. [American School of Classical Studies at Athens.] (Boston and New York, the School, 1921, pp. xv, 139, and 8 pl., $5.00.) This book refutes finally the theory advanced by Leaf in his *Homer and History*, pp. 209 ff., and *Classical Review*, XXXII. (1918) 87, that no Mycenaean settlement would ever be found near Corinth and that the Homeric Ephyra was in Sicyonian territory. Dr. Blegen with keen scent of prehistoric sites has discovered a dozen or more that might claim the title. Korakou (wrongly spelled Korahou on p. 135) is east of the harbor Lechaeum, and certainly is not in the direction of Sicyon, as Leaf says. In the successive prehistoric settlements found, a ceramic sequence has been established, which is the basis for Blegen's new division of the prehistoric period of southeastern Greece into Early, Middle, and Late Helladic. The Early (2500–2000 B.C.) is distinguished for the "urfirnis" wares, the Middle I (2000–1750 B.C.) and II (1750–1600 B.C.) for Minyan and matt-painted vases; Late Helladic I (1600–1500), II (1500–1400), III (1400–1100 B.C.) corresponds to Late Minoan or Mycenaean. Korakou shows that the Mycenaean ware of the mainland is a development

of the Minyan under increasing Minoan influence. Supplying evidence which was lacking at Tiryns and Mycenae, Korakou now for the first time definitely establishes the relationship of the mainland fabrics, and has first distinguished a new kind of Mycenaean pottery which is christened "Ephyraean".

Pages 74–99 are devoted to the private homes, some of which may have had sloping and not flat roofs, as Blegen says. Especially important is the fact that we have now a clearer picture of a Mycenaean's private life. We can picture his worship about the "baetylic" pillar in the megaron type of house, with a simple bed raised slightly above the earthen floor, with its storage jars, its querns, its hearth, and its vases. We can even see the effects of the invasion from the north, perhaps from Phocis. We can trace the change from the apse-end house to the square end, though in this discussion a serious omission is any reference to Tsountas's important modern Greek book on *The Prehistoric Acropolises of Dimini and Sesklo,* where similar houses are discussed. A reference to Miss Rider's *The Greek House,* pp. 56 ff., is also needed.

After chapters on tombs and miscellaneous finds and an excellent historical conclusion, where it is said that Early Helladic civilization began in the south, in the Cyclades, and spread northward, a startling new hypothesis is put forward, that the so-called temple of Hera at Tiryns is a late Mycenaean house and that the Doric capital found there has nothing to do with it. But the building has no rear room or double portico as house L has and it is difficult to prove that Mycenaean sherds were found above it.

The book is beautifully printed with 135 figures (only one or two indistinct), 7 colored plates, and a plan of the entire site; a scholarly and ideal publication in every sense of the word, one of the most original works on the prehistory of Greece of recent years.

David M. Robinson.

A Short History of Christian Theophagy. By Preserved Smith, Ph.D. (Chicago and London, the Open Court Publishing Company, 1922, pp. 223, $2.00.) The history of this book is told by the author in the preface. Starting with an investigation of the evolution of Luther's doctrine of the Eucharist and proceeding to examine the teachings of the other Reformers, penetration into the sacramentarian controversies of the sixteenth century brought him to see that the sacrifice of the mass and the real presence in the sacrament were not figments of medieval scholasticism but doctrines of the primitive church, and that in form and meaning the Christian sacrament closely corresponds to the rites of contemporary Greek and Oriental mysteries, from which it is in fact derived; while these in turn can be traced back to a remote antiquity in totemistic beliefs and practices. To the establishment of these propositions the first half of the volume is devoted.

The consequence of this evolution is a striking disproportion: Luther and his successors get a hundred and twenty pages; all that precedes, from the time when "the grandsons of the ape were accumulating their theological ideas", is dispatched in seventy-five.

The contrast between the two parts is no less salient in matter than in measure. With the Reformers the author is on a subject in which he is eminently competent and writes with the authority to which first-hand knowledge entitles him. In the preceding chapters, on the contrary, it is evident that his learning in a field remote from his own studies has been somewhat hastily acquired for the purpose, and it has the inevitable shortcomings of its origin.

This is peculiarly true of the chapter on Paul and his Symmystae. The personal religions of the Hellenistic world ("mysteries") and the relation of early Christianity to them form a field of investigation in which a great deal has been accomplished in the last decade or two, especially by philologists. Dr. Smith's acquaintance with this literature is decidedly spotty, and on various points he is much more dogmatic than he would probably be if he had followed the critical discussion, not to say if he had recurred to the sources. On the other hand there is a striking failure to note the most significant connections of Christianity with contemporary personal religions, a failure due in part to the limitations just noted, in part to the isolation of the particular problem of the sacrament from the relations of the religions as a whole. Of the nature of this larger problem he has apparently no apprehension.

Similarly inadequate is the chapter on totemism called "Praeparatio Evangelica", in which recent investigations and theories are ignored in favor of a more primitive stage of speculation. Nilus and his Saracens play the same rôle for which Robertson Smith cast them thirty-five years ago.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

Der Mittelalterliche Mensch, gesehen aus Welt und Umwelt Notkers des Deutschen. Von Paul Th. Hoffmann. (Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G., 1922, pp. 356, M. 40.) The medieval man, or, as Dr. H. O. Taylor would say, the medieval mind, viewed from the world of Notker the German and his universe, is an alluring theme. Notker Labeo, the thick-lipped, as he was called by his contemporaries, or Notker Teutonicus, as later generations called him, lived in the time and place which Scheffel's *Ekkehard* has made familiar even to the general reader. Born about 952 he lived from boyhood to his death in 1022 in the famous monastery of St. Gall, whence his cousin (or brother?) Ekkehard II. went to the neighboring Hohentwiel castle to study Virgil with its haughty mistress, Duchess Hadwig. Little is known of his life. We are not certain that he ever left the walls of St. Gall. Like Bede the Venerable he spent all his life in one monastery, devoting himself to

learning, to teaching, to writing. With the humble existence of this obscure ascetic and scholar as a centre the author of this book invites us to view with him the whole medieval universe of mind and spirit. His point of departure is in Notker's truly remarkable German translations, with glosses, of portions of Aristotle, of the *Consolations of Philosophy* of Boethius, the *Nuptiae* of Martianus Capella, the Psalms, and the lost German renderings of the *Andria* of Terence, the *Bucolica* of Virgil, the *Distichia* of Cato, and the Book of Job. In immense circles, from Augustine to Dante, and sometimes through the vast spaces of comparative history of religions, the author gradually swoops down upon his subject in St. Gall; then, as if unable to content himself with him, he rises again to the airy regions from which he came. The books which Notker translated loom larger than the translator himself.

The author writes from the standpoint of the German philologist. In descending order his secondary interests are in philosophy, theology, and history. Professional historians of the Middle Ages no longer perpetuate the "Legend of the year 1000", as is done on pages 142 and 273. However, no historian of medieval culture can afford to neglect this interesting book, which, in pages which are often fascinating, traces the noble effort of the medieval mind to reach the unattainable. All the sources which throw light on Notker and his monastery are exhibited with telling effect, even when they are utilized two or three times, as is sometimes the case. Chapter IX., "Die Knaben im Kloster", is full of novelty and charm.

The effort of the author to soar so high into the realms of philosophy from the humble plane of Notker the German is almost pathetic. It is evidence of the *acedia* or *Weltschmerz* of post-bellum Germany expressed by the author himself in the concluding paragraph of his book, which begins (p. 289), "Nacht liegt über der Erde von Heute und Chaos. Sie kreisst in Hader, Blut, und Tränen."

L. J. Paetow.

A Repertory of British Archives. Part I., *England.* Compiled for the Royal Historical Society by Hubert Hall, Litt.D., F.S.A., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records. (London, the Society, 1920, pp. liii, 266, 12 s. 16 d.) Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, assisted by research students of the University of London, has begun the issue of a *Repertory* of British archives, of which the first part, relating to England, has recently appeared under the auspices of the Royal Historical Society. It contains a preface, an introduction, and an appendix to the introduction, followed by select classified lists of public records, three appendixes, and an index. It is not intended to serve as a guide, but rather as a directory assisting historical students to locate such documents as may be useful for their studies, and belongs therefore in the class of the lists issued in this country by the Public Archives Commis-

sion rather than in that of the *Guides* furthered by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. In its main division it adopts a threefold system of classification, first by types, second by origins, and third by repositories. The first group, which distributes by types, is designed to aid the student who wishes to know where among central and local archives certain kinds of documents are to be found, such as diplomatic papers, administrative and judicial proceedings, and miscellaneous. The second contains a survey of public records in local authorities, the documents of statutory authorities and trusts, and the records of counties, parishes, ridings, ancient palatinates, ecclesiastical bodies, and other local administrative and judicial divisions, the activities of which in the past have brought into existence documentary material. The third contains a directory of the actual repositories, beginning with the Public Record Office and other public and semi-public offices in London and concluding with the local archive centres, distributed by counties, with subdivisions for towns, parishes, and churches. The plan of the work is novel and somewhat experimental, but it is based on experience and the actual needs of research workers and is certain to be useful. Though designed chiefly for British investigators, it is likely to be of considerable service to those of America also, though not to that particular group interested in American history only. The lists are inclusive rather than discriminating, and no attempt is made to appraise the collections or to indicate in any way the relative importance of the archives listed. For that reason many famous repositories, such as the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the library of the S. P. G., are passed over very casually. The *Repertory* is intended to be used with other reports and printed works, which are here referred to in parentheses, while in part III., in order to further the student's convenience, asterisks are employed to indicate which repositories offer facilities for investigators. Altogether it is an admirable work, well planned and efficiently executed.

C. M. A.

The Laureateship: a Study of the Office of Poet Laureate of England, with some Account of the Poets. By Edmund Kemper Broadus, Professor of English at the University of Alberta. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. vii, 239, 15s.) It may seem odd that we should have to wait till now for a scholarly survey of the Laureateship. The institution is so famous, if not in the field of English poetry, at least in that of English satire, that one might feel sure it would have attracted serious study long ago; yet since the days of Warton and Malone it has been canvassed only by popular compilers. The reason is not hard to come at: the Laureateship of the good old times was little better than a public scandal.

> Know, Eusden thirsts no more for sack or praise;
> He sleeps among the dull of ancient days;
> Safe, where no critics damn, no duns molest . . .

where also all but annotators of the *Dunciad* might prefer to leave him. And as for Cibber, it seems ungrateful to calendar the New Year and Birthday Odes of the man who wrote the *Apology*. Dead scandals may form good subjects for dissection, but not to serious scholars.

Much of Professor Broadus's book is necessarily given to these wretched laureates of the days of political patronage; but it is the merit of his work that he has found plenty of other matter to dignify it. For one thing, he has finally cleared up the origins of the office. As far back as the days of Henry III. we find a *versificator regis* in the royal household, and at the universities, almost from their beginnings, are traces of "poets laureate", that is, scholars who had taken their baccalaureate degree in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. The two have been frequently confused. The origins of the Laureateship proper are in the process by which the court gradually acquired a continuous succession of official poets and these poets finally took over the old academic title of "laureate". It was not till 1668, when Dryden received his patent, that the process became complete and the series of poets laureate officially began. How near Jonson and Davenant approached to this status and how far Skelton, Spenser, and others fell short of it is the subject of the most original part of the book. The later history of the office, which centres in its enslavement to the annual odes and its final emancipation from them, is more obvious, but not on that account less interesting. The whole quiet record of this quaint survival is full of suggestive fact.

R. E. Neil Dodge.

History of Holland. By George Edmundson, D.Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 464, 22s. 6d.) The aim of the series, in which this brief history of Holland is included, being to sketch the history of modern Europe with its extra-territorial relations during the last five hundred years, the selection of Mr. Edmundson as author of this volume was natural. He is peculiarly at home in the treatment of specific epochs. In addition to various monographs, he has written nine chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History,* seven of which have the Netherlands as subject, from the latter half of the sixteenth century down to recent times; the remaining two touch upon Spain and Portugal. The volumes of a series planned from without by a general editor and written within specified limits are not, as a rule, inspired writings. They are useful as playing their part in a wide conception, but rarely does the author give the impression of taking his subject *con amore.* And it cannot be claimed that this is an exception to the general rule. It is an excellent outline based on the latest Netherland ratings, but nothing more. Indeed, it may be called singularly anemic.

The narrative begins with the entrance of the Burgundian dukes into

the Netherland provinces, 1361, and concludes with the election of 1913, all condensed into 428 pages. There is still room for an account of the Netherland provinces from another angle, an account wholly free, consciously and subconsciously, from Motley's influence, which should consider more vitally the disintegrating effects of intensive individualism, and take into greater consideration the firm conviction of Philip II. that dissent from the Catholic Church was simply dangerous bolshevism.

The bibliography reveals this lack of a last word, but as far as the material goes, it is an excellent bibliography, and covers the ground.

A History of France from the Death of Louis XI. By John S. C. Bridge. Volume I., *Reign of Charles VIII.: Regency of Anne of Beaujeu, 1483–1493.* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, pp. xvi, 295, 16 s.) This volume excites the hope that, at last, an extensive and detailed history of France is being prepared for English readers by an author possessed of real literary ability. There is nothing but the title to indicate the scope of Mr. Bridge's plans, but if he intends to cover the entire period from 1483 to the present at the rate of a decade a volume we heartily wish him a long life. He has presented the story of the first decade in a dramatic narrative of events, embellished with apt quotations from contemporary sources, and enlivened by vivid characterizations of individuals. Louis of Orleans, La Trémoille, and Anne of Brittany stand out as very distinct personalities. Singularly enough Anne of Beaujeu, despite the author's desire to present her as his heroine, is a much vaguer figure, but this in itself is probably a truthful reflection of a contemporary condition.

The task of synthesizing the results of French scholarship since Pélicier published his *Essai sur le Gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu* in 1882 would seem to have been one for which the author is excellently fitted. The extensive biliography, both of sources and of later works, which appears in an appendix, bears witness to his familiarity with the printed material, and, although not critical, will be the natural reference in the future for anyone who may wish to investigate this period. A unique and exceedingly useful feature is an appendix on "The French Monetary System", to which is attached a special bibliography. In this is a series of elaborate tables which make it possible to translate the European coins of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries into reasonably accurate modern equivalents.

A tendency to over-emphasis would seem to be Mr. Bridge's chief weakness. This is doubtless part of that dramatic sense which makes his book so readable. Was this decade so uniquely decisive in the creation of the French monarchy? Did it witness the "*final* extinction of the spirit of provincial feudalism"? Is Anne of Beaujeu, even considering the limitations of circumstances, among the greatest of political women, worthy to rank, for instance, with Elizabeth and Catherine the Great? In regard to the States-General of 1484 he writes: "Convened in a moment of crisis, when the sceptre wavered in the feeble grasp of a child,

favoured by the suicidal jealousies of rival aspirants to power, and fortified by a deep reaction against the excesses of despotic authority, the States had enjoyed a unique opportunity for enforcing the redress of abuses, calling a halt to the encroachments of despotism, and building the structure of ordered liberty upon firm constitutional foundations." The feeling of doubt which this sweeping generalization excites is considerably quieted by the excellent summary of the weaknesses of the States-General as an institution. It is, however, on political subjects, especially those of international politics, rather than constitutional ones, that Mr. Bridge is at his best, and such topics occupy most of this volume.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Le Livre de l'Impôt Foncier (Kitâb El-Khâradj). By Abou Yousof Ya'koub. Traduit et annoté par E. Fagnan. (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1921, pp. xvi, 352, 40 fr.) The publication of this volume is a matter of interest to all students of early Islam and the development of Mohammedan law. M. Fagnan gives in his interesting preface (pp. ix–xvi) the main facts regarding the book and its author. From this preface it appears that Abū Yūsuf was born in Kūfa in 731. Apprenticed to a fuller at an early age, he frequently stole away from his work to listen to the lectures of various learned men. Among these was the renowned Abū Hanīfa, whose most celebrated pupil he afterwards became, and who, struck by the boy's zeal and intelligence, gave him pecuniary aid, thus enabling him to pursue his studies. Made kadī during the reign of al-Mahdī, he continued in office during the rest of his life, dying as chief kadī in the reign of Harūn ar-Rashīd in 798. He was noted for his great learning and for his keenness of intellect, but, if his memory is not maligned, he did not always use his learning and his keenness of intellect in promoting high ideals of justice.

This book is the only one of Abū Yūsuf's which has come down to us and was written, as he tells us in his introduction (p. 1), in response to a request made to him by Harūn ar-Rashīd for a book which should contain all the rules which should govern the collection not only of the land tax, but also of various other sources of revenue. In his discussion of the various questions involved the author touches on a great variety of topics, and by his treatment of these gives the student an excellent idea of how the body of Mohammedan law was gradually built up. In fact it would not be easy to direct the Western student, especially the one unacquainted with Arabic, to any book in which he could get, in the same amount of time, as vivid an idea of this matter as he could by reading this translation. The excellent analytical table of contents (pp. 335–340) adds to the value of the work, as does the general index (pp. 341–352). Should a second edition be called for, this index might well be extended so as to include a few more items such, for example, as *chameaux, croix, synagogues*.

M. Fagnan deserves the thanks of scholars for making accessible to

Western students this interesting law book of the second century of the Hijra.

J. R. JEWETT.

L'Évolution Religieuse de Luther jusqu'en 1515. Par Henri Strohl, Maître de Conférences. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg.] (Strasbourg and Paris, Istra, 1922, pp. 174, 7.50 fr.) "Our study has no pretension of giving a definite solution of the problem. No new documents are presented; no new hypothesis is added to all those which have been hitherto offered and which have frequently had so brief a life. We shall be satisfied with exhibiting all the aspects of the problem, with comparing the theses, antitheses, and hypotheses, both those concerning the problem as a whole and those relating to some detail; we shall weigh the arguments in favor of different theories in the endeavor to ascertain on which side the weight of evidence lies; and we shall thus give to the French-reading public a critical account of the present state of research sufficient to enable the reader to find his way in the labyrinth of contemporary theories." Thus accurately does Professor Strohl characterize his own modest purpose and genuine, though limited, achievement. It is pleasant to see the University of Strasbourg, now French, devoting to the great German so sympathetic and thorough a study. For the author knows practically all the literature of the subject, German, French, and English—though apparently not the brilliant book of his own countryman, A. Humbert—and he shows not a trace of national, and only a little of religious, bias.

But however excellent as a review, the present work will disappoint him who expects an advance in our knowledge of the subject. During the last thirty years many new documents bearing on the subject have come to light, marginal notes, commentaries, lectures, a few letters, all of first-hand value, and many secondary accounts and reminiscences. During the same period intensive research, directed by fruitful and bold hypothesis, has unlocked many of the secrets of Luther's early life. Of all this Professor Strohl is aware; but to it all, as he admits, he is unable to bring any new light. He is capable of independent judgment only in choosing among authorities; he follows the beaten road, going right, when he does go right, with the crowd, and erring, if he errs, with the majority. His mild, almost sweet, criticisms of Scheel, and of Grisar, and of Preserved Smith, hardly represent an individual opinion at all, but a mere registration of the verdict of a jury of scholars, or of some of them.

Having read the whole work with enjoyment, the reviewer finds himself in agreement with most of the positions advanced. Not with the intention of dogmatically correcting a learned and careful scholar, but merely to indicate the discussable issues, the reviewer may note several points in which he dissents from the author. It seems that Professor

Strohl, like the majority of historians, represents Luther's development far too much, though not entirely, as an intellectual process. According to this view the discovery of the *sola fide* was much like the invention of logarithms, the result of some years of anxious study and scientific thought. But the alternative is far more likely, that the theological and philosophical expression of the doctrine was only the shadow following the train of emotional and active life, or, to change the metaphor, the small part of the iceberg seen above the waves. M. Strohl puts Luther's discovery of the doctrine of justification by faith in 1513; the reviewer is convinced that it took place about June, 1515. M. Strohl is unable to explain the fact that Luther said that "all the doctors" interpreted "justification" in a sense contrary to his, whereas Denifle showed, by examination, that almost all of them interpreted it exactly as he did. Is it not probable that Luther was thinking, not so much of the medieval doctors, but of the modern humanists, chiefly perhaps of Erasmus?

PRESERVED SMITH.

Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon, and other Records, 1553–1620. Transcribed by Richard Savage, with Introduction and Notes by Edgar I. Fripp, B.A. Volume I., 1553–1566. [Publications of the Dugdale Society, vol. I.] (Oxford, the Society, 1921, pp. lx, 152.) The Dugdale Society, formed in 1920 to publish records relating to Warwickshire history, topography, and archaeology, presents an interesting programme and merits liberal support. The series of publications begins appropriately with the records of Stratford-on-Avon from 1553 to 1620, to which four volumes will be devoted. The first of these, containing the charter of incorporation, corporation minutes, orders, and memoranda, chamberlains' accounts, court rolls and views of frankpledge, agreements with the vicar and the schoolmasters, and various other documents of 1553–1566, has been published, and the second volume is promised for an early date.

The present volume is beautifully printed on fine thick paper and is provided with full-page reproductions of the initial letter of the charter (showing Edward VI. enthroned) and part of a corporation order (showing the signatures of John Shakespeare and other burgesses and aldermen). Much care has obviously been taken to secure, not only accuracy, but the utmost intelligibility in the reproduction of the records. Special devices distinguish simply and clearly additions and deletions, interpolations, explanations, and omissions. The introduction seems to summarize and discuss under fifteen heads the most interesting details of the records, but the headings are a very imperfect guide to the subjects treated. In fact the arrangement is partly systematic and partly chronological, and the reader will need to run through the whole introduction to make sure of finding all that concerns any subject of interest.

It is obvious that this and the following volumes will contain only

"a selection" of the Stratford records. Of course the records are very voluminous, but it is a pity that this selection is so limited and, at the same time, so large that it will forever stand in the way of a more complete collection. Much space, it would seem, might, in such volumes, be saved for the printing of records of events by declining to print in full, every time they occur, the general regulations enacted and re-enacted in practically identical terms at every view of frank-pledge and every court-leet. Why could not each of these items be printed in full when it first occurs and either followed by a list of dates of re-enactment or replaced upon later occurrences by a reference? As it is, we have page after page of these idle repetitions and lack hundreds of records of courts; for example, Halliwell-Phillips has more than forty records concerning John Shakespeare during 1556–1558 not in this volume. This is regrettable, for historical records can be properly interpreted only when seen in their setting. Even the incomplete records given in this volume enable the reader to see that John Shakespeare was a man of greater ability and force of character than he appears to be if one reads only the records concerning him and interprets them without background or perspective. And to have made this possible is a great service.

Die Englische Wirtschaft. Von Professor Dr. Hermann Levy, Technische Hochschule, Berlin. [Handbuch der Englisch-Amerikanischen Kultur, ed. Wilhelm Dibelius.] (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1922, pp. iv, 153, $1.30.) In compass this book is an outline only; the degree of compression appears from the limit of 153 pages within which the writer sketches the economy of England from Cromwell to the present. Yet brief as it is, a sure touch of authoritative scholarship makes the work a helpful guide for German students who want a ready grasp upon the essentials of the English economic outlook. Of particular interest, coming from a Continental writer, is the manner in which Dr. Levy discusses the displacing of the doctrine of enlightened self-interest by the newer creed of socialization, and the revolution which that is involving.

One or two of Dr. Levy's conclusions are open to a difference of opinion. His view that the homely industrial virtues of English character are to be attributed to the Calvinism of the seventeenth century is less tenable as a theory than its exact obverse; and surely English character must be carried back beyond the time of Cromwell for its true genesis. Likewise in regarding English Liberalism of the nineteenth century as shaped by the survival of seventeenth-century Dissent, Dr. Levy overlooks the special influence of the Scottish universities, and the contagious effect of post-revolutionary Liberalism in France.

In bibliography it is surprising to find no mention, among English works, of the studies of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond; more surprising still that Dr. Levy's reading has not brought him into touch with any of the

French or American writers in this field. Further, he was at a disadvantage, when dealing with Works Committees, Welfare Committees, Tariff Reform, Imperial Preference, etc., in using only blue-books and official reports, and in accepting such reports at their face value. But for a general explanation of English economy the book serves its purpose well.

C. E. Fryer.

Le Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Maréchal de France, 1763–1813. Par Simon Askenazy. Traduit du Polonais par B. Kozakiewicz et Paul Cazin. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1921, pp. 335, 7.50 fr.) This is a charming biography of a really great man, whose career began like a rococo romance and ended like an antique tragedy. Prince Joseph Poniatowski played a not unimportant rôle in general European affairs; as one of Napoleon's marshals he belongs in a sense to France; and in Polish history he holds a unique place, as the best loved of national heroes, the radiant embodiment of both the virtues and the defects of his people, the most brilliant and humanly attractive figure in the long national martyrology.

This biography comes from a thoroughly competent pen, for Professor Askenazy's so fruitful and indefatigable researches in the Polish history of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have made him the acknowledged master in this field. The present work is clearly based upon extensive and solid investigation, largely of unprinted sources, although it is destitute of foot-notes or bibliography, and is obviously destined primarily for the general reader.

As the favorite nephew of King Stanislas Augustus, a distinguished soldier and patriot, and a—for that time—perfect type of the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche,* Prince Joseph Poniatowski was a leading figure in the last, sombre days of the old Polish Republic, and during the ensuing Napoleonic era, when European politics centred so largely about the question of the restoration of Poland. The most interesting and important chapters of his life deal with his inevitably unsuccessful performance in 1792, when at the age of twenty-nine he was called upon to command his country's forces in the unequal struggle with Russia; his participation in "Kosciuszko's uprising" in 1794; and his splendid services during the period of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, as minister of war, organizer of the new Polish army, and commander in the glorious campaigns of 1807, 1809, 1812, and 1813. Whether as general, administrator, or statesman, Professor Askenazy rates his talents very highly—more highly than Polish historians have hitherto done. One feels some hesitation here at seeing Prince Joseph placed on the same plane with the Archduke Charles and with Scharnhorst. But there can be no doubt as to the personal fascination of this brave, joyous, ardent, and high-souled man, who "had only to show himself in order to conquer all hearts at once by his chivalrous bearing, the grace of his manners, and

the nobility of his character" (pp. 270–271). Whatever may have been the sins of his exuberant youth, he was in manhood the incarnation of honor, conscience, and disinterested public spirit; and in later years a patriot of almost Spartan austerity, devoting himself body and soul to the national cause, rising, as disasters multiplied, to ever greater heights of courage, energy, and self-abnegation. In the rout after Leipzig he met his death in the waters of the Elster, worn out by fever, anxiety, and over-exertion, riddled by bullets—down to the last muttering the words "Duty" and "Poland".

R. H. Lord.

The Influence of George III. on the Development of the Constitution. By A. Mervin Davies, Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford. (Oxford, University Press, 1921, pp. 84, 4s. 6d.) The brilliant pamphlets of Edmund Burke written solely to support the tottering political fortunes of the Old Whigs have given the direction to the historical interpretation of the events of his generation. The Whig tradition about George III. and his contemporaries, thus planted, has been carefully nurtured by generations of historians until it is so firmly rooted in the consciousness of the English-speaking people that it will probably obscure the landscape till the end of time.

The above thesis, which "was awarded the Stanhope Historical Essay prize for 1921 in the University of Oxford", exhibits the present status of the Whig tradition. Naturally the author makes no claim to original research; but he has conscientiously read some of the more notable books on the subject and has utilized, for illustrative material, a few volumes of sources. One wonders why his attention was not called to the works of von Ruville. This can hardly be ascribed to national prejudice, for Basil Williams, *Life of Pitt*, is not listed among the authorities. Is Stanhope's life of the Great Commoner the standard in Oxford historical circles?

A longer discussion of the work is unnecessary. It adds nothing to our knowledge of the time, but it will be found useful for those who are not themselves specialists in the subject and yet desire a short review of the constitutional changes during the period. The author finds no difficulty in proving the great significance of the reign of George III. in the development of the English constitution. "It marks," he writes, "the close of the system of government established by the Revolution of 1688 and ushers in the modern period of popular government."

C. W. A.

Letters to "The Times" upon War and Neutrality, 1881–1920, with some Commentary. By Sir Thomas Erskine Holland, K.C., D.C.L., F.B.A. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1921, third edition, pp. xv, 215, 10s. 6d.) Professor Holland's letters to the London *Times* upon war and neutrality were first collected into book

form in 1909, again early in 1914, and now, in the third edition, are given what the distinguished author regards as doubtless their final form. With the commentaries inserted they amount to considerably more than the expression of opinion, frequently highly controversial, upon more or less technical questions of international law, clothed in language suitable to the general reader. From the point of view of the historian of the period since the Russo-Turkish war they furnish a valuable series of reasoned, although wholly contemporaneous, judgments upon many points raised during the nine wars since 1878, in seven of which Great Britain was a neutral. Controversial questions concerned with "pacific" reprisals are also considered. Throughout there is exhibited a candor which not infrequently undertakes spiritedly to differ from official British opinion and decision.

Professor Holland's position in international law is well known. Though classed as an analytical jurist, he does not affect to undervalue international law as a body of reasoned rules of action developed by the usages and customs of civilized world society. With him realities are not eclipsed by theory, nor does his knowledge of international law give him an academic attitude where actual international problems are presented. The necessity of the solution and settlement of international differences, one after another, is a driving force in the making of international law. Law-making treaties solve some, but raise other problems. Professor Holland's opposition to the Declaration of London ("that premature attempt to codify the law of maritime warfare, claiming misleadingly that its rules 'correspond in substance with the generally recognized principles of international law'") is quite in line with his general point of view throughout forty years. His views upon the Treaty of Versailles express doubt as to the wisdom of joining in one document subjects intrinsically unrelated. The League of Nations is a "brave attempt", but his judgment is that the Covenant had no place in a detailed treaty of peace. His conservative attitude upon the theory of sovereignty may account for his fear that mandates may probably lead to jealousies and misunderstandings.

The volume is a record of forty years of vigorous and independent thinking and criticism, in which the event has frequently proved the correctness of the author's contemporaneous judgments.

J. S. Reeves.

Greater Roumania. By Charles Upson Clark, Ph.D. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1922, pp. xi, 477, $4.00.) Whoever sees in war propaganda a desirable form of historical literature may take delight in this work on Rumania. In his preface the author tells us that, invited to Bucharest by the Rumanian government, he found himself moved to defend the country whose guest he was before the bar of world opinion. We may agree that, as a gentleman, he could do no less.

Incidentally he feels prompted to direct "the farsighted American capitalist and manufacturer" to "the remarkable opportunities" afforded in a country, which to a heart overflowing with gratitude "has the future of Southeastern Europe in her hands". *Greater Roumania* is as good a book as these conditions of its production permit it to be. It is no more than a sketch, a handbook. The geographical section is illuminating, while the historical chapters, compact as baled hay, serve up the main facts of Rumanian development, though with little regard either for charm or for digestibility. A survey of the newly acquired provinces, Bukovina, Bessarabia, Transylvania, and the Banat, is carried out on a more generous scale and constitutes the most readable as well as the most balanced part of the work. For the remainder there is little to be said. There are trivial sketches of the notables of the country, for all the world like bad tintypes, and there is a rather lengthy account of Rumania's political and military vicissitudes since the Balkan troubles of 1912. In this version of recent history the author outdoes himself as a blind partizan. His authorities, cited with confident gusto, are the case-hardened politicians and interested generals, his Rumanian hosts, who entertained him at tea. These be the gods of his idolatry, particularly, it would seem, Take Jonesco. Take Jonesco is a vivacious and important actor on the stage of Southeastern Europe but it was left to Mr. Clark's perspicacity to discover that he is a clear well of historic truth. The worst aspect of the author's uncritical procedure is that it does Rumania an ill turn. The gifted Rumanian people with their heroic past and their extraordinary present promise deserve to be sympathetically and truthfully known. Let us hope that they will presently find a disinterested scholar prepared to present them and their story without fear or favor.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik: ein Stück Zeitgenössischer Geschichte. Von Heinrich Kanner. (Leipzig, E. P. Tal und Co., 1922, pp. xiv, 468, M. 25.) This is one of the ablest, sanest, and most readable books on the origin of the war written by a German. The author was editor of the Vienna *Zeit*, before and during the war, until censorship difficulties made his position untenable. Much that later happened he foresaw and warned against—but in vain. Therefore his hand is unsparing in laying the lash on Aehrenthal, Berchtold, Conrad von Hoetzendorf, and the other Austrian aristocrats whose deceits and criminal recklessness were the immediate occasion of the war. The clever way in which he unmasks and ridicules the pre-war Vienna authorities may detract from the objectivity, but not from the readability, of the book.

Kanner has based his book mainly on the documents published by Kautsky in Berlin and by Gooss in Vienna, but does not appear to have

used Russian sources nor the most recent German publications as to mobilization. His book cannot be regarded as a well-rounded account of the origins of the war, because it says very little about the activities of the Entente Powers; he was mainly interested in pillorying Austria's guilty "catastrophe policy", which involved Germany and the world.

As to the author's conclusions, he rightly rejects the "Potsdam conference" myth, but condemns German stupidity in giving Austria carte blanche on July 5, 1914. He likewise rightly emphasizes the Kaiser's genuine effort to hold Austria back from her mad course, as soon as he learned of Serbia's conciliatory answer; but in spite of Berlin's violent "pressing the button" at Vienna, Berchtold went ahead as rapidly as possible to make war certain and avoid all mediation, even when urged by England and Germany together. Kanner also disposes of the legend that Austria at the eleventh hour was ready to yield and that Germany forced a general war by her precipitous ultimatums; for the records of the Austrian secret council of July 31 show that Berchtold never intended to yield in substance, however much dust he might throw in Europe's eyes. On the other hand, Kanner puts too much emphasis, we think, on a "Berlin-Vienna conspiracy" from July 5 to 27, and is wrong in saying that Berchtold's final refusal to accept Emperor William's "pledge plan", rather than the news of Russian general mobilization, finally led Bethmann-Hollweg to send the ultimatums to Russia and France. Not the least interesting parts of the book are the author's analysis of the responsibility question, his account of the way in which the official press whipped up a war spirit in Vienna, and the militarist efforts to suppress his own newspaper.

S. B. F.

South India and her Muhammadan Invaders. By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. (London, Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. xv, 257, 15s.) Professor Aiyangar's studies in the history of Southern India are of special importance since they elaborate the details of the past of a region that has hitherto been treated only superficially. This volume deals with the events leading up to the establishment of the empire of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century. The author first traces the decadence and ultimate disruption of the Chola Empire and the revival of the Pandya power, and then takes up the incursions into the Deccan by Ala ad-Din and Malik Ḳafur and the subsequent invasions by the forces of Muhammad Tughlak, concluding with a somewhat detailed exposition of the foundation and further history of the sultanate of Madura, of its wars with the Hoysalas, and of the setting up of the empire of Vijayanagar.

The work embodies much information gathered by the author in the territory concerned. The available sources, which are for the most part

carefully indicated, have been fully utilized, and the results are presented in clear and readable form. An appendix gives the text (in Grantha characters) and translation of five relevant inscriptions, two of which are apparently published for the first time. There are geographical notes on 46 towns and villages, and special notes on the date of the Ceylon invasion, on the chronology of Muhammad Tughlak's reign, and on the nationality of the Khiljis, as well as a translation of Ibn Batuta's account of Southern India. The volume contains sixteen well-chosen illustrations, a sketch map, and an adequate index of names. A subject index and a list of abbreviations should have been added. The treatment of native proper names is consistent and scientific, though the method of transliteration is susceptible of improvement. A book of such merit surely deserves a better binding.

GEORGE C. O. HAAS.

The Study of American History. By Viscount Bryce, O.M. Being the Inaugural Lecture of the Sir George Watson Chair of American History, Literature, and Institutions. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. 118, 3s.) This discourse, delivered by Lord Bryce at the Mansion House in London on June 27, 1921, commemorated the endowment, through the munificence of Sir W. George Watson, of what is described as "the first chair of American history established in the British Isles". A preface and an appendix explain the circumstances which led to the foundation. The address is interesting, first, as the presentation to a British audience, by America's good friend, of those lessons of our history which, to his thinking, would most interest the English people in the foundation, and, secondly, as the last comment, by the author of the *American Commonwealth,* on the development of the United States, of whose history and institutions Lord Bryce was so long a student.

The address begins with an argument as to the essential blood-relationship of the original, institution-building stock of the thirteen colonies with that of the mother-country, strongly reminiscent of Freeman's *English People in its Three Homes,* and, after summary comment upon various phases of our history, closes with the vigorous expression of a hope for the co-operation of the English-speaking peoples, particularly with reference to the establishment of peace throughout the world.

ST. G. L. S.

The American Philosophy of Government. By Alpheus Henry Snow. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921, pp. iii, 485, $4.00.) This volume is a series of essays dealing chiefly with the international position and relations of the United States, with specific reference to the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. A few chapters

reminiscent of 1912 deal with internal affairs, and particularly with the position of the judiciary in the American system of government.

The key to this somewhat miscellaneous collection of papers of the late Mr. Snow is found in the introductory essay on the American Philosophy of Government and its Effect in International Relations; and also in that on the Declaration of Independence as the Fundamental Constitution of the United States. The author's fundamental thesis is that the essential feature of our government is the necessity for the protection of the private rights of individuals by means of a basic law interpreted by the courts. He concludes therefore that the United States cannot join a League of Nations because we must needs unite with other states not having such fundamental guarantees and must thereby surrender some of our national principles. Entrance into a League of Nations would necessitate a constitutional amendment and could not be effected by the ordinary treaty-making process.

His belief is that international government must not be endowed with physical force, nor must it enjoy the power of taxation in any form or under any guise whatever. "Otherwise, such a government would tend to become an autocracy." The League may, however, have an ordinary international directorate with advisory powers and may also have a supervising directorate. In neither of these bodies would there be vested either military force or the power of taxation. Co-operation and persuasion, he believes, should be the typical and characteristic methods. Mr. Snow suggests that the United States might organize for purposes of national relations some new "National Council of International Co-operation", including perhaps the Secretary of State, of the Treasury, Interior, Agriculture, and Labor. The duties of such a body would be to advise the President and Congress regarding matters upon which these authorities are required to make decisions. An interesting feature of this volume is a "Proposed Codification of International Law", an address delivered before the American Society of International Law in 1911 (pp. 397–418).

This volume does not contain an American philosophy of government as its title would seem to indicate, but expounds Mr. Snow's views regarding the wisest practical policy for the United States to pursue in international affairs. These views are shrewdly stated and constitute a typical and significant document of the period when the League of Nations was subjected to severe criticism. It is not valuable as philosophy, but is representative of a certain phase of the public attitude during the writer's time.

C. E. Merriam.

Leading American Treaties. By Charles E. Hill, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the George Washington University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. 399, $3.00.) Professor Hill states his

purpose to be "to give the historical setting and the chief provisions of fifteen of the leading American treaties". He chooses as these the following treaties: France, 1778; Peace with Great Britain, 1783; Jay's Treaty, 1794; France, 1800; Louisiana Purchase, 1803; Ghent, 1814; Great Britain, 1818; Florida Purchase, 1819; Webster-Ashburton, 1842; Mexico, 1848; Japan, 1854, 1858; Alaska Purchase, 1867; Washington, 1871; Spain, 1898; Panama Canal Treaties, 1846 –. To each of the above Professor Hill gives from fifteen to forty pages and a brief selected bibliography.

The influence of trade and commerce in international negotiations is shown, and it is maintained that "wars" rarely divert trade routes permanently. The contractual basis of the territorial expansion of the United States is shown in these treaties as well as the reflex influence of this expansion of territory in building up the power of the United States in international negotiations. There has been a policy of expansion by purchase even in cases where other methods of expansion might have prevailed.

The setting of the events leading to the negotiation of the treaties is particularly shown in citations from contemporary documents selected in a fashion to add both value and interest to the volume. The influence of the treaties in the after-development of the country is also explained.

It is recognized that important negotiations have, in many cases, been carried on by those not having full governmental recognition and by those whose office was not within the diplomatic list. To some negotiators, even fully accredited, the government has shown itself traditionally ungrateful.

Many instances are cited showing that the fathers were as human as their sons in the conduct of treaty negotiation, and not always gifted with the ability which posterity has often ascribed to them. The early negotiators did, however, often have opportunities to exercise their own discretion and judgment, owing to the impossibility of quick communication with the home government.

In the earlier, as in the later days, there are shown conflicts between the Executive and the Senate upon their respective treaty-making powers.

In a book of four hundred pages, it is difficult to present adequately a view of all these treaties; but Professor Hill has succeeded admirably in his purpose of giving "the historical setting and the chief provisions of fifteen of the leading American treaties".

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

Relations of the United States with Sweden. By Knute Emil Carlson, Ph.D. (Allentown, Pa., Haas and Company, 1921, pp. vii, 94.) In four chapters Dr. Carlson gives an account of the diplomatic, political, and commercial relations between the United States and Sweden, from 1778 to 1830 (chapter I., Relations during the American Revolution;

chapter II., Proposed Alliance; chapter III., the Stralsund Claims; chapter IV., Commercial Relations—in the table of contents, however, Dr. Carlson gives chapter I. as Negotiations during the American Revolution and chapter IV. as Commercial Negotiations, which are probably more appropriate titles). The treatise is based on printed material, but some of the matter is new to readers unacquainted with Swedish accounts touching the subject that are used by Dr. Carlson.

The account lacks proportion in its various sections; for instance, a large part of chapter III. is devoted to European activities, some of which have slight or no direct connection with the theme in question. The facts are not always presented in their proper perspective and are not always made to tell, while the arrangement of the material could be much improved. American motives and activities are not sufficiently nor clearly presented, nor are the activities and the success of English diplomacy properly emphasized.

The proof-reading is poor; even slips in grammar occur. Especially Swedish names and titles are badly printed—in four cases out of five an article by Boethius is printed "Gustaf IV, Adolfs formyndareregering", (*Gustaf IV. Adolfs Förmyndareregering*); in one case the possessive "s" is omitted. On page 3, note 5, Fenberg, *Sveriges Historia,* is quoted; the bibliography at the end shows that the reference is to Rudolf Tengberg, who wrote part of volume V. of the first edition of Hildebrand's *Sveriges Historia* (the volume was finished by S. J. Boethius, however). On page 50, note 17, *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago,* etc., is printed "Sbornik, Imperatorskago Russkago", etc., as though *Sbornik* were the name of an editor; while Bergbohm, *Die Bewaffnete Neutralität,* is printed "Die Bewaffvete Neutralitet"—to mention a few cases taken at random.

Cazenove Journal, 1794: a Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Translated from the French. Edited by Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Haverford College. (Haverford, Penn., Pennsylvania History Press, 1922, pp. xvii, 103, $1.80.) This is a translation of an anonymous French manuscript purchased in 1900 by the Library of Congress. Mainly through internal evidence, Professor Kelsey has identified the document as the Journal of Theophile Cazenove (1740–1811) who, in 1790, came to America from Amsterdam, in the service of four Dutch banking firms. The formation of the Holland Land Company resulted, with Cazenove as its first general agent until 1799. It was in the interest of possible land speculations by this company that the journey, which the *Journal* records, was made. Leaving New York in October, 1794, the traveller came to Philadelphia a month later, having covered 360 miles through Essex, Morris, and Warren counties, New Jersey, and, in Pennsylvania, through Northampton, Berks, Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, York, Lancaster, and Chester counties as they were then or-

ganized. Appended to the diary is a memorandum of the expenses incurred on the trip, showing the cost to have been $223, for Cazenove and his servant.

Cazenove was observant. His *Journal* is interesting for its portrayal of town and country life of the section and period covered, for its descriptions of Dunkards and Moravians, and especially for its account of the Pennsylvania-German's characteristics and customs, many of which still exist, as his love of the land, for example, and the funeral feast (referred to on page 50). But the chief value of this record lies in the information it gives of economic conditions of the time. The prices of land, labor, cattle, farm products, as well as the cost of transportation, education, taxes, boarding, etc., are given in much detail for nearly every neighborhood in which the traveller stopped.

Unusual care has been taken with the editing of the *Journal*. The preface makes acknowledgment to no less than twenty-three persons and institutions from whom assistance was obtained. Furthermore, Professor Kelsey, by a tour over much the same route as that taken by Cazenove, has verified wherever possible the distances and statements recorded. Copious foot-notes, based on the examination of much local historical material, identify taverns, inns, persons, and places. There is a well-proportioned introduction outlining Cazenove's life and his activities in America, a map showing the route taken by the traveller, and a full index. The facsimile pages of the *Journal* which illustrate the volume show how difficult must have been the work of transcribing the original manuscript.

L. F. S.

General Robert E. Lee after Appomattox. Edited by Franklin L. Riley, Professor of History, Washington and Lee University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xv, 250, $2.50.) Unlike most supreme commanders whose causes were ultimately overwhelmed, it was General Lee's good fortune to perform an extraordinary service for his people after the failure of their armies in the field. He was the first and most conspicuous advocate in word, and the most successful exemplar in deed, of the policy that it was only through the influence of popular education that the Southern states could be restored to their former condition of prosperity and happiness. "There was something truly inspiring", it was said at the time, "in the spectacle of a man so famous in the world settling down at the head of an obscure college in a remote country town to undertake the duties of a noble but arduous profession, without the slightest discontent or gloom, and with nothing in his demeanor to show that he had not spent his life in the teaching and management of youth."

He did not, as president, simply lend the prestige of a celebrated name to Washington College. Although there were, each year, as many as four hundred students enrolled, nevertheless he knew them all by name;

he knew the class standing which each had won; and over the entire body he exercised a paternal discipline, under which all were subjected to control, without that control being brought constantly to the consciousness of the individual or the mass. His solicitude for the young men never ceased. On one occasion, after leaving the chapel and its congregation of students, he was observed to be very much affected. "What is the matter, General?" he was asked with concern. "I was thinking", he replied, "of my responsibility to Almighty God for these hundreds of young men."

Professor Riley's volume preserves the recollections of the professors who served under General Lee, and also of many of the students who matriculated during his presidency. It is a vivid presentation of his spirit, conduct, and influence in that beautiful twilight of his career. Naturally, the odor of affectionate loyalty to the man, admiration for his character, honor for his achievements, gratitude for his solicitude, breathes from every page. Indeed, these impressions of General Lee, owing to the heroic circumstances of his past, as contrasted with the quiet occupation of the present, are, to an extraordinary degree, instinct with a sense of devotion that is at once romantic, pathetic, and inspiring. The volume is rendered notable, not only by its preservation of many new scholastic facts in his life, but by the evidence that it offers of his solicitude for the welfare of his fellow-men; his lofty conception of the duties of American citizenship; his dignity, serenity, and patience under defeat; and his far-sighted statesmanship for closing the wounds of the South, and restoring peace, harmony, and unity, throughout the whole country.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

The Play Movement in the United States. By Clarence E. Rainwater, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Southern California. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. xi, 371, $2.75.) This book is somewhat less general than its title would indicate. The "play movement" as here described is not that wholesale turning of America to outdoor life that has been so characteristic of the last half-century, but is only the small portion of the whole that has to do with the public playground. The work deals with the rise of the profession of playground director and community leader, concerning which the author is well prepared by experience to speak. It is not entirely consistent with itself in the use it makes of the word "play", since after starting with the definition that play "is a mode of human behavior. . . not undertaken for the sake of a reward beyond itself" (p. 9), the writer soon drifts into the attitude that regards this play as a means of community instruction with ends far beyond those of mere recreation. Beginning with the sand-boxes of Boston, where this variety of organized play started about 1885, Professor Rainwater traces with care and accuracy the development and extension of the movement. He has provided a use-

ful manual for the student of education and physical education, and for the historian has made a considerable addition to the body of facts relating to the social habits of to-day.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LIV., October, 1920–June, 1921. (Boston, the Society, 1922, pp. xvi, 378.) Among the papers in this volume, especial importance belongs to that of Mr. Lawrence S. Mayo on the King's Woods and to that of Professor Samuel E. Morison on Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789–1823. The latter also discourses on the Custom-house Records in Massachusetts as a Source of History. Dr. Ford gives an entertaining account of Rev. Sampson Bond, a contentious person who became minister in Bermuda in 1662 and lived there till 1699, but had connections with Boston. Mr. Edward Gray gives a biography of Ward Chipman of New Brunswick, Loyalist. Of the documents, the longest is an interesting diary kept in 1778 by William Greene of Boston, chiefly in France. There are also papers from Spanish archives relating to John Clark of the *Mayflower*, and from the Public Record Office concerning Pickering *vs.* Weston, 1623. Among the memoirs of deceased members, accompanied by the singularly successful photo-engraved portraits which are always so admirable a feature of these volumes, the chief are those of James Schouler, of Andrew McFarland Davis, and of Dr. Samuel A. Green, for many years the society's librarian.

The History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620–1920. By Robert W. Kelso, A.B., LL.B. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. 200, $2.50.) Mr. Kelso's detailed survey of three hundred years of poor relief in Massachusetts is an excellent piece of work. It is based on a careful study of original sources, chiefly town records, which are extensively quoted throughout the text. The author, who is secretary of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, adds to his knowledge of the economic and legal history of his subject the qualifications of a trained and experienced social worker.

The early American procedure is explained largely in the light of the enduring influence of earlier English practice and especially the English regard of the care of the poor as a *local* obligation. The meagre economic resource of the colony is shown to be the factor which often clothed justice with necessary harshness.

A problem emphasized throughout the history of poor relief is that of the division of power and responsibility between the local unit and the administrative whole, and close attention is given to the working out of the precise administrative arrangements for meeting the joint responsibility of the state and town in the care of the poor. "The pre-eminence of Massachusetts in the field of social service" appears to be largely due to the successful application of the principle of division of function, ac-

cording to which policy-making and supervision now belong to the state, as represented by the Department of Public Welfare, and the actual administration of relief is retained by the smallest unit of government, the town.

The growing influence of the central government is shown through the slow development of the law of settlement, and the definition of "the Town's Poor". The problem of pauperism grew serious with the dumping of increasing numbers of English paupers on American shores, and each town tried to escape the burden of support. It is a long road from the days when children and adults were put out to service to save public expense by the town and the support of the poor was arranged for at public auction, to the time when the welfare of the poor themselves is considered as of first importance in deciding the principles of relief, which are centrally determined.

But to-day, with relief administered professionally, the numbers to be supported still increase, and there is little effort toward the introduction of preventive measures. A closing hint is to the effect that improvement in this respect lies chiefly in preventing the hereditary mental defective from propagating his kind.

AMY HEWES.

The Pitkin Papers: Correspondence and Documents during William Pitkin's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1766–1769, with some of earlier Date. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XIX.] (Hartford, the Society, 1921, pp. xx, 311, $3.00.) Mr. Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, is to be heartily congratulated on the completion of the series of the correspondence and documents of the colonial governors of Connecticut, upon which he and the society have been engaged for more than twenty-five years and of which he himself has edited all but the first two volumes. The task of editing has not been a light one, for much of the material has had to be obtained from other archives than those of the society, including the Public Record Office of Great Britain, involving wide correspondence and scrupulous care in the reproduction. The problem, too, has had to be met of what to do with documents already in print that could not be entirely omitted and what "papers" to include as legitimately coming within the title adopted for the series. The result is a body of material that is not only an indispensable part of the documentary history of the colony, but a key also to its meaning during the years to which it relates. The entire series is in nine volumes, covering the administrations of Talcott, Law, Wolcott, Fitch, and Pitkin, 1724–1769, a period hitherto little known even to Connecticut writers and largely neglected by the older historians, Trumbull and Hollister. Now that so much new material is available, we can but hope that a new historian will arise, who will give us the history of the colony that is so greatly needed—a historian who will be a scholar of sufficient breadth of mind and range

of knowledge to break away from the provinciality of the earlier writers and deal with Connecticut on a large and comprehensive plan.

The volume under review, which contains the Pitkin papers, is smaller than some of the others, but yields to none of them in interest and importance. The letters of Pitkin to Richard Jackson, the agent of the colony in England, to Hillsborough, and to Conway, the replies of Jackson, and the letters of William Samuel Johnson from England are all suggestive and illuminating, not only for the information which they give but also for the state of mind which they disclose. One can but wonder what the people of the colony, who defeated Fitch because of his obedience to the king's instructions regarding the Stamp Act, would have thought of some of the phrases of flattery and devotion to be found in Pitkin's letters and in the colony's address to the king on the occasion of the repeal of the act, had they ever seen them. For servility and exaggeration these papers can hardly be surpassed in colonial literature. The volume contains other documents of value relating to the Mohegan case, customs and illicit trading, direct trade with England, Mediterranean passes, landholding, quartering of British soldiers, waste of timber, manufactures, non-importation measures, etc. There is a very interesting address of the New York merchants on page 193, and in the appendix several letters from Elisha Williams and Thomas Fitch.

C. M. A.

Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society. Volume XXV. *The Book of the Museum.* Edited by Frank H. Severance, Secretary of the Society. (Buffalo, the Society, 1921, pp. x, 412.) Mr. Severance has made a very interesting volume, upon a plan which might easily and with advantage be followed by many a historical society. The museums of such institutions contain many objects whose interest and historical value cannot possibly be adequately made known by a mere card laid beside the object under a glass case. Mr. Severance has selected a score or more of articles in his museum which have an interesting story attached to them, and, with aid from other members of his society, has supplied entertaining narratives that bring out the significance of these objects to local history or that of the United States. It is easily imagined what good stories can be grouped around such things as a Ku Klux uniform, a Confederate flag, a car used for transportation on the first wire cable that preceded the Niagara suspension bridge, the original typewriter, the figure-head of the *Caroline,* Blennerhassett's telescope, a collection of carriers' addresses, various swords, relics of Red Jacket, and of the Fenian raid in 1866. Mr. Severance writes of such things with an excellent style, and good pictures heighten the effect of the book.

The Catholic Church in Chicago, 1673–1871. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. (Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1921, pp. x, 236, $2.50.) Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, writing a few years ago about the Sources of

Catholic History in Illinois, pertinently remarked that "the history of the work of the Church both in pioneer days and during the more complicated conditions of recent times has been distinctly notable. Yet because the sources of information have not been easily accessible to the ordinary scholar of history, the story of the deeds of the Church is in many periods most obscure as compared with the history of other phases of our past development." This handicap under which historians had to labor has perhaps been overlooked by certain Catholics, who felt disappointed and inclined to complain at the scant recognition accorded in some historical works to the Church's part in the onward progress of the nation. There is reason to believe that, thanks to the activity of Catholic students of history, this handicap is fast disappearing. At any rate, in so far as the early history of Chicago is concerned, the ordinary scholar of history may well be satisfied with the work of Father Garraghan. Whatever relevant material lay in Catholic archives of the Middle West has been ferreted out, wisely sifted, and woven into the fabric of the handsome little volume. The first four chapters: Early Missionary Visitors; the Pastorate of Father St. Cyr, 1833–1834; Bishop Bruté and the Mission of Chicago; the Pastorate of Father St. Cyr, 1834–1837, contain much that is entirely new.

For the subsequent pages the author had to lean more or less on second-hand authorities; yet even there, now and then, an appeal to some heretofore unpublished letter or other original document greets the reader's eye. Father Garraghan rightly considers Pre-Fire Chicago as an outstanding historical unit; accordingly he has assigned for limit to his story the "great fire" of October 9–10, 1871. Let us hope that he will give us in the near future an account of the mature development of the Church in Chicago. Himself a native of the City of the Lakes, he naturally is in full sympathy with his subject; but he knows how to hold his pen in subjection, and never allows it to swerve from the bounds of elegant historical soberness. From the material standpoint, the volume is a delight to the eye; and the illustrations, a number of which are facsimiles of original documents, most happily chosen and tastefully executed, add not a little to the interest of the narrative.

CHARLES L. SOUVAY.

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec [*Pierre-Georges Roy*], *1920–1921*. (Quebec, Imprimeur de sa Majesté le Roi, 1921, pp. viii, 437.) Besides the records of accessions and transactions usual in such volumes, M. Roy also presents a variety of interesting documents, such as the wills of Frontenac, Callières, Vaudreuil, and La Jonquière, with an account of that of Champlain; a list of colonists who came from France to Montreal in 1653; a *mêmoire* of the intendant Dupuy concerning the conflicts which arose in 1727–1728 over the burial of Bishop Saint-Vallier; an interesting "État Présent du Canada, 1754",

by the Sieur Boucault; and an anonymous journal of the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept apparently by an official storekeeper, and preserved now in the library of Saint Sulpice. Elaborately edited for this volume by M. Aegidius Fauteux, librarian of that library, it recounts the progress of the siege from the point of view of a civilian within the walls. Archives in the province outside of Quebec are represented by inventories of the archives of the Palais de Justice of Rivière du Loup and of Three Rivers. The volume is a great credit to the new archivist, and to the province.

Das Holländische Kolonialreich in Brasilien: ein Kapitel aus der Kolonialgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Von Hermann Wätjen. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff; Gotha, F. A. Perthes A.-G., 1921, pp. xix, 352, 7.50 Gld.) For many years the students of the history of European colonial expansion have lamented the absence of an adequate treatment of the activities of the Dutch in Brazil in the seventeenth century. Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brêsil* was written nearly three-quarters of a century ago; Edmundson's series of articles in the *English Historical Review*, "The Dutch Power in Brazil (1604–1654)", treat only certain aspects of the subject. Discussions by Brazilian writers, aside from being difficult of access, evince little familiarity with the Dutch sources. This *lacuna* has been admirably filled by the work under review. Its author, formerly a member of the University of Heidelberg, has not only ransacked the archives of the Hague but has apparently exhausted the material in Brazil. Returning from South America in 1914 he was caught in the meshes of the war and interned in England. Even under these adverse conditions he continued his investigations, thanks to the courageous assistance tendered him by certain of his British colleagues.

Approximately a third of the monograph is devoted to a graphic and at times brilliant narration of the efforts of the Dutch West India Company to carve out a colonial domain in South America. The outlines of the story are familiar; the chief service of the author is to throw into relief the achievements of John Maurice, count of Nassau-Siegen, for seven years (1637–1644) governor of Dutch Brazil. The statesmanlike programme of Count John Maurice included reconciliation between the Dutch and the Portuguese; the grant of religious toleration to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; and the daring experiment of granting the inhabitants of the colony a share in the government through the creation of the first parliament in South America. But his efforts to lay an enduring foundation for a Dutch dominion in the New World were wrecked by the policy of greed and gain of the Company and the shifting of the political scene in Europe following the recovery of Portuguese independence from Spain in 1640.

The latter two-thirds of the book treat with fullness and a wealth of statistics the social, religious, and economic conditions in Dutch Brazil.

Much of this material, drawn from the ledgers of the West India Company, is published for the first time. Not the least valuable section of the monograph is a critical bibliography not only describing in detail the manuscripts used by the author but also listing all the important printed works on the subject. One lays down this book with the conviction that in the restricted field to which the writer has confined himself future laborers will find little to glean.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

HISTORICAL NEWS

In order, among other such uses, to make up if possible a complete set of the *American Historical Review* with which to replace one destroyed in a French university library by a bombardment in 1918, the Board of Editors would like to receive any copies of the *American Historical Review*, of whatever date, which any readers of this notice can spare and may choose to send. Copies of the number for October, 1920, will be especially welcome to them. All such consignments may be sent to the office of the *Review*, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., by express, "collect".

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Writings on American History, 1920, Miss Grace G. Griffin's annual bibliography, has gone to the Government Printing Office, to constitute a supplementary volume to the *Annual Report* of that year.

PERSONAL

Monseigneur Louis Duchesne, member of the French Academy, died on April 20. Born in 1843, he became in 1877 professor of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic Institute of Paris, taught for a time in the École des Hautes Études, and since 1895 had been director of the École Française de Rome. His fame as a scholar rests chiefly on his critical edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1884–1886, 1892), that of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* which he joined with Rossi in preparing, and his *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (1889), dealing with the Latin liturgy before Charlemagne. His determination to follow the severest principles of historical criticism, while keeping within the limits of Catholic faith, combined with a sometimes ironical style to bring upon him painful controversies, and the scholarly work on still earlier and more contested periods of church history which he published in 1906, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église* (three volumes), was placed upon the *Index*.

Professor Gordon C. Davidson, of the University of British Columbia, died in the latter days of May. For some years a travelling fellow of the University of California, he was later a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces in the Great War, and was twice seriously wounded. It was only since last September that he had been professor at Vancouver.

Professor Charles D. Hazen of Columbia University will be absent on leave, in Europe, during the next academic year, and Professor Benjamin B. Kendrick, in the United States, occupied with studies in their industrial history.

Professor Wallace Notestein of Cornell University spends the next year in England in preparations for producing, in conjunction with Miss Frances M. Relf, a volume of the House of Commons debates of 1621, similar to that which they lately published for 1629, *Commons Debates for 1629 Critically Edited* (reviewed in this journal, pages 292–294, above). The Yale University Press will before long publish an edition of the *Diary* of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, also edited by them.

Preserved Smith has been appointed professor of medieval history in Cornell University, to succeed George L. Burr, retired.

Professor E. Raymond Turner of the University of Michigan has been appointed lecturer on the Schouler Foundation at the Johns Hopkins University, for 1923, to give in the spring a course of departmental lectures in the field of English constitutional history.

Professor C. E. Carter of Miami University has been granted leave of absence for the academic year 1922–1923. During the summer session he will teach in the University of Texas; he will then come to Washington for several months' work in the government archives.

Professor Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin has received leave of absence for the second semester of 1922–1923, and will spend the larger portion of his time in study in Washington and in England. His place in the university will be temporarily occupied by Professor Chauncey S. Boucher of the University of Texas, who will also remain in Wisconsin for the summer session of 1923. Dr. Paul Knaplund, associate professor in the same university, will be on leave of absence throughout the whole of the next academic year for the purpose of pursuing studies in English and Scandinavian archives.

In a reorganization of the department of history in Washington University, St. Louis, Professor Thomas M. Marshall has been made permanent head of the department, while Dr. Roland G. Usher, remaining as professor of history, is given more time for writing and research. Dr. Donald McFayden, assistant professor in the University of Nebraska, has been called to Washington University as professor of ancient history.

We note appointments and promotions as follows: R. H. Lord, as associate professor in Harvard University; D. R. Fox, as associate professor in Columbia University; A. H. Sweet, as professor of history in St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y.; J. D. Hicks, of Hamline University, as professor of history in the North Carolina College for Women; T. C. Blegen, as professor of history in Hamline University, succeeding Dr. Hicks.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professors A. T. Olmstead of Illinois and St. G. L. Sioussat of Pennsylvania are to teach in Cornell University; C. E. Chapman of the University of California, in Columbia University; W. K. Boyd of Trinity College (N. C.),

in the University of Pennsylvania; S. B. Harding of the University of Minnesota, in the University of Oregon; E. P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania, in the Southern Branch of the University of California, Los Angeles; C. P. Higby of the University of West Virginia, in the University of California.

GENERAL

The contents of the April number of the *Historical Outlook* include: the Passing of a Pope and the Making of a New One, by Dr. G. B. Richards, who was in Rome at the time; the Woodland Indians, by H. C. Hill; Gandhi and his Policy, by A. V. Brown; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire,* by Professor J. W. Thompson; and Literature in the Synthetic Study of History, by E. M. Curti. Articles in the May number are: a Problem of Historical Analogy, by Professor G. M. Dutcher; and the Relation of Geography to the Social Studies in the Curriculum, by Dr. D. C. Knowlton. In the June number are found: the Immigrant in American History, by Dr. Carl Wittke; and the Window of World History—and the Educational Vista, by Professor Eldon Griffin.

The Library of Congress prints in a pamphlet of fifty-three pages, as a supplement to its *Handbook of Manuscripts,* a detailed account of its *Accessions of Manuscripts, Broadsides, and British Transcripts* received from July 1, 1920, to December 31, 1921.

The Henry M. Phillips prize of $2,000 was awarded by the American Philosophical Society, in April, 1921, to Mr. Quincy Wright, for a monograph on *The Control of the Foreign Relations of the United States: the Relative Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the President, of the Senate and House, and of the Judiciary, in Theory and in Practice.* This essay has been printed by the society as the main constituent of no. 3 in volume LX. of its *Proceedings.*

An Introduction to the History of History, by Professor James T. Shotwell, from the press of Lemcke and Buechner, is fulfillment in part of the project for a series of volumes, *Records of Civilization,* formed by Professor Shotwell while at Columbia University.

A brief but significant discussion of the philosophy of history may be found in R. Stammler's *Die Materialistische Geschichtsauffassung: Darstellung, Kritik, Lösung* (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1921, pp. 89). Another discussion worthy of notice is O. Braun's *Geschichtsphilosophie: eine Einführung* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1921, pp. viii, 127).

L'Histoire éclairée par la Clinique (Paris, Michel, 1920, pp. 320), by Dr. Cabanès, shows the contributions of medical knowledge to history. The book is written with much spirit and is founded upon extensive research.

The second *Year Book* of the League of Nations, prepared by Dr. Charles H. Levermore, secretary of the League of Nations Union and

the New York Peace Society, has come from the press. The volume includes the story of the sessions of the Council of the League, of the Assembly, and also of the conference at Washington, together with the texts of the treaties and resolutions which were the outcome of the conference (Brooklyn *Daily Eagle,* Brooklyn, New York; or The League of Nations Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York).

The Great Adventure at Washington: the Story of the Conference. is from the pen of Mark Sullivan, with illustrations by Joseph C. Chase (Doubleday, Page, and Company).

The Federal Trade Information Service, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, has issued the *Treaties and Resolutions of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament as ratified by the United States Senate,* together with comprehensive tables on naval armaments, etc.

The Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion of Berlin-Neubabelsberg has begun the publication of a *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft,* intended to comprise some forty volumes by expert writers. Three that have been already published are: Ludwig Curtius, *Antike Kunst,* Bd. I. (Ägypten und Babylonien); Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*; and Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam.*

After an interruption of seven years a new volume of the *Histoire de l'Art,* published under the direction of A. Michel, has appeared, under the title *L'Art en Europe au XVII^e Siècle,* I. (Paris, Colin, pp. 508). Another volume will also be devoted to this century. A number of experts have contributed chapters. E. Faure has published three volumes of *Histoire de l'Art: L'Art Antique* (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. xxvi, 270), *L'Art Médiéval* (*ibid.,* 1921), *L'Art Renaissant* (*ibid.,* 1922).

The Macmillan Company will publish late this summer or early in the fall *A Short History of the Near East, from the Founding of Constantinople, 330–1918 A. D.,* by William S. Davis, professor of history in the University of Minnesota. About a quarter of the work will be devoted to the Byzantine Empire, the same to the Saracenic Empires, and about half of the entire book to the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan kingdoms.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April has an account of the proceedings of the second annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Society, held at St. Louis last December, an article by Rev. Joseph A. Schabert on the Ludwig-Missionsverein, founded as an independent Bavarian missionary society in 1838, and continuing its work in America to the recent war; also a paper on Pope Sylvester II., by Rev. W. P. H. Kitchin, and one on Père Antoine (Fray Antonio Sedella), Capuchin of Louisiana, by Right Rev. F. L. Gassler of Baton Rouge.

The December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains an article, by Miss Elizabeth S. Kite, on Conrad

Alexandre Gérard and American Independence (chiefly letters of Gérard); one by William King on Lord Baltimore and his Freedom in Granting Religious Toleration; and one by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Diocese of Chicago, 1846 to 1921.

No. 28 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (New York, the Society, pp. xli, 377) has in the European field two papers of marked historical value and of considerable extent: one by Dr. Harry Friedenberg, on Jewish Physicians in Italy and their relation to the Papal and Italian States, and the other by Mr. Max Kohler on those Educational Reforms in Europe, 1778–1919, which had to do with the introduction into Jewish education of instruction in the vernacular of the countries in which the Jews respectively dwelt. There are also papers on Sir Moses Ezekiel by Rabbi David Philipson, and on Heinrich Graetz by Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, and several interesting minor notes.

The *Journal of Negro History* for April has a long article by Alrutheus A. Taylor, on Negro Congressmen a Generation After, in which he surveys, as carefully as the records permit, the qualities and training of the various representatives and senators of that race and their activities and achievements in Congress. There is also a paper by Walter H. Brooks on the Silver Bluff Church, the first negro Baptist church in the country, established a little before the Revolution; one by A. T. Fokeer upon the Negroes in Mauritius, and a number of interesting documents of negro history, among them one concerning the settlement of John Randolph's slaves in Ohio.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Stenzel, *Zum Problem der Philosophiegeschichte* (Kant-Studien, XXVI. 3–4); W. L. Westermann, *On the Sources and Methods of Research in Economic History* (Political Science Quarterly, March); G. M. Trevelyan, *History and Fiction* (Living Age, June 3); C. G. Haines, *Ministerial Responsibility and the Separation of Powers* (American Political Science Review, May); John Bell, *Disease and History* (Dalhousie Review, April); Estanislao Zeballos, *The Conference on the Limitation of Armaments* (Inter-America, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: M. Fluss, *Bericht über die Literatur zur Geschichte der Römischer Kaiserzeit von Tiberius bis auf Diocletian, 14 bis 284 n. Chr., aus den Jahren 1894–1913* (Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, CLXXXIX. 7); L. Bréhier, *Histoire Byzantine: Publication des Années 1917–1921* (Revue Historique, January).

Professor Gustav Kossinna of Berlin, well known for his studies of the last twenty-five years on the Indo-Germanic peoples, has published the first part of a work on *Die Indogermanen* under the title *Das Indogermanische Urvolk* (Leipzig, Kabitsch, 1921, pp. vi, 79).

Oxford University Press announces an important work by Professor Michael Rostovtzeff, now of the University of Wisconsin, on *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia.*

Caesar, der Politiker und Staatsmann (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1921, pp. 234), by Professor Matthias Gelzer, of Frankfort, is a new biography of Caesar based upon the thesis that he suceeded by reason of his ability to devote everything to his political aims and raise himself above political parties in the reform of the state, and that he fell because he broke too suddenly with established tradition.

Messrs. Putnam have lately published for the *Loeb Classical Library* the first of three volumes of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae,* with an English translation by Professor David Magie of Princeton. Humble as are the literary pretensions of the *Historia Augusta* and uncritical and feeble as were its authors, historians of the second and third centuries have been obliged to use it, *faute de mieux,* and an edition of it is useful to historical if not to classical scholars; apparently, too, there has been no English translation since 1698.

Arles Antique (Paris, Boccard, 1922, pp. 426), by L. A. Constans, sums up previous studies by the author and others in an authoritative way.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. de Morgan, *De l'Influence Asiatique sur l'Afrique à l'Origine de la Civilisation Égyptienne* (Anthropologie, XXXI. 5); Major Burne, *The Battle of Kadesh, 1289 B. C.* (Army Quarterly, April); P. Perdrizet, *Le Témoignage d'Eschyle sur le Sac d'Athènes par les Perses* (Revue des Études Grecques, January–March); C. Cichorius, *Ein Patentgesetz aus dem Griechischen Altertum* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, January); B. Nogara, *Etruria e Roma* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); J. H. Mora, *Menorca Prehistórica* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, January); A. M. Ramsay, *A Roman Post Service under the Republic* (Journal of Roman Studies, X. 1); J. R. Knipfing, *Das Angebliche "Mailänder Edikt" v. J. 313 im Lichte der Neueren Forschung* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XL.); E. Schwartz, *Über die Reichskonzilien von Theodosius bis Justinian* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Kanonistische Abt., XI.); A. Andréadès, *Le Montant du Budget de l'Empire Byzantin* (Revue des Études Grecques, January–March, 1921).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor Charles Guignebert follows up his book on *Le Christianisme Antique,* published last year, by a similar work, judicial, disinterested, erudite, yet readable, on *Le Christianisme Médiéval et Moderne* (Paris, Flammarion).

The Bollandist fathers, in the course of their courageous resumption of their age-long labors, have undertaken to fill the gap in the *Analecta*

Bollandiana, caused by the war, by issuing now a double volume (pp. 433) indicated as "Tomus XXXIV.–XXXV." The chief contents, occupying half the volume, is a collection of the original sources for the life of St. Jean Berchmans (1598–1621), with a learned introduction by Father Alfred Poncelet, discussing the sources of knowledge of the saint's life, death, and canonization. Father Henri Moret furnishes a catalogue of a large group of Latin hagiographical manuscripts which, by an odd chance, are preserved in the library of the medical school of Montpellier, and gives some texts from them. Finally, Father Maurice Coens gives, with appropriate introductory matter, the Life of St. Lebwin (Liafwine) the Anglo-Saxon apostle of the Frisians. An appendix completes Abbé Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum* by completing volume V., "Addenda et Corrigenda".

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Distichs of Cato, so called, are translated from the Latin, with an introductory sketch, by Professor Wayland J. Chase, in no. 7 of the *University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History.*

A. Perier has given a careful and scholarly account of an important but hitherto little known Christian apologist, *Yahyâ ben Adî: un Philosophe Arabe Chrétien du X^e Siècle* (Paris, Geuthner, 1920, pp. 228).

A noteworthy book is *La Cité de Rhodes, 1310–1522: Topographie, Architecture Militaire* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. xviii, 158), by A. Gabriel.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Heusler, *Das Nordische Altertum in seiner Beziehung zum Westgermanischen* (Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXLII. 3); J. L. Heiberg, *Les Sciences Grecques et leur Transmission,* II. *L'Oeuvre de Conservation et de Transmission des Byzantins et des Arabes* (Scientia, February 1); P. Cloché, *L'Église Mérovingienne* (La Vie Universitaire, March); H. E. Meyer, *Die Pfalzgrafen der Merowinger und Karolinger* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Germanistische Abt.); E. Seckel, *Die Aachener Synode vom Januar 819* (Neues Archiv, XLIV. 1); Count J. de Pange, *Les Papes d'Avignon et les Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques* (Le Correspondant, April 25); E. Hoyer, *Die Selbstwahl vor, in, und nach der Goldenen Bulle* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Germanistische Abt.).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, honorary fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, continues his volumes of architectural history with an account of the *Renaissance of Roman Architecture,* of which part I., devoted to Italy, has been published in handsome form by the Cambridge University Press, while part II., devoted to England, will be ready before long.

Vicomte de Guichen, well known both as a diplomat and as a historian, has published *La Crise d'Orient de 1839 à 1841* (Paris, Émile Paul, pp. 556), a book on an important topic and based on extensive research.

The relevant part of Baron von Eckardstein's *Lebenserinnerungen* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 517) has been translated, edited by George Young, and published by the firm of Dutton under the title *Ten Years at the Court of St. James, 1895–1905.*

The attention of students of history may well be called to the large amount of historical information, relating especially to the period 1910–1921, which is contained in the three additional volumes (XXX.–XXXII.) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* lately issued, each volume containing more than a thousand pages. The exceedingly elaborate articles on the history of the war, those on the recent history of the individual countries of the world, and the articles of recent biography, may especially be mentioned.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. G. E. Hall, *Anglo-French Relations under Charles II.* (History, April); Sir Julian Corbett, *Napoleon and the British Navy after Trafalgar* (Quarterly Review, April); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Napoléon à Berlin en 1806* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January–February); R. Michels, *Étude sur les Relations Historiques entre la France et les Pays du Rhin* (Revue Historique, March); anon., *La Question des Réparations depuis la Paix* (Revue d'Économie Politique, November); Prince Sixte de Bourbon, *La France et la Syrie* (Le Correspondant, February 10).

THE GREAT WAR

The French government institution called the Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre has put forth the first volume of a catalogue of the German and Austrian portion of its extensive collection of books, pamphlets, and articles on the Great War, *Catalogue Méthodique du Fonds Allemand de la Bibliothèque,* tome I., *La Crise Internationale* (Paris, Étienne Chiron, pp. xx, 292), which lists systematically 5699 pieces, published in Germany and Austria-Hungary before the end of 1920 (some also in 1921) and relating to the war in its international aspects. Writings relating to single nations and localities, and an alphabetical index, will follow, the whole making three volumes, of about 1200 pages. Alongside this invaluable repertory should be mentioned Hinrichs's *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur* (1914–1915), F. Avenarius's *Kriegs-Ratgeber über Deutsches Schrifttum* (1915–1916), and the briefer lists of Buddecke, *Kriegsliteratur* (1917), Hohlfeld, *Die Deutsche Kriegsliteratur* (1917), and Kunz, *Bibliographie der Kriegsliteratur* (1920); also, Jean Vic, *La Littérature de Guerre* (Paris, 1918, 2 vols.), the incomplete but extensive *Catalogue du Fonds de la Guerre* of the library of the city of Lyons, and the seven

volumes thus far published of the *Catalogue Raisonnée* (Paris, Émile Paul) of the Collection of Henri Leblanc, of which, by the way, the next two volumes will be devoted to German works.

A clear and well-documented *Manuel des Origines de la Guerre* (Paris, Brossard, pp. 496), founded on the multi-colored books, is by F. Roches. A. Pevet has published *Les Responsables de la Guerre* (Paris, Librairie de l'Humanité, 1921, pp. 500) utilizing a number of hitherto unpublished documents. *Devant la Guerre: la Faillite des Trois Internationales, l'Internationale des Nations, l'Internationale Ouvrière, l'Internationale Catholique: leur Origine, leur Doctrine Pacifique, leur Fonction, et leur Action en 1914* (Paris, Dubreuil, 1922, pp. 157) is by A. Narodetski.

Commandant de Civrieux's *La Grande Guerre, 1914–1918: Aperçu d'Histoire Militaire* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 151) is written from the point of view of a partizan of Nivelle. The treatment, therefore, is not purely objective.

A clear and accurate account of the Italian phase of the war is embodied in F. Quintavalle's *Cronistoria della Guerra Mondiale,* I. *Dal Congresso di Berlino, Luglio 1878, agli Armistizi, Novembre 1918* (Milan, Hoepli, 1921, pp. xxxi, 800). The portions dealing with other countries are not equally satisfactory.

The German Reichsarchiv has begun a series of publications called *Forschungen und Darstellungen* (Berlin, Mittler), in which the first issue was a monograph on an episode of great importance in the history of the battle of the Marne; the second is a treatise, marked by much adverse criticism, on *Deutsche Wirtschafts-Propaganda im Weltkriege,* by Dr. R. Wiehler.

Colonel Bauer, who served continuously throughout the whole war in the Operations Section of the German Supreme Command, under Moltke, Falkenhayn, and Hindenburg, publishes a valuable collection of short articles describing personages and events as he saw them, under the title *Der Grosse Krieg in Feld und Heimat* (Tübingen, Osiander, pp. 315).

General H. von Poseck, in charge of cavalry matters in the German general staff, has published *Die Deutsche Kavallerie in Belgien und Frankreich* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921).

A brief but satisfactory account of the battle of Verdun is Commandant Bouvard's *La Gloire de Verdun* (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1922, pp. 166).

Mr. John Murray has published the second volume on *Seaborne Trade,* by C. Ernest Fayle, in the *Official History of the Great War,* carrying the record from the opening of the submarine campaign to the appointment of the Shipping Comptroller.

Two important phases of the economic history of the war were the management of railroads and of foreign exchange. M. Peschaud has published *Les Chemins de Fer pendant et depuis la Guerre* (Paris, Dunod), the best general book thus far on the railroads in France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States. J. Decamps has given an account of the regulation of international monetary relations in *Les Changes Étrangers* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. 400). A more specialized study is R. Durrenberger's *La Circulation Monétaire dans les Pays Occupés au Cours de la Guerre par les Empires Centraux* (Strasbourg, Heitz, 1921, pp. viii, 154).

Students who are interested in the problem of legislative Committees on the Conduct of the War will find an important record in *La Commission de l'Armée pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Flammarion) by General Pédoya, formerly president of that commission.

Philip Scheidemann, the well-known Socialist deputy, gives secret details of the papal mediation from documents, the source of which he does not reveal, in *Papst, Kaiser, und Sozialdemokratie in ihren Friedensbemühungen im Sommer 1917* (Berlin, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft).

A careful and detailed account of *L'Affaire Miss Cavell, d'après les Documents Inédits de la Justice Allemande* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 177) is given by A. Got.

A. Scheikevitch, a member of the staff of General Sarrail, has embodied his memoirs of the Salonica expedition in a volume entitled *Hellas? . . . Hélas! . . .* (Paris, Catin, 1922, pp. 192).

Le Kémalisme devant les Alliés (Paris, Joannidès, 1922, pp. 512), by M. Paillarès, is the work of a man on the ground who had access to documents. It is hostile to French policy.

Various phases of the negotiation and the results of the peace treaties are responsible for a great many recent books. Among the more significant are G. Colm's *Beitrag zur Geschichte und Soziologie des Ruhraufstandes vom März–April 1920* (Essen, Baedeker, 1921, pp. 142) and Dr. Lucien-Graux's *Histoire des Violations du Traité de Paix, I. 28 Juin 1919–24 Septembre 1920* (Paris, Crès, 1921, pp. viii, 385). A number of addresses and articles by Raymond Poincaré are collected in *La Victoire et la Paix, 1921* (Paris, Daragon, 1921, pp. 130).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Grelling, *Le Mystère du 30 Juillet 1914* (Revue de Paris, March 1); *The Military Revelations of the Late Herr Erzberger* (Army Quarterly, April); Lord Sydenham, *The Naval War, 1914–1915* (Quarterly Review, April); P. Painlevé, *La Politique de Guerre de 1917* (Revue de Paris, March 15); Capt. G. Voitoux, French Navy, *Some Light about the Goeben's Escape* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, April).

GREAT BRITAIN

The Stationery Office has issued a ninth edition, illustrated, of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts* and other objects in the museum of the Public Record Office.

Messrs. Methuen are publishing this month the first volume of a new *History of English Law,* by Dr. W. S. Holdsworth, this volume being a new history of the judicial system, to be followed by six others, three of them revised editions of his volumes previously published, three of them new.

Mr. W. G. Perrin, librarian to the Admiralty and secretary of the Naval Records Society, has completed a work which will surely be of value, *British Flags: their History and their Development at Sea, with an Account of the Origin of the Flag as a National Device,* illustrated (Cambridge, University Press).

Mr. and Mrs. Quennell's *History of Every-Day Things in England* (London, Batsford), of which part I. runs to 1500 and part II. to 1799, is to be added to Mr. Morgan's *Readings in English Social History from Contemporary Literature,* mentioned in a previous number, as an excellent contribution to the means of following in schools or colleges the social history of England.

Mr. Norman Ault in a small book on *Life in Ancient Britain* (Longmans) meets a decided want by presenting a summary account of pre-Roman Britain according to the present state of knowledge, suited to the needs of the general reader and of the scholar not technically expert in archaeology.

The Cambridge University Press has lately published *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings,* edited and translated by F. L. Attenborough, fellow of Emmanuel College, being the first English edition since Thorpe (1840) and including the results of Liebermann's labors.

Professor F. M. Powicke, of Manchester, puts forth a monograph on *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel* (pp. 112), reprinted from the *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library. The incentive to its preparation was the acquisition, by that library, of a manuscript of Walter's *Centum Sententiae.* All matters concerning Ailred are fully considered, in the light of all the materials and especially of Walter's life of him, the essential portions of which are printed in the appendix, from a manuscript belonging to Jesus College, Cambridge.

The second part of R. T. Gunther's *Early Science in Oxford* (London, Humphrey Milford) relates to early mathematicians, early mathematical instruments belonging to the university and the colleges, and mathematical instrument makers.

Two allied volumes of the Cambridge University Press are Miss Dorothy Chadwick's *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman* (pp. xiv,

126) and Mr. H. S. Bennett's *The Pastons and their England* (pp. xx, 290).

An important addition to the source-books for English constitutional history is J. R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents, A. D. 1485–1603* (Cambridge, University Press, pp. xxii, 636), including a full historical commentary by the editor. An earlier period, and history partly political and partly social and economic, are covered in Miss Jessie H. Flemming's *England under the Lancastrians* (London, Longmans), which is an "intermediate source-book", apparently intended for secondary schools, and presents its extracts and documents in English translations.

M. von Boehn, who has previously written of France in the eighteenth century under the title *Rokoko,* has published *England im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Askanischer Verlag, 1921, pp. viii, 678).

Colonel H. C. Wylly's *Life of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.* (Clarendon Press) is the fruit of long and careful study, and will be held authoritative.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb add to their valuable series of works on English local government a volume on *English Prisons under Local Government* (Longmans), dealing with the two hundred years preceding 1877, when the central government took over the prisons.

Lord George Hamilton has brought out a second volume of his *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections,* covering the years 1886–1906, during which he was continually on the Front Bench, either in office or in opposition.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for April has a further study by Miss Margaret I. Adam, on Eighteenth Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem. It has also a study of Eighteenth Century Medical Practice in Fife, by Sir Bruce Seton, based on doctors' accounts; several letters from Queen Anne to Godolphin, relating to Scotland; and an article on the Professional Pricker and his Test of Witchcraft, by Rev. W. T. Neill.

The Société Jersiaise has undertaken to publish the documents concerning the Channel Islands which are to be found in the archives of the neighboring French department of La Manche. The first two fascicles of the *Cartulaire de Jersey, Guernesey et des autres Iles Normandes* contain early documents from Mont St. Michel.

British government publications: *Calendar of Fine Rolls,* vol. VI., 1347–1356; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian,* 1632–1636, ed. A. B. Hinds; *Report on the Manuscripts of the late Allan George Finch,* vol. II. [papers of Sir Heneage Finch, 1621–1682, earl of Nottingham and lord chancellor, his brother Sir John Finch, and other members of the family] (Historical Manuscripts Commission, pp. xxii, 651); *British and Foreign State Papers,* CXII., for 1919.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Morris, *The Sheriffs and the Administrative System of Henry I.* (English Historical Review, April); W. T. Waugh, *The Great Statute of Praemunire* (*ibid.*); A. H. Sweet, *Ceremonial Privileges of the English Benedictines* (Washington University Studies, IX. 1); Courtney Kenny, *The Evolution of the Law of Blasphemy* (Cambridge Law Journal, I. 2); W. W. Sweet, *John Wesley, Tory* (Methodist Review, April); George Unwin, *The Transition to the Factory System* (English Historical Review, April); Viscount Haldane, *The Work for the Empire of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council* (Cambridge Law Journal, I. 2); Sir Frederick Pollock, *Viscount Bryce, O. M.* (Quarterly Review, April); Ernest Barker, *Lord Bryce* (English Historical Review, April); *South Africa, 1795–1921* (Army Quarterly, April).

FRANCE

Medieval France: a Companion to French Studies (Cambridge University Press), edited by Arthur Tilley, is a collection of ten monographs on political history, the army, the navy, philosophy, literature, archaeology, etc., by such high authorities as MM. Charles Langlois, Pierre Caron, Charles de la Roncière, A. Jeanroy, Lucien Foulet, and Sir Thomas Jackson, the whole making a comprehensive survey, which is to be followed by a similar one for modern France.

G. Boulen and O. Martin have published in *Des Fiez à l'Usage de France* (Paris, Sirey, 1921, pp. 110), a very important text for feudal law in France at the end of the fourteenth century. Though there have been previous editions, this edition replaces them, being based upon the study of twenty-seven different manuscripts and accompanied with critical explanation and comment.

A monograph of the first importance for the war "du Bien-Public" is H. Stein's *Charles de France, Frère de Louis XI.* (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. ix, 871).

An episode in French foreign policy illustrating characteristics of eighteenth-century diplomacy is studied by P. Oursel in *La Diplomatie de la France sous Louis XVI.: Succession de Bavière et Paix de Teschen* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 397).

Baron A. de Maricourt has published *Mémoires du Général Noguès, 1777–1853, sur les Guerres de l'Empire* (Paris, Lemerre). It is valuable because of the important positions held by Noguès, his varied experience, his insight and power of statement.

The theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier, Proudhon, and others with regard to international peace are set forth by J. L. Puech in *La Tradition Socialiste en France et la Société des Nations* (Paris, Garnier, 1921, pp. 230).

The second volume of L. Delabrousse's important monograph on *Joseph Magnin et son Temps, 1824–1910,* gives a minute and conscientious analysis of *Le Siège de Paris, le Ministère des Finances, le Gouvernement de la Banque de France* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 575) based on correspondence in the ministries of agriculture and commerce. Light is thrown on the origins of the Franco-Prussian war in E. Ollivier's *Lettres de l'Exil, 1870–1874* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 215), composed of letters written in the years immediately after the overthrow of his ministry. G. Bouniols has written of the same period in *Thiers au Pouvoir, 1871–1873* (Paris, Delagrave, 1922, pp. 357).

The first satisfactory life of the Duc d'Aumale is published by R. Vallery-Radot, *Le Duc d'Aumale d'après sa Correspondance avec Cuvillier Fleury, 1840–1871* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. ii, 384). It is an introduction to four volumes of correspondence.

A new edition of Vicomte A. de Calonne's *La Vie Agricole sous l'Ancien Régime dans le Nord de la France* (Paris, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 1921, pp. x, 593) is the first since 1887 and contains much new material.

Though primarily intended as a work of local history A. Mousset's *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Maison de Kergorlay en Bretagne* (Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. cv, 540) has general value because it contains many unpublished documents illustrative of Breton conditions from the Middle Ages to the present time. Similar materials on the history of Auvergne are made available in the Marquis de Lastic's *Chronique de la Maison de Lastic, d'après les Archives du Château de Parentiguat et quelques autres Documents* (Montpellier, 1919–1921, 3 vols.).

A third volume of *Documents Inédits concernant la Ville et le Siège du Bailliage d'Amiens, Extraits des Régistres du Parlement de Paris et du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. 437), by E. Maugis, has been published, covering the years 1397–1471. Unlike the two preceding, this volume has much important material on public law and economic conditions. The first part shows the working of the fiscal system developed during the Hundred Years' War, the second the consequences of the partition of the bailliage of Amiens by the king and the Duke of Burgundy in 1435.

R. Reuss has published the first good French account of the *Histoire de Strasbourg depuis ses Origines jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Fischbacher). This important book is the work of many years. Other recent books which deal with the same area are L. Batiffol's *Les Anciennes Républiques Alsaciennes* (Paris, Hemmerlé, 1921, pp. iv, 315) and *Le Rhin et la France: Histoire Politique et Économique* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xix, 385) by J. Aulneau.

The period of the Revolution and First Empire is covered in the first volume of P. Masson's *Marseille depuis 1789* (Paris, Hachette, 1921).

The book is of especial importance for its study of the commerce and industry of Marseilles.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Perels, *Eine Denkschrift Hinkmars von Reims im Prozess Rothads von Soissons* (Neues Archiv, XLIV. 1); F. Lot, *Conjectures Démographiques sur la France au IX^e Siècle*, II. (Le Moyen Age, May); Count de Calan, *La Noblesse Française au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January); Commandant Herlairt, *Les Enlèvements d'Enfants à Paris en 1720 et en 1750*, I., II. (Revue Historique, January, March); B. Combes de Patris, *Louis XV., la Légende et l'Histoire* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); F. P. Renaut, *Études sur le Pacte de Famille et la Politique Coloniale Française, 1760–1792* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1922, 1); M. Marion, *Des Causes Financières de la Révolution* (Revue des Cours et Conférences, January 30); A. Cochin, *Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Révolution*, II. *La Liberté* (Le Correspondant, February 22); G. Lenôtre, *Les Agents Royalistes sous la Révolution, l'Affaire Perlet*, II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, February 15); Frédéric Masson, *Les Complots Jacobins au Lendemain de Brumaire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January–February); P. Marmottan, *Le Cardinal Maury et les Bonaparte* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Augustin Thierry d'après sa Correspondance*, V. *La Princesse Belgiojoso* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

For beginners in Italian Professor John Van Horne, of the University of Illinois, edits a small book entitled *Il Risorgimento* (University of Chicago Press, pp. 168), containing six selections chosen as offering contemporary illustration of some of the most interesting phases of the Italian struggle for freedom and unity: Mazzini's letter of 1831 to Charles Albert; the first act of Rovetta's *Romanticismo* (1854); Mercantini's Hymn of Garibaldi; passages relating to the expedition of the Thousand to Sicily, from Garibaldi's *Memorie*; Cavour's speech of March 25, 1861, on the Roman question; and Carducci's oration of 1882 on the death of Garibaldi.

The second and third volumes of *Mazzini's Letters to an English Family*, completing, to his death in 1872, this record of his life edited by E. F. Richards, have been published (London, John Lane).

A discussion of recent political movements in Italy and their bearing upon the relations between France and Italy is to be found in *Communisme et Fascio en Italie* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 118) by J. Alazard.

A new volume of *Recherches sur l'Histoire Politique du Royaume Asturien, 718–910* (Tours, Arrault, 1921, pp. 364) is by L. Barrau-Dihigo, of the library of the Sorbonne.

El Cardenal Cisneros, Gobernador del Reino (Madrid, Imprenta Ibérica, 1921, pp. 434), by C. de Cedillo, is not only a biography of an influential prelate of the age of Ferdinand and Isabella but a study of the Spanish government at the time of Spain's greatness.

Professor Felix Rachfahl of Freiburg has published *Don Carlos, Kritische Untersuchung* (Freiburg i. B., Boltze, 1921, pp. iv, 168).

The past and future relations between Spain and Portugal are treated with learning and insight in a lecture by Dr. Ricardo Jorge published under the title *A Intercultura de Portugal e de Espanha* (Oporto, Araujo).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: William Miller, *Democracy at San Marino* (History, April); G. Goyau, *Sur l'Horizon du Vatican*, II. *L'Église et les Églises, Le Nouveau Pontificat* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); V. Castañeda, *Relaciones Geográficas, Topográficas, e Históricas del Reino de Valencia, hechas en el siglo XVIII. á Ruego de Don Tomás López*, II. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, January).

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

General review: P. Kehr, *Bericht über die Herausgabe der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1920* (Neues Archiv, XLIV. 1). It is to be noted also that an account of a whole century of German historical scholarship is embodied in Professor Harry Bresslau's *Geschichte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, im Auftrage ihrer Zentraldirektion bearbeitet* (Hanover, 1921, pp. xiii, 750), in itself a monumental work.

An excellent and penetrating use of the whole literature of the subject has been made by K. Hampe in *Der Zug nach dem Osten: die Kolonisatorische Grosstat des Deutschen Volkes im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Teubner, 1921, pp. 108).

Dr. Albert Werminghoff's *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg* (Freiburg i. B., Boltze) provides not only an elaborate biography but a learned and interesting picture of Nuremberg at the end of the fifteenth century.

An interesting account of a man typical of his time is S. Stern's *Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Hildesheim, 1921, pp. xvi, 402).

A valuable discussion of the events from the dismissal of Bismarck to the opening of the war is to be found in *Deutsche Geschichte unter Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1921, pp. viii, 360) by C. Bornhak.

On the basis of reports found in archives at Strasbourg after the French occupation C. Schmidt has written *Les Plans Secrets de la Politique Allemande en Alsace-Lorraine, 1915–1916* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 264).

La Constitution Allemande du 11 Août 1919 (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 364) by R. Brunet is not a mere analysis but a historical account of the background and setting of the new constitution of Germany. From that point of view it is the best book which has yet appeared.

A biography of importance to the political as well as to the commercial and naval history of Germany before and during the war, is that of *Albert Ballin, Direktor der Hamburg-Amerika Linie* (Berlin, Gerhard Stalling).

An important volume by a well-known authority is J. Redlich's *Das Oesterreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem: Geschichtliche Darstellung der inneren Politik der Habsburgischen Monarchie von 1848 bis zum Untergang des Reiches* (Leipzig, *Der Neue Geist* Verlag, 1921).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Grisar, *Lutheranalecten:* V. *Cur non Manus Nostras in Sanguine istorum Lavamus?* VI. *Melancthons Rätselhafte Nachgiebigkeit auf dem Augsburger Reichstag 1530* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XLI. 2); H. E. Feine, *Einwirkungen des Absoluten Staatsgedankens auf das Deutsche Kaisertum im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, XLII., Germanistische Abt.); D. Sägmüller, *Der Rechtliche Begriff der Trennung von Kirche und Staat auf der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung 1848–1849* (Theologische Quartalschrift, CII. 3–4); C. Schweitser, *Bismarcks Aeussere Politik und sein Christentum* (Preussische Jahrbücher, March); George Saunders, *The Resignation of Bismarck* (Quarterly Review, April); F. R. Fairchild, *German War Finance: a Review* [based on Ch. Rist, *Les Finances de Guerre de l'Allemagne*] (American Economic Review, June); Dr. P. Dirr, *Auswärtige Politik Kurt Eisners und der Bayerischen Revolution* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, February); Joseph Szebenyei, *Hapsburg, Hungary, and Horthy* (Century Magazine, June).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Godefroid Kurth, 1847–1916: le Patriote, le Chrétien, l'Historien (Brussels, La Lecture au Foyer, 1922, pp. 142), by the late Professor Alfred Cauchie, contains two characteristic lectures by that lamented scholar, the one, on Kurth as patriot and Christian, delivered in Brussels in September, 1920, and the other, on Kurth as an historian, delivered in December of that year at the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome on the occasion of the resumption of the instruction interrupted by the war.

The chief matter in the *Bulletin* of the Commission Royale d'Histoire, LXXXIV. 4, is an important article in Flemish, "De Doopsgezinden te Antwerpen in de Zestiende Eeuw", by K. Vos.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Terlinden, *La Politique Économique de Guillaume Ier, Roi dès Pays-Bas, en Belgique, 1814–1830* (Revue Historique, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The first volume of the *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens,* by Professor Charles De Lannoy of Ghent and Professor Herman Vander Linden of Liège, was published in 1907, and related to the colonial efforts of Portugal and Spain. The second volume, relating to Dutch and Danish colonization, appeared in 1911, a brief chapter on Sweden being left for the third volume. The manuscript of that volume, describing the colonial expansion of France from the beginning to 1789, was destroyed in the German burning of Louvain, together with all M. Vander Linden's library and notes. M. De Lannoy now brings out in a pamphlet (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 62), as all that can be done at present, the Swedish portion.

L. Mahlau has published the first volume of a *Geschichte der Freien Stadt Danzig* (Danzig, Danziger Verlagsgesellschaft, 1921, pp. 119). A single-volume history of Danzig is *Danzigs Geschichte* (Danzig, Kafemann, 1921, pp. 235) by E. Keyser.

The historical background of the problem of Russian unity is set forth by E. Haumant in *Le Problème de l'Unité Russe* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 132).

Vospominaniya [Recollections], *1914–1919* (Berlin, Ladyshnikof, London, Jashke), by V. B. Stankevich, is one of the most valuable books on the period of Russian history indicated, the author having been a Socialist Revolutionary editor before the war, and having been in such various positions during the war as gave him opportunities of observing near at hand most of the important crises.

The Macmillan Company has published *Russia Today and Tomorrow,* by Professor Paul Miliukov, partly lectures delivered in America.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Rousseau, *Un Ministre d'Alexandre III. et de Nicolas II., le Comte Witte,* II. (La Nouvelle Revue, February 15); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre,* III. *La Mission de MM. Viviani et Albert Thomas*; IV. *L'Entrée en Guerre de la Roumanie*; V. *Le Désastre Roumain* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15, February 15, March 1); anon., *Le Mouvement Pangermaniste dans les Milieux Allemands de la Pologne Russe* (Le Correspondant, April 25); I. J. Blociszewski, *La Constitution Polonaise du 17 Mars 1921* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Gaudefroy-Demombynes's *Les Institutions Musulmanes* (Paris, Flammarion, 1921, pp. xii, 192) is an excellent manual based on the results of recent scholarship.

Reports of General Ducrot and of Admiral Le Barbier de Tinan, with other important documents illustrative of Napoleon III.'s Syrian expedi-

tion, are printed in *Le Liban et l'Expédition Française en Syrie, 1860–1861* (Paris, A. Picard, pp. x, 351), edited by Father Camille de Rochemonteix, S. J.

The second number of the *Journal of Indian History*, edited by Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan of Allahabad, sustains the promise of its first issue, and contains articles of especial value, by the author and his staff, on sources for the history of British India in the seventeenth century preserved in the India Office and the Public Record Office, and on historical manuscripts in the libraries of India. The number also presents the beginning of a learned monograph on the Army of Ranjit Singh, by Sita Ram Kohli, and a translation of the Jesuit *Annual Letter* of 1648–1649 from Mogor.

The latest volume of the Oxford reprints concerning India is *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, by William Knighton (Oxford, Clarendon Press), which, originally published in 1855 and 1869, depicted vividly the life of the court of Oudh from narrations by a European adventurer in the service of the king and by a slave girl of the last queen.

Professor Paul S. Reinsch, American minister to China from 1913 to 1919, has brought out through Doubleday, Page, and Company a volume of recollections, entitled *An American Diplomat in China*.

A clear and careful study is presented by H. Tchen, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de la Chine et du Japon* (Paris, La Vie Universitaire, 1922, pp. 328).

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, has brought out a study of the *Conscription System in Japan*, by Gotaro Ogawa, D. C. L., professor of finance in the University of Kioto (Oxford University Press). The work is in two parts, first, an historical survey of the system of conscription, from its inauguration in 1873 to the present time, and second, a study of the economic effects of the system.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Aleš Hrdlička, *The Peopling of Asia* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LX. 4); M. Pernot, *Angora: les Turcs entre l'Occident et l'Orient* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1); Tyler Dennett, *The United States and "Good Offices" in the East* (American Journal of International Law, January).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Les Noirs de l'Afrique (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 160) is a historical essay on the negro peoples of Africa, their customs, religions, and art, by M. Delafosse.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Sorel and L. Auriant, *Jeremy Bentham et l'Indépendance de l'Égypte* (Mercure de France, April 15); P. W. Wilson, *The Kingdom of Egypt* (World's Work, June).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

At the office of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington most of the page-proof of Dr. Burnett's second volume of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* has been received, and preparation of the index has been begun. Mr. W. G. Leland arrived in Paris early in May, and is at work in the libraries. Mrs. N. M. M. Surrey will spend the autumn in Paris, completing the work which needs to be done *in situ* on her *Calendar* of papers relating to the Mississippi Valley. The manuscript for the first volume of Dr. L. F. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates in Parliament relating to North America,* running to 1689, is nearly completed. Miss Elizabeth Donnan, professor in Wellesley College, will spend the summer in further work upon her volume of documents upon the slave trade, and Professor J. S. Bassett will continue the editing of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson.* The Department has also received from Dr. Charles W. Hackett the first volume of the Bandelier Papers relating to Mexican and New Mexican history, collected in Spain by the late Dr. Adolph F. Bandelier for the Carnegie Institution and carefully edited and translated by Dr. Hackett. Miss Mary F. Griffin has taken the place of Miss Shirley Farr, resigned.

The situation with respect to government archives in Washington may be illustrated by the fact that all but the most frequently used portions of the archives and library of the Navy Department have been sent to the naval magazine at Bellevue, on the Potomac, several miles below Alexandria.

Among the recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: executor's account book of Washington's estate, 1802–1830 (photostat copy); Lund Washington's account book while manager of Mount Vernon, 1782–1786, and personal accounts, 1782–1787 (photostat copy); papers of George Mason relating to the Constitutional Convention, including Mason's draft of his proposed Bill of Rights, his speech in the Constitutional Convention, amendments proposed to the Constitution, and Edmund Randolph's plan of a constitution (nine pieces, 1782–1788); miscellaneous papers relating to prizes taken by British cruisers, 1779 (18 pieces); miscellaneous land, religious, and other papers relating to Waldoboro, Warren, and other places in Maine, 1766–1854 (about 150 pieces); letters to Charles A. Dana, 1859–1882 (20 pieces); and an album of letters of Samuel F. Smith, 1883–1898, including several signed autograph copies of *America.*

The Pulitzer prize of $2000 for the best book of the year upon the history of the United States has been awarded to Mr. James T. Adams for his book on *The Founding of New England,* reviewed in our October number (XXVII. 129).

The twentieth session of the International Congress of Americanists will be held at Rio de Janeiro in August, the twenty-first at Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1923, the chairman of the committee of organization in the latter case being Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, head of the department of ethnology in the museum of that city.

Professor Carl R. Fish has written an *Introduction to the Study of United States History* (pp. 75) for use in connection with university extension work (Madison, University of Wisconsin).

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1921, Mr. John H. Edmonds, archivist of Massachusetts, has a paper on the Massachusetts Archives, chiefly consisting in a documented history of those archives, extending to 1836. It is followed by the text of several interesting papers from the archives. Mr. Henry De Puy contributes nine Andrew Jackson letters, correspondence of Andrew Jackson and Samuel Swartwout, 1823–1825. The main element in the number (159 pp.), however, is a series of long communications of William McCulloch to Isaiah Thomas, 1812–1815, intended to supplement Thomas's *History of Printing in America,* and replete with curious and detailed information concerning printing in Pennsylvania.

Judicial Controversies on Federal Appellate Jurisdiction (pp. 58) is a privately printed address delivered in June, 1921, by Colonel Alexander R. Lawton of Savannah, as president of the Georgia Bar Association. It is especially rich in Georgian material on its topic, dwelling especially on Judge Benning's opinion in Padelford *vs.* Savannah (1854).

The American Party System: an Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States, by Professor Charles E. Merriam of Chicago, is from the press of Macmillan.

Mr. Robert W. Neeser, formerly secretary of the Naval History Society, has performed a useful historical and patriotic service by preparing a small book on *Ship Names of the United States Navy: their Meaning and Origin* (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company).

Dr. George F. Black, of the New York Public Library, in *Scotland's Mark on America,* published by the Scottish section of "America's Making" (New York, 1921, pp. 126), brings together a biographical list briefly characterizing the career of more than 1300 Scots in America.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* are found the concluding part of the Journal of Rev. and Mrs. Lemuel Foster, edited by Professor Harry T. Stock, and a paper on the Pioneer Presbyterians of New Providence, Virginia, by S. Gordon Smyth.

The department of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic University of America has just inaugurated, with four substantial and creditable volumes, a series of *Studies in American Church History,* published under the editorial care of Professor Peter Guilday. Of these volumes the

first is Father Jean Dilhet's *État de l'Église Catholique ou Diocèse des États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (pp. xxv, 140, 263), written about 1800 and now translated and edited by Rev. Patrick W. Browne, S. T. D.; the second, *Thomas Cornwaleys, Commissioner and Counsellor of Maryland* (pp. x, 140), by Rev. George B. Stratemeier, O. P.; the third, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1822–1922* (pp. x, 196), by Rev. Edward J. Hickey; the fourth, *The Catholic Hierarchy of the United States, 1790–1922* (pp. xiv, 223), by Rev. John H. O'Donnell, C. S. C.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The American Geographical Society of New York has brought out *A Description of Early Maps, Originals and Facsimiles, 1452–1611,* by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson. The maps described are a part of the permanent wall exhibition of the society, and there is besides a partial list of others found in the society's library. The same society announces the reprint of *A Short Account of the First Settlement of the Provinces of Virginia, Marylund, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by the English* (London, 1735), of which only five copies are known. The reprint will include a facsimile reproduction in color of Captain John Smith's map, with extensions by John Senex.

The *Magazine of History* prints in the October number several letters of Washington.

Students of the diplomacy of the Revolution should know of the existence of Don Valentín Urtazun's *Historia Diplomática de América,* pt. I., *La Emancipación de las Colonias Británicas,* t. I., *La Alianza Francesa* (Pamplona, Higinio Coronas, 1920, pp. 560).

The Federal Convention of 1787: an International Conference Adequate to its Purpose, by Arthur D. Call, secretary of the American Peace Society and editor of the *Advocate of Peace,* is issued by the American Peace Society with an evident purpose, to emphasize the Federal Convention as international in character, and the Constitution as therefore the worthiest model (in some essential features, at least) for that greater association of nations toward which the world aspires. The story of the Convention is briefly but effectively told, with emphasis upon two aspects of the Constitution, namely, that it created a government of laws and not of men; and that the central government operates directly upon individuals and not upon states. The booklet contains also texts of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution, and the American Peace Society's "Suggestions for a Governed World".

The Manning Association of Billerica, Massachusetts, has brought out a remarkable and hitherto unpublished manuscript, written by William Manning in the year 1798 and only recently discovered in the old Manning manse at North Billerica. It is entitled *The Key of Libberty,* to

which is added this characterization by the author: "Shewing the Causes why a free government has Always Failed, and a Remidy against it". It is addressed to "the Republicans, Farmers, Mecanicks, and Labourers in the United States of Amarica, By a Labourer". Chief among the causes that "Ruen Republicks" is "a Conceived Difference of Interests Between those that Labour for a Living and those that git a Living without Bodily Labour". Manning has in a way anticipated Marx, yet he does not go to the length of prescribing a dictatorship of the proletariate. "Although their are many caulings by which men live honistly without Labour, yet as Labour is the soul parrant of all property by which all are seported, therefore the cauling aught to be honourable and the Labourer respected." "The ondly Remidi is knowledge"; and "the prinsaple knowledge nesecary for a free man to have is obtained by the Libberty of the press or publick newspapers". "But this kind of knowledge is almost ruened of late by the doings of the few." Therefore he proposes an association of "those who Labour for a Living", and the establishment of a "Magazein" for their better information. Incidentally he pays his respects to the Jay "treety" at length and often, and he has some first-hand information concerning the Shays Rebellion. Mr. S. E. Morison furnishes an appreciative and elucidating preface and numerous explanatory notes.

Major Howell Tatum's Journal, kept while he was topographical engineer (1814) to General Jackson, constitutes vol. VII., nos. 1, 2, and 3, of *Smith College Studies in History.* The writer of the journal had been a captain of North Carolina troops in the Revolution, had settled in Nashville as a lawyer about the same time that Jackson arrived, and had been attorney general of the state, and then judge of the superior court. He was appointed topographical engineer by Jackson in June, 1814, and began his services at Jackson's headquarters at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers July 21 following. About one-third of the journal consists of a topographical survey of the Alabama River from that point down to its junction with the Tombigbee, with remarks upon the character of the country. The remainder of the journal is an account of the movements and actions of Jackson's army from August 19, 1814, to January 20, 1815, and is a valuable first-hand narrative of events, particularly of the battle of New Orleans and its antecedent actions. The journal, the original of which is in the office of the chief engineer of the United States army, is edited, with an introductory note, by Professor John S. Bassett.

Notes on Land and Sea, 1850, is the journal of Dr. Robert F. Evans of Shelbyville, Tennessee, written while on the way to California (Badger).

The first series of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion,* containing the records and documents of the Union Navy, having been completed by the issue of the twenty-

seventh volume, the Navy Department has now issued the first of three volumes which will compose series 2, comprising the records and documents of the Confederate Navy. The volume (pp. 980, and 21 plates) is edited by Captain C. C. Marsh.

A useful little book in the *Lake English Classics* (Chicago, Scott, Foresman, and Company) is *Selections from the Writings of Abraham Lincoln,* edited for school use by Professor J. G. deR. Hamilton of North Carolina.

Volume II. (1868–1872) of Ellis P. Oberholtzer's *History of the United States since the Civil War* has come from the press (Macmillan).

At the time of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Rutherford B. Hayes, October 4 next, under the auspices of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, the first volumes of the *Diary and Letters* of President Hayes will be published. He kept a diary from the days of his boyhood to the end of his life. With the letters, now preserved in the Memorial Library at Spiegel Grove State Park, in the custody of the society, the publication will make about four volumes, edited by President Hayes's biographer, Mr. Charles R. Williams of Princeton.

Chauncey M. Depew's *My Memories of Eighty Years,* chapters from which, with the title "Leaves from my Autobiography", appeared in *Scribner's Magazine,* has been published in book form (Scribner).

Through Three Centuries: Colver and Rosenberger Lives and Times, 1620–1922, by Jesse L. Rosenberger, recounts in three brief chapters the history of the Colvers in early days in New England, then relates more particularly the life-story of Rev. Nathaniel Colver, D.D. (1794–1870), whose ministry, beginning in Vermont, counts long years of service in the state of New York, in Boston, Detroit, Cincinnati, and Chicago; of his son, Rev. Charles K. Colver (1821–1896), whose earlier pastorates were in Massachusetts, the later in Illinois and Wisconsin; and of the latter's daughter and her husband who is the author of this volume (University of Chicago Press).

Adventures in Idealism: a Personal Record of the Life of Professor H. L. Sabsovich, privately printed by his widow, in a volume of 208 pages, is an interesting and profitable sketch of a Russian Jew who came to America as a young man in 1887, and occupied himself until his death in 1915 with earnest labors for the good of the Hebrews in this country, especially in lines of agricultural development. He was for many years head of the Woodbine Agricultural School in New Jersey, an institution of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and later was for several years general agent of that fund.

William F. McCombs, the President Maker, by Maurice F. Lyons, is from the press of the Bancroft Company, Cincinnati.

A *Review of the American Forces in Germany* (pp. 442), by James G. Adams, is published in Brooklyn by the author (1189 East 24th Street).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Maine Historical Society celebrated, April 11, 1922, in its library building in Portland, the centennial anniversary of its organization. The principal papers read on the occasion were by President Sills of Bowdoin College and Hon. Augustus F. Moulton of Portland, the first dealing with the society's career in Brunswick, 1822–1880, the latter with its history in Portland from 1881 to 1922. Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage paid a tribute to Hon. John A. Poor for his valuable services to the society in its earlier period. In the autumn of this year the society will observe the tercentenary of the grant of the Province of Maine by the Council of New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason. Dr. Burrage will deliver the address.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has published, at the charge of the Dowse Fund, volume III. of its reprint of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* (pp. x, 228), covering the proceedings from May, 1721, to March, 1722. The proceedings include many contentions between governor, council, and lower house, of the sort which our colonial representatives loved, many records of relations with the eastern Indians, and a multitude of details respecting persons and things in the province. The original prints being almost as rare as manuscript, it may fairly be said that the volume adds more to our knowledge of Massachusetts history in the two years named than all previously accessible sources combined.

A short street, of considerable local fame and some historical importance, is commemorated in a pleasing volume entitled *Old Park Street and its Vicinity* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company), by Dr. Robert M. Lawrence, who furnishes a gossipy history of the locality, street, and each individual house.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has acquired the Revolutionary War muster-roll of Captain Elijah Lewis's company, the gift of Mr. H. H. Rogers, and the record book of the Warren and Barrington Toll Bridge Company, 1857–1870, the gift of Mr. Fred A. Arnold. In the January number of the society's *Bulletin* is found an extensive account of Early Rhode Island Grist Mills.

The Connecticut Historical Society has lately received from Mrs. Susan E. Johnson Hudson, of Stratford, a second and final collection of Johnson papers, comprising more than a thousand letters written to members of the family during the period from 1800 to 1850, and supplementing the correspondence of William Samuel Johnson and his relatives, a collection of more than fifteen hundred letters, which the society received from the same source in 1913.

In a forthcoming book called *Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer, an Old-Time Sailor of the Seas* (Macmillan), John R. Spears relates the life and adventures of a Stonington sealer and voyager, explorer of the Antarctic region, and captain in the China trade.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The October number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* contains a paper by Alice Davis on the Administration of Benjamin Fletcher in New York, and the Journal of Joseph Avery, a Presbyterian minister, recording a journey from his home in Tyringham, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, to the Genesee Country in 1799.

Among the articles in the July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* are the History and Vital Records of Christ's First Presbyterian Church of Hempstead, Long Island, contributed by John D. Fish, and an account, by Alice D. Weekes, of Francis Weekes, friend and sometime companion of Roger Williams, but later a settler on Long Island.

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper by Professor James H. Breasted on the Edwin Smith Papyrus, an Egyptian Medical Treatise of the Seventeenth Century before Christ. Dr. William S. Thomas contributes a descriptive catalogue of some Revolutionary diaries. It should be remarked that James Allen of Pennsylvania was not a member of the Continental Congress, although his brother, Andrew Allen, was a member of the Congress from November, 1775, to May, 1776.

A Century of Banking in New York, 1822–1922, by Henry W. Lanier, is from the press of George H. Doran Company.

The April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a paper, by William H. Benedict, on Travel across New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century and Later; continuations of a Young Man's Journal of 1800–1813, and of the Condict Revolutionary Record Abstracts; and an eye-witness account by a German officer of the first appearance of American troops in the second battle of the Marne.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article on the Life and Works of Benjamin West, by Hon. Hampton L. Carson; the Washington Pedigree, Corrigenda and Addenda, by Charles H. Browning; and a continuation of the materials pertaining to the Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, by Dr. W. A. N. Dorland.

The Whig Party in Pennsylvania, by Henry R. Mueller, is of the series of *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.*

Pennsylvania: a Record of the University's Men in the Great War is issued as a supplement to the *Alumni Register* (October, 1920).

In the April number of *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society are a letter from the committee of safety in Lancaster to the Continental Congress, June, 1775, and part I. of an Autobiography of William Michael, by George Erisman. The May number contains Lancaster County Petitions, etc., to the Supreme Executive Council, 1784–1790, by H. H. Shenk; and in the June number are some Historical Notes from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia, by Charles E. Kemper.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Magazine* contains the concluding chapters of Charles W. Dahlinger's history of Fort Pitt; a biographical sketch of the late Senator Knox, by Edwin W. Smith; Ten Years on Historic Ground: Early and Later Days at the Pittsburgh Point, by Rev. Dr. Morgan M. Sheedy; and the Life and Times of Robert King, Revolutionary Patriot, by Henry King Siebeneck.

Among other results of a recent expedition to the Swedish archives, Professor Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, has translated into English, from the manuscript, the *Geographica* of Peter Lindström, military engineer in New Sweden 1654–1655, a document of great value for the history of the colony. The translation will be published in the autumn, accompanied by reproductions of its maps.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains the Civil War Diary of General Isaac R. Trimble, edited by W. S. Myers; a biography, by George C. Keidel, of Mrs. Richard Caton, daughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton; a continuation of Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's biography of Senator James A. Pearce, and also of the series of Provincial Records.

In the *Eighteenth Annual Report* of the library board and librarian of the Virginia State Library, there is included a translation, by Mr. Rosewell Page, of Quesnay de Beaurepaire's *Mémoire, Status, et Prospectus, concernant l'Académie des États-Unis de l'Amérique, établie à Richemond* (Paris, 1788).

The Virginia State Library has recently received by transfer from the office of the state auditor all the manuscript land-tax books (1782–1863) from the several counties, and from Princess Anne County four volumes of records and many separate documents. The library has also received 2460 photostat copies from the 12,000 rolls of Virginia Confederate troops preserved in Washington.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* devotes its pages to articles having special interest in view of the Vir-

ginia Historical Pageant (May 22–28), then approaching. They are: the Native Tribes of Virginia, by David I. Bushnell, jr.; the First University in America, an address delivered by Capt. W. Gordon McCabe at Dutch Gap on May 31, 1911, at the unveiling of the commemorative monument erected by the Virginia Society of Colonial Dames; the Real Beginning of Democracy in America, the Virginia Assembly of 1619, by Mary N. Stanard; the Settlement of the Valley, by Charles E. Kemper; Before the Gates of the Wilderness Road, the Settlement of Southwestern Virginia, by Judge Lyman Chalkley; and the Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742, by Fairfax Harrison. Mr. Harrison's article gives for the first time an authoritative account of the expedition of Howard, Salling, and their party from the Valley of Virginia to New Orleans in 1742 and of Salling's escape from French captivity. A special feature of this issue of the *Magazine* is a number of Virginia portraits: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Lee, Jackson, Johnston, Stuart, and Matthew F. Maury.

Among the varied contents of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are: a note, by A. J. Morrison, concerning Colonel William Tatham (1752–1819) and other Virginia engineers; the Will of William Parks, the first printer in Virginia, with a note by Lawrence C. Wroth; some letters taken from Rind's *Virginia Gazette* (1774) pertaining to William and Mary College; and some letters of Gen. Edward Carrington to Alexander Hamilton in 1791 relative to home manufactures in Virginia.

Several pages of the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are devoted to pointing out the primacy of Virginia in many phases of the national development, and the leadership of Virginia in the pre-Revolutionary period. Of particular interest in this issue of the *Magazine* is a text of George Percy's "Trewe Relacyon", a copy of which, from the original at Petworth House, England, was recently obtained by Dr. Tyler, and is now in possession of the Virginia State Library. There is also some correspondence (1767–1772) of John Norton, including letters of George Wythe, John Page, jr., and E. H. Moseley.

Travels in Virginia in Revolutionary Times, 1769–1802, edited by Alfred J. Morrison, has been brought out in Lynchburg by the J. P. Bell Company.

The October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains, besides continuations hitherto mentioned, a body of material on the Hyrne Family, compiled by Miss Mabel L. Webber.

The *Transactions,* no. 26, of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, contains the address of the president, Mr. Thomas W. Bacot, delivered before the society in April, 1921, on the subject of some Huguenot settlements in South Carolina, and also a Huguenot Exhortation pro-

nounced at Pons, December 19, 1677, by Rev. Samuel Prioleau. This exhortation, which is given in facsimile and in an English translation by Rev. W. T. Riviere, is contributed, with an introduction, by Professor Yates Snowden.

The March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper, by Dr. Roland M. Harper, on the Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1850 to 1880; one by Judge Beverly D. Evans on the Code Napoleon; and a continuation of the Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks. This installment includes a message from Governor Cobb to the general assembly of Georgia, November 8, 1853, concerning which the editor states that it is the only message of considerable importance transmitted during Cobb's administration.

The Alabama department of archives and history has instituted an active campaign for acquiring possession, under a legislative act of 1915, of the aboriginal mounds and town sites, old forts, and other places of historic interest within the boundaries of the state. The Alabama Anthropological Society, which has located 193 town sites within those boundaries, is actively assisting. By the reservation of parks and the placing of tablets or markers, the places acquired will be given the position of historical memorials. The last-named society, by an ingenious use of the mimeograph, succeeds in issuing to its members a monthly magazine called *Arrow Points,* the contents of which are interesting articles, drawings, and photographs relating to Indian remains and the Indian history of the state.

Dr. Armand Remy has deposited with the Louisiana Historical Society an extensive and elaborate manuscript history of Louisiana from its earliest period to 1815, written by his father, Henry Remy, a man of French birth and a resident of Louisiana from 1836 to 1867. The narrative, written in French, is regarded by those who have examined it as of much importance.

WESTERN STATES

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Iowa City on May 11 and 12. The presidential address was by Mr. William E. Connelley of the Kansas State Historical Society. Among the papers we note one on the Activities of New Orleans in behalf of the Texas Revolution, by Professor J. E. Winston of Sophie Newcomb College; one on Nativism in the Mississippi Valley in the Forties and Fifties, by Dr. George M. Stephenson; one on Recognition of Mexican Governments by the United States since 1857, by Professor C. W. Hackett, of Texas; and one on Kentucky Neutrality in 1861, by Professor W. P. Shortridge, of Louisville.

Articles in the March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: the Relation of Philip Phillips to the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, by Dr. H. Barrett Learned; the Beginnings

of Railroads in the Southwest, by R. S. Cotterill; and the Policy of Albany and English Westward Expansion, by Arthur H. Buffinton. In the section of Notes and Documents are found a memorial of the year 1763, entitled Hints Relative to the Division and Government of the Conquered and Newly Acquired Countries in America, with an introduction by Verner W. Crane; and a note by Dr. Everett S. Brown concerning Jefferson's plan for a military colony in Orleans Territory.

In the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are three articles by C. B. Galbreath, namely, the Anti-Slavery Movement in Columbiana County, an account of Edwin Coppoc, a participant in the Harper's Ferry raid, and of his brother, Barclay Coppoc, also one of John Brown's men. The paper of chief importance in the January number is the Political Campaign of 1875 in Ohio, by Forrest W. Clonts. Articles in the April number are: General Joshua Woodrow Sill, by Albert Douglas; Seneca John, Indian Chief, by Basil Meek; the Ohio State University in the World War, by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert; and Three Anti-Slavery Newspapers, by Annetta C. Walsh.

The Indiana Historical Commission has issued (Bulletin no. 15) the *Proceedings* (pp. 157) of the third annual conference on Indiana history, held under the auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Indiana Historical Commission, at Indianapolis, Dec. 9–10, 1921.

Articles in the June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: George H. Proffit, his Day and Generation, by George R. Wilson; History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana, by Carl F. Brand; and Jesse Kimball, Pioneer, by George W. and Helen P. Beattie.

The Illinois State Historical Library is preparing for publication in the *Illinois Historical Collections* the diary of Orville H. Browning (1810–1881), one of the founders of the Republican party in Illinois, United States senator from 1861 to 1863, secretary of the interior in the Cabinet of President Johnson, and member of the Illinois constitutional convention, 1869–1870. The diary, which covers the period from 1850 to 1881, is believed to be of great importance for the politics of the Civil War period. It is being edited by Theodore C. Pease and James G. Randall.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1919, includes the following papers: the Scots and their Descendants in Illinois, being the annual address, by Thomas C. MacMillan; Clark E. Carr, a tribute to the late honorary president of the society, by George A. Lawrence; the War Work of the Women of Illinois, by Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen; the Agricultural Development of Illinois since the Civil War, by Eugene Davenport; the Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois, 1834–1838, by Elizabeth Duncan Putnam; William Murray, Trader and Land Speculator in the Illinois Country, by Anna E.

Marks; and Captain John Baptiste Saucier at Fort Chartres in the Illinois, 1751–1763, by John F. Snyder. Papers in the *Transactions* of 1920 are: Fifty Years with Bench and Bar of Southern Illinois, the annual address, by Oliver A. Harker; Benjamin D. Walsh, First State Entomologist of Illinois, by Mrs. Edna A. Tucker; Greene County, born 100 Years ago, by Charles Bradshaw; a Quarter of a Century in the Stock Yards District, by Miss Mary E. McDowell; Illinois Women in the Middle Period, by A. C. Cole; Side Lights on Illinois Suffrage History, by Miss Grace W. Trout; and Scots and Scottish Influence in Congress, an Historic and Anthropological Study, by Arthur MacDonald.

Among the contents of the October, 1920, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Illinois Women of the Middle Period, by A. C. Cole; the Building of a State: the Story of Illinois, by A. Milo Bennett; Life in the Army (1867–1869), by Cynthia J. Capron; the Diary of Salome Paddock Enos, 1815–1860, with an introduction by Louise I. Enos; and Some Personal Recollections of Peter Cartwright, by William Epler.

William Clayton's Journal: a Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of Mormon Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, put forth by the Clayton Family Association, is published in Salt Lake City by the *Deseret News.*

Among the contents of the May number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* are: the Discovery of Kentucky, by W. R. Jillson; some materials relating to the First Explorations of Daniel Boone, by the same writer; History of the County Court of Lincoln County, by Lucien Beckner; Correspondence between Governor Isaac Shelby and General William Henry Harrison during the War of 1812; and some Reminiscences from the Life of Cave Johnson.

A History of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, and its Surroundings, written in 1869, by Samuel Haycraft, has been published by the Woman's Club of Elizabethtown.

Among the contents of the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are: Memories of a Busy Life, by General Charles King; the Services and Collections of Lyman Copeland Draper, by Louise P. Kellogg; Wisconsin's Saddest Tragedy (the killing of Charles C. P. Arndt by James R. Vineyard in the council chamber of the Territory of Wisconsin, Feb. 11, 1842), by M. M. Quaife; a continuation of the letters of E. J. Canright, a soldier in the Great War; and a letter written from Racine, Wisconsin, in 1843, by H. S. Durand.

In the issue of February–May, 1921 (double number), of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is found a very suggestive discourse by Professor Joseph Schafer on the Microscopic Method applied to History, a paper read at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in January, 1921.

The principal article in the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* is the Lewis and Clark Expedition in its relation to Iowa History and Geography, by David C. Mott. There are also some reprints from *Gregg's Dollar Monthly and Old Settlers' Memorial,* among them, Black Hawk: some Account of his Life, Death, and Resurrection.

Two articles principally occupy the pages of the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* namely, an account by William Clark of a Trip across the Plains in 1857, and a paper on the Judiciary of the Territory of Iowa, by Jacob A. Swisher.

The May number of the *Palimpsest* contains an account, by John C. Parish, of the First Mississippi Bridge, and a reprint, from the Chicago *Daily Press,* September 24, 1857, of an argument by Abraham Lincoln before the United States Circuit Court as attorney for the Railroad Bridge Company.

The Missouri Historical Society has received from Miss Lucia L. Bates, granddaughter of Frederick Bates, governor of Missouri, 1824–1826, an important body of the papers of Frederick Bates, and of his more distinguished brother, Edward Bates, attorney general in Lincoln's Cabinet.

The State Historical Society of Missouri is preparing for publication the *Messages and Proclamations of Missouri Governors,* which will extend to six volumes. It is expected that the first three volumes of the series, covering the years 1820–1870, will be ready this year. The volumes will also include biographical sketches of each of the governors, prepared by competent hands.

Volume X. of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Pierre, [1921], pp. 168) contains articles on Nicollet and Fremont, on Dakota in the Fifties, on the Astorians in South Dakota, on World War Activities in that state, on Mennonites there, and special historical sketches of Union County.

The October–December number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* contains an account of Historical Sites in Nebraska, by Addison E. Sheldon, and a Revenant Cheyenne, by the same writer.

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appears a first installment of a study of the Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas, by Anna Muckleroy; an Appreciation of Edward Hopkins Cushing, by his son, E. B. Cushing; and a continuation of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence.

A *History of the Southern Pacific,* by Stuart Daggett, has been brought out in New York by the Ronald Press.

The working library and papers of the late Senator Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, which are of great importance to the history of the development of irrigation and of the improvement of river systems, par-

ticularly the Mississippi, have come into the possession of the Nevada Historical Society. The society already has the papers of the late Senator William M. Stewart, important to the history of the silver question.

The March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* has an article by C. F. Coan on the Adoption of the Reservation Policy for the Indians in the Pacific Northwest, 1853–1855; the first installment of a History of the Oregon Mission Press, of which the first issue was of 1839, by Howard M. Ballou of the Hawaiian Historical Society; and articles by T. C. Elliott on Jonathan Carver's Source for the Name Oregon, and on the subordinate relation of his endeavors to those of Major Robert Rogers, and by Robert M. Gatke on the First Indian School of the Pacific Northwest.

Among the articles in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are: the Loss of the *Tonquin* (1811), by Judge F. W. Howay; the Background of the Purchase of Alaska, by Victor J. Farrar; and some reminiscences of Christina M. M. Williams, daughter of Angus MacDonald, recorded by William S. Lewis and annotated by J. A. Meyers.

CANADA

Abbé J. M. Grossetête's treatise on the French cod fisheries, *La Grande Pêche de Terre-Neuve et d'Islande* (Rennes, *Presse de Bretagne*, 1921, pp. 421) is a thesis for the doctorate of laws, and is confined to the French operations, but is an excellent description of the present industry in all its features, and is preceded by an historical introduction which will be of value to many American students.

Articles in the June number of the *Canadian Historical Review* are: Canada and South Africa, by Alan F. Hattersley; Intra-Imperial Aspects of Britain's Defence Question, 1870–1900, by Paul Knaplund, of the University of Wisconsin; and the Early Days of Representative Government in British Columbia, by W. N. Sage. Reginald G. Trotter contributes a note on Lord Monck and the Great Coalition of 1864, accompanied by the memoranda exchanged June 17, 1864, between Governor General Monck and Sir Étienne Taché, the prime minister.

Volume X. of the *Papers and Records* of the Wentworth Historical Society (Hamilton, Ontario) has for its principal content a reprint of the *Historical Sketch of the County of Wentworth and the Head of the Lake* (Hamilton, 1897), by J. H. Smith.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The February number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* has three historical articles: one on the Treaty of Tordesillas and the Argentine-Brazilian Boundary Settlement, by Miss Mary W. Williams of Goucher College; one on the history of Central American Union, by

Mr. Edward Perry; and an address on New Constitutional Tendencies in Hispanic America, by Professor Manoel de Oliveira Lima of the Catholic University of America. There is also part I. of a bibliography of Chilean Literature, by Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of the University of North Carolina.

Professor Halford L. Hoskins of Tufts College has prepared a *Guide to Latin-American History* (pp. 121), "intended primarily to furnish a means of access to the various aspects of development of those states which are collectively termed Latin America". The work is in form a syllabus, with "brief references", lists of "longer accounts", and of "additional readings", appended to each topical outline. There are also seventeen pages of classified bibliography and a list of outline maps, with suggestions for their use. Almost half the syllabus is concerned with Latin-American problems and collective development, on the one hand, and Pan-American and International relations, on the other, with special regard to commercial and economic aspects and problems.

Señor Humberto Julio Paoli, of Banfield in Argentina, expects soon to publish, as the beginning of a *Colección de Libros referentes a la Ciencia Hispano-Americana,* reprints of three books of some rarity in that field: Alvaro Barba, *Arte de los Metales* (Madrid, 1729); Nicolás Monardes, *Historia Medicinal de Nuestras Indias Occidentales* (Seville, 1580); and Peres de Verges, *Los Nueve Libros de Re Metallica* (Madrid, 1569).

The Cortes Society is planning to publish soon the excessively rare work relating to Brazil entitled *Historia da Provincia Sancta Cruz,* by Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (Lisbon, 1576). The first volume will contain a facsimile of the Portuguese text as published, with a translation into English by Mr. John B. Stetson, jr.; the second volume will contain the translations of three important documents relating to the same subject, with a commentary and notes by the translator. Other translations which will appear later are the narratives of the conquest of Mexico by Andrés de Tapia and Francisco de Aguilar, eye-witnesses, and of Peru by Miguel de Estete.

The Life of Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies, by Mr. Frank Cundall, of the Jamaica Institute, with a foreword by the Archbishop of Canterbury, is brought out by Macmillan.

The Copper and Bronze Ages in South America, by Baron Erland Nordenskiöld of the Gothenburg Museum in Sweden (Gothenburg, 1921, pp. vii, 197), makes an important contribution to American archaeology by careful scientific studies centring especially around the relations of the age of copper to the succeeding age of bronze.

The latest publication of the Hakluyt Society is the *Journal of the Travels and Labours of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons between 1686 and 1723,* translated and edited by Rev. Dr. George Edmund-

son from the manuscript discovered by him in the Biblioteca Publica of Evora in Portugal. Father Fritz is of note for cartographical work on the upper regions of the Amazon.

The Venezuela *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, V. 2 (Carácas, December, 1921), prints twenty-nine army bulletins of Bolívar of August–December, 1813, and a body of reports made to the Asamblea Popular of San Francisco in January, 1814. The bulletins of 1814 will appear in the next number.

In a Colombian series entitled *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*, Señores Roberto Cortázar and Luis Augusto Cuervo have published for the first time the *Libro de Actas* of the Congress of Angostura (1819), a record of much importance to the early history of both Colombia and Venezuela.

No. 52–53 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* begins the publication of a "Libro intitulado Coloquios de la Verdad" concerning obstacles to the conversion of the Indians of Peru and their general grievances, written about 1563 by Father Pedro de Quiroga, missionary among them; the document, important for the history of the conquest, as well as for subsequent Indian relations, is edited by Fray Julián Zarco Cuevas, Augustinian of the Escorial, in whose library the manuscript is preserved.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Oscar Montelius, *Amerika och Gamla Världen: hafva de stått i någon Förbindelse med hvarandra före Columbus?* (Nordisk Tidskrift, 1919, 1); Colonna de Césari-Rocca, *La Véritable Origine de Cristophe Colomb* (Revue de la Corse, February–March); W. C. Ford, *The Adams Family* (Quarterly Review, April); S. F. Bemis, *Alexander Hamilton and the Limitation of Armaments* (Pacific Review, March); L. M. Sears, *The Middle States and the Embargo of 1808* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); J. G. Randall, *The Indemnity Act of 1863: a Study in the War-Time Immunity of Governmental Officers* (Michigan Law Review, April); R. E. Cushman, *The Social and Economic Interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment* (*ibid.*, May); H. H. Kohlsaat, *From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of our Presidents*, cont. (Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 27); B. J. Hendrick, *Chapters from the Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, cont. (World's Work, April, May, June); *Letters of a High-Minded Man: Franklin K. Lane*, cont. (*ibid.*, April, May, June); G. Pattullo, *The Inside Story of the A. E. F.* (Saturday Evening Post, April 29–May 27); Baron Marc de Villiers, *Le Massacre de l'Expédition Espagnole du Missouri, 11 Août 1720* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, n. s., XIII. 2); W. Smith, *First Days of British Rule in Canada* (Queen's Quarterly, January, February, March); W. R. Riddell, *Judges in the Executive Council of Upper Canada* (Michigan Law Review, May); Isabel E. Henderson, *Donald Gunn on the Red River Settlement* (Cana-